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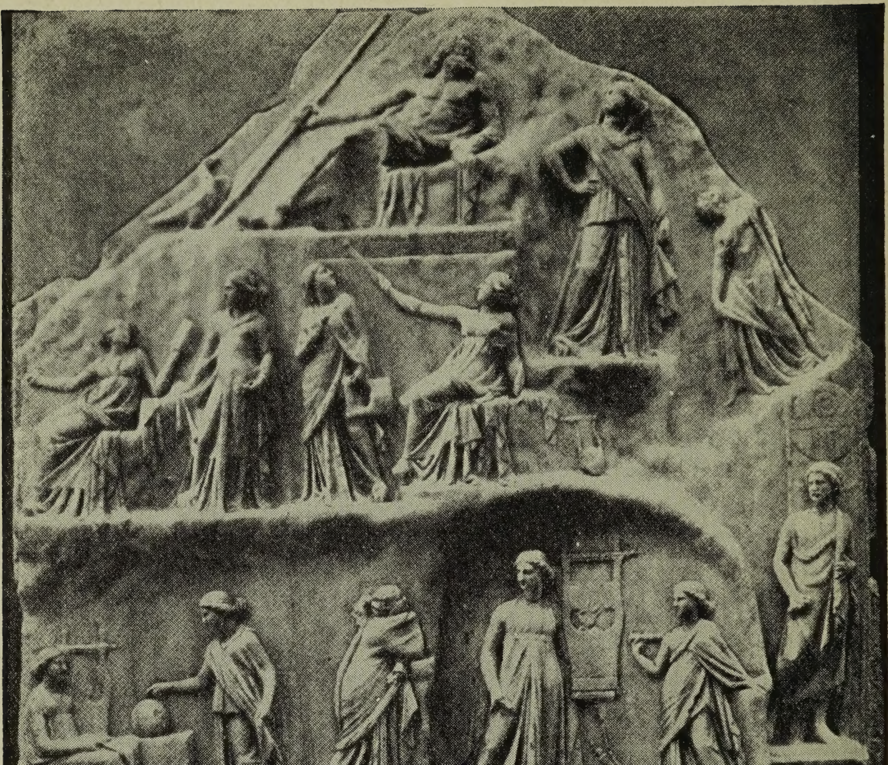
The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval



Apotheosis of Homer. Above are Zeus and the Muses; Apollo is in the cave. Below is Homer seated between figures of the Iliad and Odyssey; he is crowned by Time and the World, while Myth, History, Poetry, Tragedy, and Care make an offering.—*Courtesy, British Museum.—From Overbeck's "Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik," J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig.*

The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval

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BY
FREDERICK EBY

AND
CHARLES FLINN ARROWOOD

NEW YORK : 1942
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

PRENTICE-HALL EDUCATION SERIES
E. George Payne, Editor

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70 Fifth Avenue, New York

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First Printing..........September 1940
Second Printing............March 1942

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dedicated

in

Grateful Memory

to

DR. AARON EBY

Physician-Journalist

and

THE REVEREND ROBERT SYLVANUS ARROWOOD

Clergyman-Educator

Editor's Introduction

The unprecedented development of modern civilization, with its mechanical equipment and current methods of life, inevitably places undue emphasis upon the present and causes us to discount the significance of our historic past. As a matter of fact, it is frequently asserted that we need to study only our present culture in order to plan an adequate program of education, government, and social welfare for the future.

The exclusive emphasis upon our present culture, however, leaves out of account factors necessary for the interpretation of present-day civilization. We cannot understand the culture of the present without envisioning it in combination with the past. The origins of our culture reach back to the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Egyptians, and even to the thousands of years of primitive life out of which these ancient civilizations grew. This connection with preceding ages is especially true of our system of education.

No student of education, therefore, can afford to neglect the historic past and the efforts of peoples of those periods to build a program of education appropriate to the needs of the age. If we examine the current educational innovations and compare them with the theories and practices of ancient times, we find that many of them were proposed in those times, that others were originated, put into operation, and discarded, and that still others were abandoned in the confusion of intervening eras. If we examine these theories and practices meticulously, we are compelled to conclude that "there is nothing new under the sun." We cannot, therefore, claim to be intelligent about the educational practices of the present without an understanding of the historical development of the whole educational process.

As a means of furthering such an understanding, we are presenting this volume to the educational public. We wish also to emphasize that this is not just another book. It is a scholarly presentation, not only of the old material of other books, but of new materials gleaned from the sources in the philosophy and the history of education, along with an explanation of the bearing of these materials upon current educational theories and practices. We are confident, therefore, that educators will welcome this volume as an indispensable aid in preparing teachers for the increasingly difficult problems of education that exist today.

E. George Payne

Preface

Several years ago the authors ventured to publish *The Development of Modern Education* as a text for the professional training of teachers and as a general handbook on the subject. The highly gratifying reception of that volume has given them courage to complete the historical survey by offering a companion volume dealing specifically with the ancient and medieval periods. An added justification for restudy of this period is the fact that during the past quarter century many Egyptian and classical writings have been made available in English, thus shedding further light upon education in ancient times.

Half a century ago the history of education held a prominent place in the incipient curriculum for the professional education of teachers. In recent decades an astonishing expansion of the field of education along many new lines, all of which claim significance for the professional practitioner, has resulted in greatly reducing and in many institutions completely crowding out the historical aspects of the subject. In this competition for recognition the study of ancient and medieval education has been the first to suffer; in many cases it has been entirely eliminated as part of professional preparation. The question arises as to the relative worth of these various lines of thought now pressing for attention in a professional curriculum too greatly restricted by adventitious circumstances. It is necessary to face the question, What contribution of vital importance can the history of ancient and medieval education make to the student who is seeking to understand the profession upon which he expects to enter? This work attempts to answer that question. With the experience of the years the conviction has deepened that the historical approach is still by all odds the most valuable introduction for the professional and scientific comprehension of educational thought and practice.

In the last few years there has been a growing acknowledgment that the preparation of teachers has overemphasized the acquisition of methods and has neglected the basic understanding of educational theory. For a long time, technique, methods, and devices have been assiduously pursued as if education were a purely mechanical process. But recently there has arisen a most remarkable, not to say gratifying, new interest in the general philosophy of education.

In the past, educational practices grew out of certain theories that usually took on the character of cults or "isms." There was, for example, Pestalozzianism, Herbartianism, Froebelianism, humanism, and pragmatism. Today American education is reaching out for a more comprehensive, scientific, and philosophic understanding of the fundamental process of human cultivation. It is in this spirit that the authors offer this work to the educational public. It unites the history and the philosophy of education in most intimate fashion. The effort has been made to set forth the underlying philosophies and educational practice of each successive stage of culture, rather than to present in detail the educational history of ancient peoples and civilizations.

This work is written from the genetic point of view. No apology is made for incorporating material facts about the evolution of skills, the expansion of knowledge, and the development of culture; for in its essence education is the transmission of these creations of the human spirit; and naturally one cannot understand their transmission without some knowledge of the circumstances of their genesis and growth. In any comprehensive sense of the term, the history of education embraces the story of the rise and progress of human culture as a whole and its transmission from the older to the younger generation. As to the educative process, this work traces its evolution from the simple beginnings among primitive people through various levels or stages. For the second, which may be termed the empirical, stage of education, Egyptian culture rather than the Oriental has been selected. For the teaching of ethical relations and religion, the ancient Hebrew education was most enlightening. For the evolution of the higher aesthetic and rational culture, Greek life and education have been treated at length.

Here in this ancient period can be found the origin of all the subject matter or bodies of knowledge which form the curricula of the schools. To understand how these bodies of knowledge first arose, and especially why men clung to them so tenaciously and transmitted them to the oncoming generations, has genuine significance for the educator of any age.

Then, too, the basic question of the relations of the philosophy of education to progress in organization and practice has been carefully kept in view. The educational functions through the ages of the family, the state, the church, and of private interest have been touched upon. All of this lifts education out of a mere technique and gives it comprehensive and critical significance.

The importance of reading source materials is nowadays too well recognized to need extended comment. Such reading is, of course, indispensable for advanced students, but it is the beginner who is not so likely to get adequate contact with the sources. The source materials for ancient education are not readily accessible because they are scattered in many works, and the great bulk of them consists of innumerable pregnant sentences or, perchance, short paragraphs imbedded in the literature of the period. Naturally, no source book is available that furnishes many of these excerpts. But even where full discussions of education are available, there is considerable difficulty in getting the students to read and appreciate such documentary materials. For these reasons quotations from the ancient writers have been used in generous amount. It is hoped by this means the student will get a better feeling for the original situation.

Our gratitude must be expressed to Miss M. Dorothy Eby of Trenton, New Jersey, for invaluable help in revising and correcting many of the chapters.

The late Professor J. E. Pearce read the chapter on education among primitive peoples, and made valuable suggestions respecting it. Professor Frederick Duncalf and Professor Harry J. Leon supplied bibliographical and other data which were of great value in the preparation of the chapters on education in the Middle Ages and at Rome respectively.

The question repeatedly arises in the case of joint authorship as to which author has written particular chapters. Since there is no reason for secrecy in the matter it may be stated that because of his special interest Dr. Arrowood wrote on Primitive Education, Roman Education, and the chapters on Medieval Education except those on Early Christian Education and on the Renaissance.

The writers gladly make acknowledgment of their indebtedness to all the authors and publishers who have graciously permitted the use of quotations. In carrying out the method of presentation already mentioned, they have assisted greatly by allowing quotations from their books. Special acknowledgment is made to the following: Alinari Brothers, Ltd., Firenze, Italy; American Book Company, New York; D. Appleton-Century Company, New York; George Bell & Sons, Ltd., London; A. & C. Black, Ltd., London; Bodleian Library; Dr. Ernest Brehaut, Creamridge, New Jersey, and Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, New York; British Museum, London; Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England; Cassell & Company, Ltd., London; S. E. Cassino & Co., Boston; University of Chicago Press, Chicago; The Christian Literature Company, New York; The Clarendon Press, Oxford; T. & T. Clark, Ltd., London; Columbia University Press, New York; Covici, Friede, Inc., New York; Ellwood P. Cubberley, Stanford, California; Helen A. Dickinson and Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York; The Dial Press, New York; Dodd, Mead & Company, New York; Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York; E. P. Dutton & Company, New York; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago; Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York; Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York; Giraudon, Paris; H. Grevel & Company; Charles Griffin & Company, Ltd., London; Ginn & Company, Boston; W. A. Hammond Estate, Washington; Harper & Brothers, New York; The President and Fellows of Harvard College, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts; D. C. Heath and Company, Boston; William Heinemann, Ltd. (Loeb), London; Herder and Company, Freiburg im Breisgau; Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, New York; G. Hirth, München; Henry Holt & Company, New York; Martin Hopkinson, Ltd., London; Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston; Huxley Publishers, New York; The Jewish Chautauqua Society, Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia; The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York; The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore; The Judson Press, Philadelphia; Alfred A. Knopf, New York; T. Werner Laurie, London; Librairie Hachette, London; J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia; Little, Brown & Company, Boston; Liveright Publishing Company, New York; Longmans, Green & Company, New York; The Macmillan Company, New York; Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London; The Mathematical Association of

America, Oberlin, Ohio; The Meador Publishing Company, Boston; The Merrymount Press, Boston, and D. P. Updike; Methuen & Company, Ltd., London; John Murray, London; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Museo Nazionale Romano, Italy; Museo Spado, Rome; R. Oldenbourg, München; Open Court Publishing Company, La Salle, Illinois; Oxford University Press, London; Parker and Company, New York; John Pendlebury, Cambridge, and the Illustrated London News; Pergamon Museum, Berlin; F. W. Preece, Ltd., Adelaide, South Australia; G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Hanover; Ridpath Historical Society, Cincinnati; George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London; (School and Society) The Science Press, New York; Scott, Foresman & Company, Chicago; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; Simpkin Marshall, Ltd., London; Societäts-Verlag, Frankfurt; The Society for the Advancement of Education, New York; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London; Soncino Press, Ltd., London; Staatliche Museum, Berlin; Edward Stanford, Ltd., London; Stechert & Company, New York; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Ltd., London; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; University Prints, Massachusetts; Ward Lock & Company, Ltd., London; Yale University Press, New Haven; the Yorkshire Museum, York.

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The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval

1

Education Among Primitive Peoples

Civilization preceded by primitive cultures. Western history had its beginning in Egypt more than five thousand years ago; but before recorded history began there were prehistoric cultures, which had developed through many thousands of years. Out of these prehistoric cultures western civilization arose. Prehistoric peoples, and certain modern peoples whose arts are similar to the arts of our ancestors who lived before the dawn of history, are called "nature peoples," or "primitive peoples."

Since western civilization arose out of prehistoric cultures, the origins of European institutions cannot be discovered from written or printed sources. In the absence of documents from the hand of prehistoric man, the modern student approaches the study of his life and institutions by other ways.

Why study the education of primitive peoples? The study of education among primitive peoples is of value for four reasons:

1. As was said above, civilization had its beginnings in primitive cultures, and the life of civilized peoples in the twentieth century is continuous with the life of prehistoric man. Such works as Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* furnish a wealth of illustrations of ideas and practices which arose before the dawn of European history, and which have survived, being gradually changed to meet new conditions, but ever retaining something of their primitive character. Western education had its beginning in prehistoric practices, and can be approached to greatest advantage through a study of its beginnings.

2. The study of primitive education is of value because it furnishes a contrast to our own educational system. In the experimental study of human behavior much use is made of what is called the "control group." By this is meant that an experi-

ment, using two or more groups simultaneously, is carried on, the conditions under which the groups are observed being kept identical except as respects the particular factor in behavior that is being studied. Much of human behavior, and so much of education, cannot be studied experimentally. Groups can, however, be studied under the most diverse conditions, and similarities and differences of behavior can be noted and related to their conditions. The very features of primitive education which differ most from certain features of the modern American type of education may thus be made the means of understanding our own educational practices.

3. Although primitive education is simple, the essential problems and features of any educational system are present in it. In modern industrial and political societies these central problems and features are obscured by the very complexity of the educational systems. They are much more readily seen and understood in the relatively simple setting of primitive life.

4. A study of primitive education is of value to any person who is engaged in directing the education of culturally arrested peoples, for it is a basic principle of modern education that if one is to direct the education of another he should understand him. Americans are charged with the education of a number of culturally backward peoples, and of races whose simple cultures are being rudely displaced by European arts and ideas. Those of us who are not engaged in teaching still vote for officials who are responsible for the educational policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies of the government charged with the education of aboriginal peoples—examples are the American Indians and Eskimos. It is important that the education of any group be related to its cultural past, and if this is to be done, primitive education must be studied.

How may primitive education be studied? It may be asked, "How can anything be known of the culture of prehistoric man?" Anthropologists can reply by pointing out two principal sources of information: (1) the remains of prehistoric peoples, and (2) contemporary peoples so culturally retarded that they may be considered "primitive."

There are many relics of prehistoric cultures. The graves, fields, houses, and game-traps of ancient peoples are still to be seen. Innumerable examples of their dress, weapons, ornaments, toys, tools, utensils, and objects used in worship are available for study in the field or in museums.

Sometimes, as in New Mexico and Arizona, the ruined homes of prehistoric men are within a few miles of the homes of their living descendants, and comparison reveals many survivals of primitive language, arts, and customs. This leads to the statement that much can be learned of prehistoric man by the study of living, culturally retarded peoples.[1] Sir Baldwin Spencer writes:

> Just as the platypus, laying its eggs and feebly suckling its young, reveals the mammal in the making, so does the Aboriginal show us, at least in broad outline, what early man must have been like before he learned to domesticate animals, cultivate crops and use a metal tool.[2]

Professor W. J. Sollas writes of *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives.* In this interesting book,[3] he compares the artifacts and drawings of prehistoric Europeans with those of modern Tasmanians, Australian aborigines, Bushmen, and Esquimos. In explaining his effort to understand ancient man through the study of a modern, culturally backward people he writes:

> The Tasmanians, . . . though recent, were at the same time a Palaeolithic or even, it has been rashly asserted, an Aeolithic race; and they thus afford us an opportunity of interpreting the past by the present.[4]

Paradoxically, therefore, we go to our culturally retarded contemporaries for light on the lives of our prehistoric ancestors. In this chapter we shall have occasion to describe the modern representatives of ancient practices and institutions rather than the prehistoric cultures themselves. For the most part we shall speak of *contemporary* primitive cultures, and from these cultures, and from the few remains of European life which antedate history, we may be able to infer something of the origins of European education.

The nature of primitive cultures. When a primitive culture is contrasted with the culture of a civilized people, marked differences can be discerned between them. In the first place, a primitive culture is relatively simple. A second difference is that primitive society and primitive arts are not nearly so highly specialized and differentiated as are the arts and society of civilized peoples. A third characteristic is that primitive peoples have relatively narrow social and cultural contacts. A savage can understand the language and ideas of but few persons. His tribe is small and ranges over a relatively small area, but its life bounds the world of his thinking and of his sympathies. A fourth feature of primitive life is that organization is tribal, not political. Kinship, not political right or function, is the basis of group solidarity. A fifth characteristic difference is that primitive peoples lack the methods and content of exact scholarship. They possess arts and information in some cases astonishing in range and variety, but they lack the methods by which great bodies of fact are collected and made available for use, and by which accurate results are obtained and existing information tested. The most characteristic feature of all is the absence from primitive cultures of reading and writing.

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[1] See, for example, Hewett, Edgar Lee, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1936.

[2] Spencer, Sir Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *The Arunta,* Vol. I, p. vii, London: Macmillan and Company, 1927.

[3] Sollas, W. J., *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives.* London: Macmillan and Company [Second Edition], 1915.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

Limited in cultural contacts and without techniques of scientific discovery and of self-criticism, primitive peoples are extraordinarily conservative and prone to superstition. Their cultures do grow, of course, but they cling with great tenacity to old ideas and ways of acting. Tribal laws, rules of conduct, beliefs, and ritual practices acquire force and prestige by virtue of their real or alleged antiquity. Genealogies make up a considerable part of tribal lore. Stories purporting to account for the origins of beliefs and practices have a prominent place in religious observances.

Belief in magic and in occult powers is universal among primitive peoples. Their world is peopled with unseen beings—malignant ghosts, spiritual companions, and tribal deities. Certain individuals are believed to possess magic powers. Illness, famine, storms, accidents, and failure in any enterprise are attributed to the malevolent actions of magicians and of ill-disposed spirits. The safety of a group depends, it is thought, upon the power of its witch-doctors and the faithfulness with which all religious duties are performed.

What does primitive education undertake to do? A people must care for its young while they are helpless; it must guide each of its members as he finds his place in the group; and must transmit, by training and instruction, its heritage of habits, attitudes, arts, skills, knowledge, and belief. This care, guidance, training, and instruction make up its educational task.

The educational activities of a primitive people may be classified, according to the functions they discharge, into four groups.

1. The first group comprises those activities that enable a person to make the most of his environment—to feed, clothe, shelter, and protect himself and those dependent on him.
2. The second group includes those which enable one to live with his fellows; and especially to function well in his relations as husband, son, son-in-law, brother, and comrade-in-arms.
3. The third group is made up of those activities that enable a man to feel at home in the world and at peace with himself. By these activities primitive man acquires his religious attitudes, practices, and beliefs and his general outlook upon life.
4. The fourth group of activities affords expression to man's impulse to create, and to his love of rhythm, sound, movement, and beauty. These activities employ especially language, music, the dance, painting, and drama.

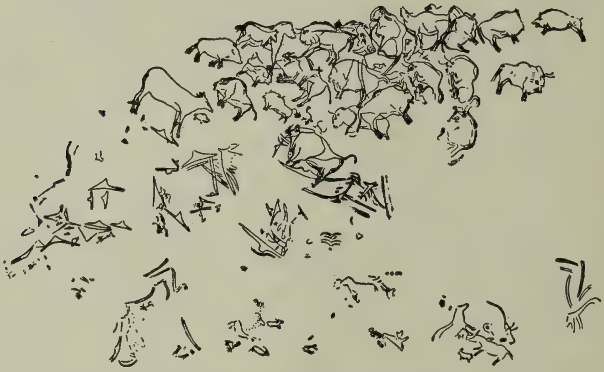
It is not to be supposed that these activities are sharply separated from each other. Instruction that centers about the getting and use of food deals with the religious aspects of these activities. Instruction relating to sex and marital duties carries the learner into tribal myth and genealogy. Weaving among the ancient Indians of the American Southwest had its economic, aesthetic, and religious aspects.

The emphasis in primitive education. It will be seen at once that civilized man concerns himself quite as definitely as did his prehistoric ancestors with making the most of his material environment, with social problems, with religions and philosophies, and with creative and recreational interests. While the general objectives of primitive education are the same as those of modern education, its basic emphasis is essentially different.

Modern education seeks to achieve its goals through the richest development of all aspects of human personality, and through the discovery and development of new machines, processes, skills, and bodies of knowledge. The emphasis lies upon the development and enrichment of human nature and upon the extension of man's control over his material environment. For more than a hundred years emphasis upon the control of human conduct has diminished, and the claim that even children must be free has been urged.

Primitive man, on the other hand, is essentially conservative. He tends to repeat earlier practices. He does develop new arts, discover and elaborate new bodies of knowledge, and invent stories, songs, implements, and institutions. But his educational activities are directed principally to the transmission of knowledge and of skills and to the testing and control of the learner—not to the learner's development, or to the increase of knowledge or the discovery of new skills.

Primitive people have been able to survive under the hard conditions of their lives only by subordinating the interests of the individual to the interests of the group. Primitive education strives to secure the continued existence of the group principally by restricting the activities of its members. It does attempt to control the forces of nature; but its main emphasis is not there. In complex, democratic cultures, on the contrary, education seeks to achieve social security and order by increasing the intelligence, skill, and healthfulness of all members of society. Modern American education lays its emphasis upon the development of the learner through his free activity; primitive education today and always lays its emphasis upon the control of the learner by his elders, who force him into the mold of the existing social order.



Figures Incised or Painted by Primitive Men on the Roof of the Cave at Altamira.—*Sketch by Abbe Breuill.*

Groups in which primitive education is carried on. Of the social groups in which man's education is effected, the school and the family come first to mind. Primitive society lacks the school. Its prominent social groups, all of which have important roles in education, are: the family; the clan, phratry, or totem;

secret fraternities; the tribe; work and occupational groups; worshiping groups; and play groups. These groups, of course, interlock and overlap each other.

Methods of primitive education. Among primitive peoples children are not separated from their elders to any such extent as they are in more complex societies. Primitive life affords little privacy, and children are not kept in the dark about the ordinary matters of life by the reticences of adults. They are, on the contrary, in extremely close contact with the personal affairs of the older members of their families, with the general activities of the larger group to which they belong, and with nature. It is by this intimate view of and full participation in group activities and by daily contact with nature that the primitive child is taught.

The ways in which primitive children learn are three: 1. They observe life about them with great freedom, learning, in this way, of activities in which they will later be participants. 2. They share in the work, travels, play and dangers of their tribe, and in the doings of specialized groups within the tribe. 3. They receive instruction in the common arts, and in matters of conduct and belief which are regarded as important.

Methods employed in primitive education are of great variety. 1. Instruction is given by simple telling. Stories, exposition, and precept are used. 2. Arts and skills are demonstrated. Models are made, and correct procedures are carefully gone through in the presence of the novice. Learners imitate the actions of skilled performers, and are praised or corrected as their own accomplishments warrant. 3. Children pick up a great deal by simple, unsystematic observation of nature and of the actions of those about them. 4. They learn a very great deal, too, by their own activities. Pleasurable experiences tend to be repeated; actions that lead to unpleasant consequences tend to be avoided. Trial, with its resulting success or failure, plays everywhere a great place in learning. Primitive peoples recognize this, and permit children to handle hot objects or sharp implements, taking care that no serious injuries result, in order that they may learn by consequences to avoid that which is dangerous.

Care of infants and of very young children. The care and training of children are inextricably mingled. Up to the age of about six or seven the primitive child is under the almost exclusive care and tutelage of his parents and sisters. In the ordinary course of events the child's first nurse and teacher is the mother; when a younger brother or sister is born, he is turned over to the women and girls closely related to him. As he grows older, his father and uncles take an exceedingly prominent part in his education.

Savage races show little skill or understanding in their care of infants. Instances of rational practices in this respect have, however, been observed among some of the most primitive tribes. Gentle massage of infants has been observed among Australian aborigines, Gilbert Islanders, Loyalty Islanders, Hopi Indians, and Samoans. Care is exercised in shaping the heads of newly born infants by many primitive peoples. Among Australian aborigines and Gilbert Islanders the practice of flexing the limbs of infants, in the effort to stimulate growth, has been observed. Among some peoples the washing of newly born infants is done with care and good judgment.

Practices of magic have prominent places in the care of very young children. Parents of infants observe various taboos. They are careful in bestowing names, and in going through the solemn mummery thought to protect their children against the danger of being bewitched.

Nurses among primitive peoples carry their small charges astride of their hips, or on their backs in hammocks or cradles. Children are encouraged to walk and talk, but without any observable system. Constant association with their elders leads to the gradual acquisition of the simpler styles, ideas, and attitudes of the society into which they were born.

Students of primitive education agree that savages, for the most part, treat their children with great affection and kindness. Indeed, primitive parents seem to err on the side of laxity, and even of foolish indulgence. Little children, as a rule, are said to be good and unselfish, though undisciplined. Lack of discipline of very young children may account in part for the very great severity, amounting in many cases to torture, to which youths are subjected in puberty rites.

Play in primitive education. Play has a large place in the lives of children of culturally backward peoples. Toys, pets, and games are of great number and variety. Parents frequently encourage games and provide toys, and direct play so as to teach useful knowledge and skills. While next to nothing can be known of the games of remote antiquity, toys have been found among the remains from the most ancient times which correspond closely to toys used by modern savages and by civilized peoples. It is possible, therefore, not only to observe the play activities of living nature peoples, but to infer from them something of the games of our prehistoric ancestors.

Children of contemporary primitive peoples engage in a great many games of strength and skill. Among them may be noted: games with bat and ball; jumping; throwing a spear; shooting with bow and arrow; tug of war; running races; wrestling; stilt-walking; boating; swimming and climbing.

They keep a great variety of pets. Blackfeet Indian children of former days kept beaver, coyotes, wolves, hawks, eagles, cranes, and antelope. Rats, bandicoots, frogs, opossums, small birds, and dogs have been noticed among the pets of Australian children.

There are many games of ingenuity and adeptness—guessing games and many variants of the game of cat's cradle. Cat's cradle is found among primitive people in all parts of the world. Widely distributed, too, are games with dolls, tops, balls, and pebbles. Simple activity games, as skipping the rope, variations of the games of "blind man's buff," and "bogey," are common. Dramatic and mimetic activities also figure largely in the play of primitive children.

There are many games in which children enter sympathetically into the lives of their elders, imitating, reproducing, or sharing adult activities. They play at war, at housekeeping, at herding cattle, at building, at hunting, at boating, at pottery-making, and at worship. Telling stories and singing songs, universal forms of recreation, hunting and dancing, serious occupations of adult savages, by turns are play or the serious business of life with their children. As he draws on the ground the tracks of animals, imitates their cries, traps and hunts, the young savage enters by imperceptible degrees upon an activity that is to furnish a considerable part of the food and clothing of his group.

The educational value of the play of primitive peoples is very great. This value is the greater because the games of primitive children are very closely connected with the activities by which, when they are grown, they will maintain and protect themselves. Eskimo girls dressing their dolls in skin garments made in imitation of the clothing of adults, African children trapping small game, Indian boys practicing the war game, girls of the Amazon valley making miniature vessels of pottery, Vedda lads climbing cliffs and pretending to gather honey, all are acquiring adeptness in arts which they are to practice as a means of livelihood or of protection against their enemies.

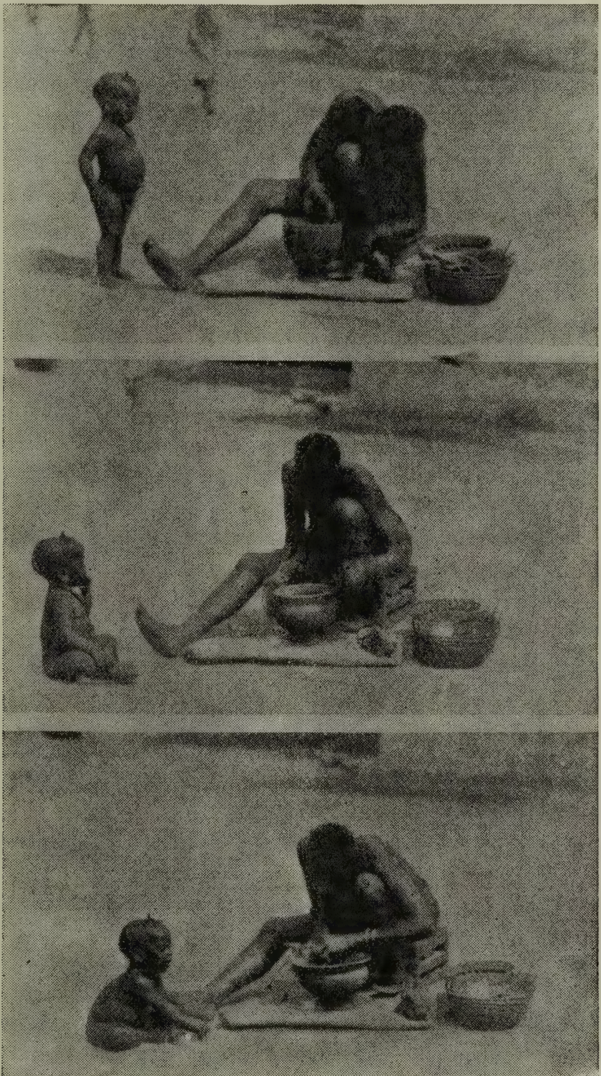
Play promotes good fellowship, friendship, and mental health. It is an important means of forming and enriching the emotional lives of savage children. In play, too, a beginning is made of specialization in interests and in social functioning. In very early childhood boys and girls play together; as puberty approaches they drift into separate groups. Girls play games connected with women's occupations, and boys play games in imitation of the activities and interests of men.

The practice of the useful arts and associated activities. The activities by which any group supplies itself with food, shelter, clothing, and other articles of convenience, necessity, and adornment play a major part in the education of its members. Participation in work takes place at various levels. A very young child is a scarcely conscious observer of work. A little later he shares, in limited fashion, in its performance, increasing the quality and amount of his work until he does the full share of an adult. He may become exceedingly proficient, even perfecting new forms and processes, and instructing other persons.

Simple as the arts and industries of savages are, when compared with those of highly civilized peoples, they still are numerous, and their performance calls for much skill and knowledge. Savages manufacture weapons, implements, and ornaments from shell, bone, and exceedingly hard stone, as did our prehistoric ancestors. They are skillful potters, and make many articles, too, of perishable materials, such as wood, textiles, and skins. Hunting, gathering plant food, fishing, and preparing clothing and food all call for skill, knowledge, and protracted efforts. Girls among primitive people are required to care for their younger brothers and sisters and to wait on the sick.

Primitive peoples believe that success in an undertaking cannot be achieved without due attention being paid to the propitiation of unseen and occult forces. Skill and knowledge are important for the pursuit of an occupation; but of even greater importance are the observances of the rites and forms by which a novice is inducted into his occupation, and by which enterprises are inaugurated and accompanied. A hunt, the cure of a sick man, the induction of a chief or of a medicine man into his office, or the setting out of a war party, or any one of unnumbered other matters must be attended by the performance of suitable rites.

Very small children accompany their mothers as they go about their tasks of pottery-making, making and preparing clothing, gathering food and cooking it, and caring for their children. They learn by observation, by their own efforts and by direct



A **West African Child Receiving Her First Lesson in Pottery-making.**—*From Hambly, W. D., "Origins of Education Among Primitive Peoples," Macmillan. Photo: N. W. Thomas.*

instruction. As soon as early childhood is past, tasks become specialized. Girls learn women's work, and boys learn the work of men. A division of work between the sexes is universal among primitive peoples.

A boy will be taught especially by his father or by a maternal uncle. Instances are recorded of special training for hunting, trapping, warfare, fishing, in the making of weapons, and in the practice of medicine. Instruction is individual. Example and oral directions furnish encouragement, guidance, and correction. Additional preparation is furnished for entrance upon some of the more specialized occupations and for formal initiation in the circle of practitioners of an art. In the course of such an initiation a novice is impressed with the significance of his calling and with his duties respecting it, and the secrets of the trade are revealed to him.

The fine arts. Primitive peoples create and enjoy beauty in various forms. They dance, sing, play on musical instruments, draw, engrave, paint, model in clay, carve, manufacture and wear ornaments, and design and wear elaborately decorated clothing. The materials, workmanship, and ornamentation of their pottery, ritual objects, dwellings, tools, and weapons reflect their appreciation of beauty. Their use of beautiful objects and their artistic activities afford them obvious pleasure.

The graves of primitive men yield ornaments, musical instruments, and artistically made objects of many sorts. Their drawings, engravings, paintings, and carved and sculptured figures are still to be seen in very great numbers.

The fine arts of primitive man reflect his contact with nature and close study of forms. For the rest, in modern times certainly, methods of instruction and learning in the fine arts are not different from those in the practical arts. Children observe, imitate, receive individual instructions, and make trial for themselves.

Puberty rites and tests—importance and distribution. Initiatory ceremonials have an important place in the lives of primitive peoples, and in the recent past held an even more important one. They are of three main sorts: initiation into secret fraternities; initiation into the ranks of occupational groups; and puberty rites, by which youths are inducted into full tribal membership. All of these initiatory ceremonials are designed to confer desirable special status upon the novices undergoing them. Members of secret fraternities enjoy special prestige, powers, and immunities; occupational groups enjoy valuable monopolies of the arts which they practice; and young men who pass successfully the tests of puberty rites are permitted to marry and to participate fully in tribal deliberations and activities.

Initiatory rites of different primitive groups differ greatly from each other; but, in one way or another, all aboriginal peoples signalize adolescence by special tests and instruction and by formally admitting youths to a status denied to children. Puberty rites are especially prominent among Australian aborigines, where they are extremely elaborate and occupy months of a youth's life. They are not nearly so prominent among Melanesians. Secret societies, which are extremely numerous among North American Indians and among some African tribes, tend to supplant puberty rites, and to disintegrate totemic organizations.

Both boys and girls are initiated by primitive groups. The rites for boys are far more elaborate than those through which girls pass; and there are tribes in which, so far as is known, girls do not undergo any formal initiation.

Puberty rites are of great educational significance; indeed, they are the most important formal and purposive educative activities of primitive peoples. They touch every aspect of primitive life; they transmit ideas and beliefs respecting matters of religion, morals, tribal history, magic, and health. They are closely associated with specialization of activities and duties between members of the group, and especially with specialization of functions between the sexes. Moreover, puberty rites impose tribal discipline upon novices.

Up to the age of ten years or so, an aboriginal child is subject to little discipline save that imposed by his immediate family. This discipline is usually lax—for parents among culturally arrested peoples are, in general, foolishly indulgent of their children. Little boys and girls mingle quite freely, and, up to the age of about seven years spend most of their time in play. As adolescence approaches domestic tasks claim an increasing part of their time. African lads are required to tend goats and cattle, and Melanesian boys follow their elders to the hunt. Girls look after their younger brothers and sisters, and assist in various other domestic tasks.

Domestic training and the easy fellowship of childhood have, of course, their educational values, but they are not adequate to prepare children for the responsibilities of mature life. Training exclusively of the domestic type, moreover, tends to disintegrate larger social groups. The unity and stability of any group can be maintained only where there is an education common to those of its members who participate in its government. Education in the public interest is principally furnished among primitive peoples by puberty rites.

Puberty rites controlled by tribal elders. As adolescence approaches, children pass under a new regime—the control of the tribal elders. It is among a very few primitive peoples only that the father is responsible for the education of his son past the age of ten. Frequently a maternal uncle has a specially important part in the education of a youth. Usually the headmen of a tribe have the instruction and testing of young men and their investiture with full adult status as their special charge and prerogative.

As a result of the control of education at adolescence by the adult male members of the tribe, any incipient tendency of children toward individualism is stamped out, and the novice is made fully conscious of his tribal status and responsibilities. While his ties with his parents, brothers, and sisters are not broken, he is made conscious of his responsibilities to persons outside the family group, and is prepared to assume the responsibilities that his marriage will bring. He emerges from the initiation ceremonials with a deeper sense of his responsibility toward his totem and tribe, and especially toward his elders and toward the deities of the tribe and totem.

AN INITIATION DANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.—*From Schapera, I., "The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa," Routledge.*

The content and methods of puberty rites. W. D. Hambly writes:

> The main points connected with the initiation of boys into tribal life are:
>
> (1) Purification by emetics, sweating, bathing, scrubbing with sand, and the making of cutaneous incisions.
>
> (2) Circumcision, incision, and subincision.
>
> (3) Physical suffering caused by a great variety of tests, such as extreme fatigue in the chase, tattooing, cicatrising, heating, cooling, knocking out teeth, immobility for long periods, and whipping.
>
> (4) Moral instruction, including tribal usage relating to obedience, courage, truth, hospitality, sexual relationships, reticence, and perseverance.
>
> (5) Transfer of power from elders to novices by the latter going through the motions of hauling on a rope, blood transfer, rubbing with crystals, or blowing.
>
> (6) Isolation, accompanied by a taboo of silence, disguise by paint and dress, reception of a new name, and rebirth into the social group with many formalities.
>
> (7) Training in magic of the so called sympathetic variety, whereby love is requited or an enemy injured.[5]

Puberty rites are short courses in tribal lore. Children learn a great deal in connection with other activities, as has been said earlier in this chapter, but initiation ceremonials are the occasion of concentrated instruction in manners, laws, morals, local landmarks, myths relating to the supposed origin and history of the tribe, religious observances, and secret religious beliefs and practices. Thompson Islanders warn novices against the evils of adultery, cowardice, lying, thievery, inhospitality, and quarrelsomeness. Among central Australian tribes boys are instructed in knowledge of sacred places and objects, in the boundaries of their country, and in marriage laws. Among certain aborigines of the Torres Straits, of Australia, and of one of the central African tribes youths are taught the duty of sharing food.

Moral instruction is impressed upon the neophyte with considerable vigor. For example, boys of a certain tribe of central Australia are required, in connection with the puberty rites which they undergo, to hunt, and to take food to the elders. A boy is especially required to take food to his prospective father-in-law. The boy who fails in this duty faces a day of reckoning.

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[5] Hambly, W. D., *Origins of Education Among Primitive Peoples*, 1926, pp. 128–129. London: Macmillan and Company.

There comes a time during one of the initiation ceremonies when a boy is thrown into the air and caught by the men. The offended father-in-law provides himself with a suitable cane and, as the boy rises and falls helplessly, he hears someone shouting: "I will teach you to bring me food," and has cause to remember and regret his neglect of tribal custom.[6]

Most of the instruction given in primitive initiation ceremonies consists of fanciful tribal legends and the revealing of empty secrets. While these revelations serve a purpose by making the initiate feel at home in the world, they actually confer no control over nature, or ability to avoid or cure disease, secure food, or meet danger. The initiate learns, moreover, to impose on others as he has been imposed upon.

An example of the tribal secrets revealed in the course of a primitive initiation is furnished by the showing of the "bull roarer" in connection with the puberty rites of the Arunta, an aboriginal tribe of central Australia. Women and children among the Arunta are told that the roaring sound which they hear from time to time is the voice of an evil, nonhuman being, who wanders outside of the camp, ready to pounce upon those who stray far from the domestic hearth. This legend is certainly a potent force in maintaining the authority of the mature men of the tribe. At initiation the neophyte learns that this sound is produced by revolving a flat piece of wood, attached to a string, rapidly in the air. The secret of the "bull roarer" is carefully guarded, and the crime of illegally showing one was formerly punished by death.

Tribal lore is imparted by formal telling, by stories which carry a special lesson, by mimetic dances, and by elaborate dramatic performances. Dramas depict the mythical activities of tribal heroes and totem animals. Many of them are extremely elaborate and of considerable artistic interest. Performers are dressed to represent ancestral spirits and deities, good and bad, and are decorated with great care, and rituals and dances are performed with the utmost attention to detail.

An important part of puberty ceremonials among primitive peoples is the conferring upon the initiate of a new name. This and such other rites as the circumcision of the neophyte or the painting of designs upon his body signalize his entrance upon a new social and religious status. Such ceremonies tend to heighten a youth's consciousness of his own personality. It is true that tribal initiations enforce the authority of the group upon the novice; but they also confer special status within the group, and so enhance the initiate's sense of his own power and importance. He believes that he has gained magical power in the ceremonies; he is identified with the most powerful members of his tribe, and participates in the most important group activities—activities from which the uninitiated are excluded; and he has received a special name, which individualizes him.

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[6] Spencer, Sir Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *Across Australia*, Vol. II, p. 343. London: Macmillan and Company, 1912.

A prominent feature of the education of adolescent boys, and one connected with puberty rites, is the practice of requiring them to live in a separate young men's camp or club house. Among the Pueblo Indians it was customary, in early historic times, for youths to spend much time in the men's ceremonial rooms, called *kivas*. Banks Island boys sleep in club houses. Similar groups of young bachelors who live in groups separate from their families are common among primitive peoples. Such groups impose their own standards upon their members, and are subject to the special oversight of the older men.

Sometimes long periods of silence are imposed upon novices in connection with the puberal ceremonies of most primitive peoples. Among North American Indians youths formerly went alone into the wilderness, there to fast and dream for days. In the course of such a period of seclusion the prospective warrior had revealed to him, in a vision, the totem animal that was to be his special companion and protector through life, and learned how to compound "medicine," the charm which he will carry all his life as a protection against evil. Australian boys go alone into the bush, and are required to maintain silence for long periods. African lads are required to remain silent and immobile for long periods. Such practices test a boy's obedience and self-control, and render teachings associated with them especially impressive.

Puberty rites—tests. Youths undergoing initiation into full tribal fellowship are required to prove their courage, endurance, skill, and knowledge of tribal lore and customs. As tests of courage, obedience, and hardihood, novices are required to fast for long periods, and to endure fatigue and extreme pain. They are roasted before hot fires, or plunged into ice-cold streams; they are whipped; their teeth are knocked out; they are tattooed, scarified, and subjected to the extremely painful rites of circumcision and subincision.

The boy who fails to undergo such tests as these with stoical fortitude is regarded as unworthy of full tribal membership.

Not only do these tests prove the novice's courage and endurance, but they serve, also, to enforce the group's authority, and to impress upon him the importance of what he is being taught.

Accounts of the customs of primitive peoples abound in examples of methods by which youths undergoing initiation are tortured. Indian boys of Guiana demonstrate their capacity to endure pain by permitting themselves to be sewn up in hammocks with fire ants. Boys of the Masai, an African tribe, are severely beaten. At one stage of the initiation ceremonies of the Arunta, a tribe of central Australian aborigines, burning grass and boughs are thrown upon the novices, and as a culminating stage of initiation they are required to endure extreme heat. The ceremony is described as follows: [7]

> A secluded spot amongst the ranges some two miles away from Alice Springs was selected, and here, while the young men rested by the side of a water-hole in the bed of the Todd, the *Urliara,* who were in charge of them, went to the chosen spot and made a large fire of logs and branches about three yards in diameter. Then the young men, of whom forty were present, were called up, and putting green bushes on the fire, they were made to lie down full length upon the smoking boughs, which prevented them from coming into contact with the red-hot embers beneath. The heat and smoke were stifling, but none of them were allowed to get up until they received the permission of the *Urliara.* After they had all been on once, each one remaining for about four or five minutes on the fire, the old men came to the conclusion that they must repeat the process, and so, making up the fire again, they were once more put on in the midst of dense clouds of smoke, one of the older men lifting up the green boughs at one side with a long pole so as to allow of the access of air and ensure the smouldering of the leaves and green wood. There was no doubt as to the trying nature of the ordeal, as, apart from the smoke, the heat was so great that, after kneeling down on it to see what it was like, we got up as quickly as possible, and of course the natives had no protection in the way of clothes.

Another extremely painful ceremony to which youths being initiated among the Arunta are subjected is that of head-biting. After remaining for a time in the seclusion of the bush, the novice is visited by a group of older men, some of whom are selected for the task of biting the head of the novice until the blood flows freely. While the novice undergoes this ordeal, the men not actively engaged in biting his head sing about the biting, urging the biters to bite deeply. This ceremony is supposed to make the hair grow. In some instances the chin, as well as the scalp, is bitten.[8]

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[7] Spencer, Sir Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *The Arunta,* Vol. I, p. 294. London: Macmillan and Company, 1927.

Novices are tested as respects their knowledge of tribal lore. For example, among the Kaibara, a tribe of central Australia, older men instruct children in tribal laws and customs respecting tribal territory and boundaries, food prohibitions, and marriage. The method used by the Kaibara is of interest: [9]

> The boys stood in one row, the girls in another, and an old man would walk between the rows, asking the boys which girls they would choose for a wife. If a boy selected a partner from the clan into which the tribal laws would not permit him to marry he was abused, but, on the contrary, if he made a choice in accordance with tribal laws he was praised.

Youths and young men are tested, too, as respects their ability to provide food for a family. The stories of primitive peoples abound in accounts of young men who proved their fitness for marriage by their courage, skill, and wit in the chase or on war parties. Boys of the Arunta are required to hunt and to bring game to the older men. Among the Indians of British Guiana youths who aspire to marry are required to demonstrate their ability to hunt, farm, and fish.

Primitive initiations furnish formal training and instruction. Initiation ceremonies introduce into primitive education a formal element which is lacking from the ordinary activities, domestic and tribal, through which the primitive child is principally educated. Their formal character is evident, first, in the fact that they are consciously directed toward a goal, and that goal is a change in the person undergoing initiation which welds him into the life of the group. But the adaptation of an activity to a consciously held purpose is not the only evidence of the formal character of primitive initiations. Their formal character is also evident in the standardization of every phase of the ceremonies. The order of activities, the choice of performers for particular roles, the precise manner in which every part of each ceremonial is carried out, and the explanation given to neophytes of the meanings of ceremonials are fully prescribed by custom and carefully observed.

Professional education. Primitive education is not greatly specialized, and, in view of the undeveloped stage of the institutions, arts, and crafts of the savages, no considerable degree of specialization of social function and so of education is possible. There are, however, among primitive peoples special types of education designed to prepare persons to perform social functions, and which serve as recognized avenues by which persons become members of occupational groups. Among primitive as among civilized peoples practitioners of certain occupations enjoy special privileges and eminence. Among the Konde, a Bantu

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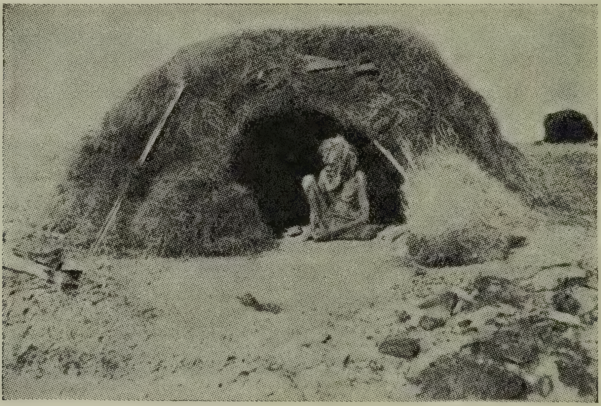
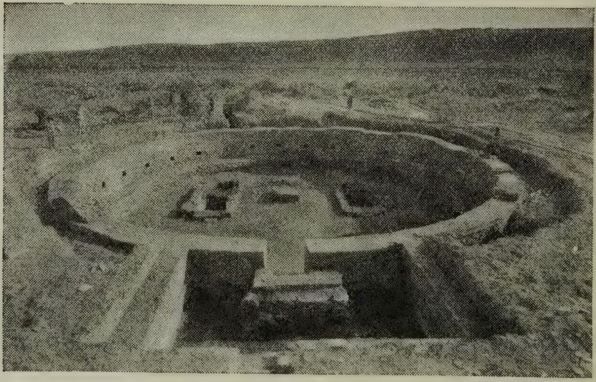
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[9] Hambly, W. D., *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

TWO PICTURES WHICH ILLUSTRATE THE LOWEST AND HIGHEST FORM IN THE BUILDING ARTS OF PRIMITIVE MEN



1. A HUT COVERED WITH PORCUPINE GRASS IN AUSTRALIA.—*From Basedow, H., "The Australian Aboriginal," Preece.*



2. A GREAT SANCTUARY OR KIVA, CHACO CANYON, NEW MEXICO.—*Courtesy, School of American Research.*

people of central Africa, the blacksmith has the place of greatest honor and emolument.[10] Practitioners of medicine are regarded with great respect and are able to exact large fees for their services among all primitive peoples. Priests everywhere form a special professional class, and frequently also practice medicine, law, and teaching. Tattooists are a special guild among some of the islanders of the Pacific. Skilled garment workers among Cheyenne women were formerly organized into a guild.

Membership in such occupational groups is everywhere controlled by the members themselves, who choose, train, and initiate their successors. Persons seeking entrance are usually charged a substantial fee. There are occupational groups to which almost no one save children or other close relatives of members are admitted.

Novices entering upon a profession are charged with the duty of maintaining the standards and performing the duties of the calling they are taking up. Siberian Shamans, for example, are instructed in their duties toward the sick. They are required to be healers, without thought of reward for their services as physicians. They are especially charged to take care of the poor, to go to their help in preference to going to the help of the rich, and they are forbidden to charge any fee for attending the poor in sickness.[11]

Novices of medicine men are taught the *ars medica* by a sort of apprenticeship. They learn to compound the purgatives, emetics, and poisons that have such large places in primitive medicine. They learn the painful and drastic surgery that their teachers practice. They are initiated, too, into the mummery and imposition that make up so large a part of their craft, and especially in the exorcism of the devils that are supposed to be responsible for the illness of the sufferer.

The guild education of primitive professional groups is frequently socially harmful. Much of it consists of activities aimed at entrenching and protecting the occupational group in the enjoyment of special privileges. Medicine men and blacksmiths learn how to impress the general public with the peculiar sanctity of their respective arts, and of the danger of disobeying or opposing them. In this way they attempt to prevent examination and criticism of their practices, and expend their own efforts rather in maintaining their own prestige and in exacting fees from their dupes than in extending and improving knowledge and skill in their arts. In all too many instances professional groups are reactionary and obscurantist.

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[10] Mackenzie, D. R., *The Spirit-Ridden Konde*, p. 148. London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1925.

[11] Czaplicka, M. H., *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 187. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914.

Religion and education among primitive peoples. Primitive man interprets his world in religious terms. Artifacts much resembling objects used in the religious ceremonials of modern culturally retarded peoples are prominent among the remains of prehistoric European cultures; and prehistoric burials afford unmistakable evidence of religious beliefs. Prayer, the making of offerings, and the observance of religious festivals and rituals fill the lives of primitive peoples. The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico observe a great number of festivals, prominent among which are the dances of the Hopi Indians, religious ceremonials by which the gods are supplicated to send rain. The Pawnee formerly observed an intertribal ceremony called the Hako. A Pawnee leader in describing the ceremony said that it was held in the spring, when the birds were mating, or in summer when birds were nesting, or in the fall, when they were flocking; never in winter, when there was least evidence of life. He explained:

> In the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere.[12]

Australian aborigines hold elaborate totemic ceremonials, believing that these observances result in the maintenance of the food supply.

Features of primitive religious ceremonies are dances, processions, songs and chants, display of sacred objects, simple dramas, stories embodying religious ideas and the exposition of tribal beliefs, prayer, and the making of offerings. The tension of long-continued ceremonials is sometimes relieved by light touches deliberately introduced—such as by the clowning of members of a Pueblo village just after a sacred festival.

Religious ceremonials serve to transmit the most cherished beliefs and attitudes of a group, and to attach emotional sanctions to them. Since they afford exercise in singing, dancing, and in the dramatic and decorative arts, they enrich and enliven life, and stimulate the creative imagination. By them primitive man is made to feel that the forces of the world about him are not unfriendly and that he is secure.

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[12] Fletcher, Alice C., "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Music and the dance employed by primitive peoples, both in connection with religious festivals and for recreation, play an exceedingly important role in the amelioration and enrichment of life, and so in developing culture. Music, the dance, drama, and stories are all intimately bound up with each other in primitive culture, and are so important as ameliorating agencies that it is said that the Spaniards were able to impose European civilization to any considerable degree upon only those Indian tribes which had developed their tradition of music to a high level.

Clubs and secret fraternities. Among many primitive peoples clubs and secret fraternities play a considerable part in social and religious matters. Membership in such organizations does not include all persons within the tribe eligible from the standpoint of age and sex, as do the tribal societies of Australian aborigines. Instead they cut sharply across family, clan, and tribal organizations.[13] Entrance to one of these lodges is dependent upon acceptance by the lodge members, the payment of an initiation fee, and initiation.

Some of these organizations are religious in character, such as the Snake fraternity of the Hopi Indians, and the Tobacco order of the Crow Indians. Formerly numerous military societies existed among Plains Indians, the members of which were soldiers and tribal policemen. Other organizations, like the men's clubs of the Banks Islanders, are social in purpose. Among aborigines of the Banks Islands, standing in one's village depends upon standing in the local men's club. Nonmembers are without standing, and prestige increases as a member advances to the higher degrees. Since membership in the clubs is expensive, and membership in the higher degrees is excessively expensive, standing in the community is made to depend principally upon wealth. Each of the "Ghost" societies of the Banks Islanders seems to exist principally for the mutual protection of its own members—a purpose which frequently degenerates into extortion and terrorism. Charges of tyranny and extortion are made quite freely against the secret fraternities of the South Pacific and of Africa.

Clubs and secret lodges are of considerable interest to the student of primitive education. Some of them inculcate lessons—the military fraternities of the Plains Indians cultivate military virtues and maintain the warlike spirit of their members and of tribesmen generally. Many of these organizations impose their discipline upon their own members and upon noninitiates. By their dramatic performances, stories, and dances they transmit myths, legends, and ideals. Their ceremonials, dances, and feasts have great recreational value.

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[13] Hambly, W. D., *Op. cit.*, pp. 148–150.

Unfortunately the positive services of secret lodges to education are offset by the great deal of harm that they do. They are, on the whole, disruptive of tribal unity and morally destructive. Professor Hambly writes: [14]

> These private lodges act as a disciplinary power and may restrain evil-doers. But in most instances the function is anti-social, as the society terrorizes for the purpose of extracting illicit payment, especially from non-members.

In all cases it is a purpose of these organizations to confer exceptional status and advantages upon their initiates. As such status and advantage bear no particular relation to any worth of the initiate to the larger social unit of which he is a member, the societies, in the main, work against the public interest.

Public control of conduct. Even among the most loosely organized social units there exists a sense of group solidarity and of group interests. This feeling reflects itself in the various attitudes the group takes toward the conduct of its own members and of members of other groups. An act which harms a fellow tribesman is viewed in a very different light from a similar act which results in harm to a stranger. If an act results in an injury to an individual with no direct harm to the group, the group is not likely to interest itself in it; but if it seems probable that the injury will lead to a dangerous feud, the group takes a hand to regulate and limit the quarrel. If a course of action threatens the group, the group intervenes to check it and to avert evil consequences. The Plains Indian who in the course of a tribal hunt frightened the buffalo was subject to immediate punishment at the hands of the tribal police. Spencer and Gillen thus describe the measures taken by tribal elders among Australian aborigines to discipline a boy who had broken a tribal law:

> On another evening we saw a big fire lighted in the main camp. A number of men were standing round it all jabbering at the top of their voices, and, above all the noise we could hear the piercing yells of a

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[14] Hambly, W. D., *Op. cit.*, p. 148. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, "Secret Societies," Vol. 20, p. 261.

boy. It turned out that they were giving the latter a fright, and that all this was what they call "monkey yabber." The old men did not mean to do anything serious and were only pretending . . . to be in earnest. The boy had done something that was against tribal law, so one or two of the older men talked the matter over and decided to give him a lesson. Accordingly they caught the culprit and took him to a fire, saying that they were going to roast him. The boy had no idea that they were not thoroughly in earnest, and judging from his yells when held near the fire he bitterly regretted his misdeeds. After giving him a fright they set to work, and for half an hour lectured him on tribal law in general and the particular one he had broken in great detail. When they were tired and he was thoroughly repentant they let him go, and it is very unlikely that he will repeat the offence.[15]

Secret societies, also, set themselves up as regulators of the public conscience, and intimidated their victims by their processions, dances, howlings, and by inflicting injury upon their victims or damaging their property. The following punishments have been inflicted upon thieves by primitive peoples: they were fined, beaten, burned in the hand, required to make restitution with the addition of a large amount for damages, mutilated, and put to death. Homicide is punished in various ways, ranging from the payment of blood money to the infliction of the death penalty. The infliction of punishment has its effect upon all the members of a group in which it takes place. Children who witness the agitation of their elders as a trial for murder approaches, and who witness the trial and death of a homicide, receive an unforgettable lesson in group standards.

There is a lighter side to the public control of conduct among primitive peoples. The Plains Indians stimulate courage among their youths and young men by dances in which the triumphs of successful warriors are celebrated. Social qualities are developed among the Ekoi, a West African tribe, by public evidence of approbation or of disapprobation. Among the Crow and Hidatsa, Plains Indians, are groups each of which is made up of individuals whose fathers are members of the same subdivision of the tribe. Members of each of these groups are privileged to play tricks upon their fellow-members, or to hold them up to ridicule, without provoking resentment.

The education of women and girls. Woman's place in primitive cultures is intimately connected with the nature in each culture of the most fundamental and only universal social unit—the family. Her activities and status vary with the economic life of different groups. Her status is, in general, higher among agricultural peoples than among herdsmen. In the main, women work more constantly than do men, and the more dangerous and strenuous occupations fall to the lot of males. The gathering of fruits, vegetables, cereals, nuts, and small animals is everywhere a woman's occupation. Men hunt only the larger and more dangerous animals, and go to war. The care of very young children falls to women. There are, however, instances of specialization for which no reason can be assigned save that the custom of allotting tasks has grown up among a people. Among the Hopi, men spin and weave; these are women's tasks among the Navajo. Pottery-making is a woman's occupation among peoples who use only the hand in this art; it is a man's occupation where the wheel is used.

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[15] Spencer, Sir Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *Across Australia*, Vol. II, p. 383. London: Macmillan and Company, 1912.

It is not surprising that among peoples whose security depends very largely upon physical strength and courage, men's occupations are for the most part held in higher esteem than those of the women. Furthermore, the occupations of men call for cooperation to a greater degree than do those of women. There are groups, however, in which women are admitted to highly privileged status. Wives and daughters of chiefs in Papua are indulged, and some of them exercise great power. Among some groups girls are dedicated to special service in religion, and are accorded profound respect. Women are tattooists and midwives, and as such hold important places in society.

The types of activities by which girls and women are educated are quite similar to those by which their brothers are prepared for adult status. They play, work, generally share adult life, and, at adolescence, undergo puberal rites, initiation, and instruction.

The growth of knowledge and the arts. Although anthropologists do not agree as respects the precise roles played by diffusion and invention respectively in the growth of primitive cultures, it is certain that cultures do grow, and by both of these means. Invention is stimulated, moreover, by the migration of cultural traits. The Plains Indians used the *travois* long before the coming of the Spaniards. With the development of the horse culture among them the travois was modified and used with the new beast of burden.

The cultural achievements of primitive peoples are enormous.

They, and not civilized man, domesticated all of the important work and food animals, and the principal cereals, vegetables, and fruits. They invented weapons, utensils, and tools in great variety, in the manufacture of which they developed fine skill and artistry. They understood the use of a great variety of medicinal plants. Some primitive peoples were no mean builders. They produced orators and story-tellers of a high order of genius.

New ideas and techniques are acquired among primitive peoples in a great variety of ways. Accident, no doubt, contributed to discovery and invention among them. The drawings of prehistoric men and of the modern bushmen of South Africa furnish conclusive proof that primitive man is an attentive, accurate, and intelligent observer. There can be no doubt that he has built up his vast store of knowledge of man, plants, animals, and of meteorological phenomena—of nature in general—by sustained and careful observation. Cultural changes take place, too, when cultures meet. Not only does one culture borrow from another; any people that borrows ideas or ways of acting from another people affects the pattern of its own behavior. Discoveries frequently have arisen, moreover, as primitive artisans have undertaken to apply a technique developed in the working of one material to the working of some hitherto unfamiliar material.

The technique by which stories are modified in the telling has been noted by scientific observers. Among Australian aborigines ideas remembered from dreams are embodied in ritual observances. Among many primitive peoples the invention of trance states, of ecstasy, and of frenzy are regarded as having special value and significance, and find places in tribal lore and practice.

In the past it was usual to explain the cultural differences between civilized and primitive peoples by saying that the latter are dull, lethargic, and stupid. Of late this complacent and too-easy explanation has been abandoned. Observers of the Australian aborigines have noted that

> Their mental powers are simply developed along the lines which are of service to them in their daily life.[16]

Levy-Bruhl traces much of the difference between civilized and primitive men to the latter's incurable tendency to refer every happening to some invisible, mysterious influence.[17] All things, in his view, have mystic properties. This approach, of course, affects his attempts to control and understand his environment.

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[16] Spencer, Sir Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 30. London: Macmillan and Company, 1904.

Kayan Youths Being Taught to Fight with Shield and Spear.—*From Hose C. and McDougall, W., "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," Macmillan.*

Pottery, a Basket, and Stone Utensils from the Ruins of Ancient Cliff Dwellings, Mesa Verde, National Park.—*Courtesy, School of American Research.*

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[17] Levy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (Lilian A. Clare, Trans.), p. 97. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1923.

So long as his efforts to understand and deal with nature are dominated by this prescientific attitude, his understanding and control are strictly limited. Moreover, primitive man is limited in his dealings with natural phenomena and in social organization by his lack of crucial techniques and processes. Once a group acquires a crucial technique, whether by development by its own members or by learning from some other group, its life is transformed. The development of the use of fire, of printing, and of steam as a source of power are such revolutionary techniques.

It may be said, then, that primitive man has built up great bodies of knowledge and of skills. His fixed and more-or-less prelogical attitudes and his lack of crucial techniques have, however, strictly limited his attainments. It will be a part of the task of this book to show how the progress of the scientific attitude and of technologies has gradually transformed human life and education.

Language and the language arts. Among culturally retarded peoples, as in literate societies, languages are central and fundamental aspects of culture. Lacking true writing, primitive peoples are especially dependent upon speech in organizing, refining, preserving, and communicating ideas. While this imposes a limit upon the development of thought and language, and while primitive languages are of various degrees of richness and complexity, it may be said that in general the languages of primitive peoples are adequate mediums of communication and expression for works of the imagination.

The language arts flourish among the culturally retarded peoples. Bards, orators, and story-tellers are prominent figures in tribal and domestic life. The art of conversation is cultivated, and with due regard to polite usage.

In addition to speech primitive peoples employ sign language and use drums in communicating at a distance. For purposes of record and communication as well as for their artistic values, they make simple drawings, called pictographs. Picture writings become conventionalized—among Australian savages a coiled line may represent a serpent, a perpendicular line a person standing. As men learned to assign phonetic instead of representative values to outline drawings, hieroglyphics developed. Later simple hieroglyphics were given sound values, and alphabets resulted.[18]

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[18] De Morgan, Jacques, *Prehistoric Man*, pp. 258–268. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Primitive peoples have developed a great variety of mnemonic devices. A German missionary tells a story of an African native who was able to recall an entire sermon, idea by idea, by "reading" the notches he had made with his knife in a stick as he listened to the discourse.[19] The Iroquois use tally sticks and wampum as aids to memory. Among ancient Peruvian Indians colored knotted strings were used as aids to memory. Both color and position of the knots possessed significance.[20] The ground-drawings and drawings on flat pieces of stone and wood, called *churinga,* made and interpreted by Australian aborigines, seem to be intermediate between conventionalized drawings and mnemonic devices. Tasmanians preserved painted pebbles, said to have had representative significance. Pebbles painted like those of the Tasmanians have been found in Asilian remains. Many such stones have been found also in the deep cave deposits of the lower Pecos and the Great Bend region of Texas.[21]

Limited as these records are, they still extend the range of primitive man's contacts, affording him a link with the past and future as well as with contemporaries with whom he is not in face-to-face communication. Using these devices he has gradually refined and fixed his abstract concepts, enlarged his intellectual horizon, and enriched his thinking.

Among primitive peoples the language arts are taught as they are taught in their elementary phases among literate peoples. "The Indian child learns his language as other children learn theirs, lisping his words and confusing the grammatic structure at first." [22] Primitive parents teach single words by constant repetition, making a sort of game of learning; and the child's own restless activity results in the development of language habits. Once a child learns to walk and to understand simple sentences, his language training enters upon a new phase. His parents and other elders regularly talk with him, calling his attention to birds, fishes, animals, plants, and an endless succession of features of landscape, stream, lake, and sky. They talk with him as he is taught the use of weapons and implements.

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[19] Levy-Bruhl, Lucien, *Primitive Mentality*, p. 25. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1923.

[20] Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, pp. 292–293, 409. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

[21] Pearce, J. E., and Jackson, A. T., "A Prehistoric Rock Shelter of Val Verde County," *University of Texas Anthropology Papers, No. 3*, pp. 79-87.

[22] Mooney, James, "Child Life," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30*, Vol. I (*Handbook of the American Indian.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.)

Such activities expand the child's vocabulary and store of ideas rapidly.

Language instruction among primitive peoples is given also in connection with story-telling, singing, and oratory. Charles A. Eastman tells in intimate fashion of the training of an Indian boy in story-telling. He writes:

> Very early, the Indian boy assumed the task of preserving the legends of his ancestors and his race. Almost every evening a myth, or a true story of some deed done in the past, was narrated by one of the parents or grandparents, while the boy listened with parted lips and glistening eyes. On the following evening he was usually required to repeat it. . . . The household became his audience, by which he was alternately criticised and applauded.[23]

It is easy to see how such training as this serves to stimulate a child's imagination and ambition, discipline his habits of thought and speech, and enlarge his stock of words, images, and concepts.

Among primitive peoples poetry is almost invariably sung or chanted, not recited. Lullabies are sung to children, and songs are important parts of religious ceremonies and communal entertainments. Children, therefore, learn them very much as they do other aspects of culture—by *imitation,* stimulated and guided by their elders.

Oratory plays a great part in the conduct of tribal affairs and in contacts with groups outside of the tribe. Civilized observers have frequently been impressed with the poise and eloquence of primitive orators. Major J. W. Powell, speaking of the place of oratory in the education of the American Indian, says: [24]

> In tribal society an important agency of instruction is found in oratory.

Again

> When a mere boy the Indian lad would be permitted to sit in the village council house, and hear the assembled wisdom of the village or his tribe discuss the affairs of state. . . . In this way he acquired maturity of thought, and was taught the traditions of his people, and the course of conduct calculated to win him the praise of his fellows.

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[23] Eastman, Charles A., *Indian Boyhood,* p. 51. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1921.

[24] Powell, J. W., *Twentieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* p. cxcv, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903.

As respects the place of story-telling in primitive education L. M. Turner writes as follows: [25]

> During the long winter nights or during the periods of cold or inclement weather in which Indians may not venture out, they sit around the fire and relate stories intended for the instruction as well as the entertainment of the younger people. The older men have a great stock of these stories, and many of the women are noted for their ability in entertaining children, who sit with staring eyes and open mouths, in the arms of their parents or elders.

Various students of Indian life have pointed out that stories are frequently the means by which elders impress upon children the "why" of moral conduct.[26]

What may be learned from the study of primitive education? Primitive education affords the student some idea of what the beginnings of educational practices and institutions in western Europe must have been like. Certainly, political states developed on the basis of tribal groups. Arts, ritual, and custom engendered the beginnings of philosophy and of science. And, in every age, educational practices and institutions were conditioned by the culture of which they were constituents.

Egyptian civilization—the earliest civilization examined in this book—retained much of the nonlogical character of the prehistoric cultures out of which it emerged. Writing, building, painting and other arts, which the Egyptians carried to a very high level, had a continuous development from rudimentary, primitive arts. Even the Greeks, who attained to clear self-consciousness and rational direction of life to a degree seldom approached in the history of civilization, developed their remarkable political institutions out of tribal organization. The historic cultures which we shall study, therefore, were just emerging from the rudimentary, primitive stage at the earliest age at which we have records of them. Their histories reveal, at this stage, striking similarities between their institutions and those of primitive man. But their primitive stages had been passed long before their records begin; and, in the absence of written records we can know their cultures directly only through scattered artifacts, paintings, ruins of their homes, and similar remains. Light can be thrown upon the meaning of these remains, however, by study of the practices of contemporary primitive peoples. So combining evidence, we are able to construct a picture of the rudimentary patterns of culture out of which civilization emerged—a picture which affords insight into the course which the development of culture has taken.

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[25] Turner, L. M., "Ethnology of the Ungava District," *Eleventh Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology, 1889–1890.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1890.

[26] Todd, A. J., *Op. cit.*, p. 187; Lummis, C. F., *The Man Who Married the Moon*, p. 5.

Primitive education affords us something more than a picture of what the rudimentary educational institutions and practices of our prehistoric ancestors must have been and a consequent genetic approach to the study of education. By comparing contemporary primitive education with education as found among literate and scientific cultures, the features of our own educational institutions and practices are thrown into bold relief. Great principles emerge. The more important of these principles are as follows:

(1) The logical sciences are essential to civilization. Cultures from which mathematics, literature, and other liberal arts and sciences are absent must remain at a low level of development. Freedom, emancipation from superstition, and a wide range of thought and action are possible only to peoples who are literate and employ mathematics.

(2) In sharp contrast with the principle just stated, is the fact, amply illustrated by primitive life, that ritual, custom, play, and the fine and practical arts are civilizing and educative forces of enormous importance. Modern students of primitive peoples are impressed with the extent to which social unity and amelioration, individual development, adjustment to the material environment, and sheer joy of living have been attained among many of them. This has been done through music, the dance, drama, story-telling, the handicrafts, and respect for custom.

(3) The importance of incidental instruction and of learning through ordinary life situations where there is no intent to teach is another lesson impressed by primitive life. The phrase "education is life" takes on meaning as the close connection between the fine and practical arts and the place of both in education and in culture are studied among primitive peoples.

(4) It is highly significant that no culture lacks the family. It is the one social institution that is found everywhere, and that plays a fundamental role in the education of every culture.

(5) It is important to notice how intimately related the form of education is to the form of social organization. Any body

of educational practice is a corollary of a culture and is conditioned by the culture to which it belongs—and form of social organization is an essential feature of every culture. Educational systems change as changes take place in what Aristotle calls "the constitution of the state."

(6) A significant principle is the close relation of social classes to education. Even among the most retarded peoples, members fall into sex and age groups, and natural leaders emerge. As the arts develop, occupational groups emerge. As the level of civilization is approached, classes based on the possession of property and on birth begin to appear.

(7) Finally, it is of interest that tribal genealogies, stories of the exploits of heroes, and religious myths are a rudimentary form of history. They represent an attempt to formulate a statement of the central aspects of tribal culture, to create a tribal tradition, and so to furnish an intellectual basis for tribal customs and attitudes. There is quite as much difference between these rudimentary forms of history and modern scientific history as there is between the economic activities of savages and our own; but these aspects of primitive life bring home to us the fact that history is a permanent and fundamental part of human culture. It is as necessary to *civilization* as are economic activities.

Our study of primitive education should have equipped us with some understanding of the rudimentary educational institutions which were before history and of certain principles. We now turn to study of the Egyptians—to the beginnings of western civilization and of history.

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2

Egyptian Culture and Education

Purpose and limitations of this chapter. The first chapter discussed the beginning of education in order to show its original and simplest form. The object of this chapter is to describe the nature of education on the next level—that is, as it existed in the first large civilizations of ancient times. At this second level education could be studied as it flourished in ancient Egypt, China, India, Assyria, and Persia. Any attempt to treat the history of education in such a comprehensive scope would call for a special chapter on each of these five remarkable civilizations. The purpose, however, of this study is merely to focus attention upon the main characteristics of the educational process at this second level, which lies intermediate between the primitive and the classical era. For this purpose Egyptian education alone has been chosen for special elaboration.

I. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

The preëminence of Egyptian culture. The process of culture and education in Egypt merits detailed treatment for three outstanding reasons. First, it had precedence in point of time. Recent archeological investigations have made clear that the earliest significant developments of human life and institutions began in Egypt about six thousand years ago. The striking fact is that in the secluded valley of the Nile there emerged for the first time in history those exalted values that have lifted humanity to its higher moral and spiritual level. Here, out of the increasing complexity of human experience, arose the first ideas of righteousness, truth, justice, moral distinctions of right and wrong, the idea of character, the operation of conscience, and the conception of one God. From Egypt these ideas were carried to the other centers of growing culture, to Asia first and to Europe later.

Second, there is the wonderful fact that the pictures, sculptures, writings, buildings, and tombs preserved in great abundance in Egypt unfold a vivid drama of early human developments during a period of three thousand years. No other remote civilization has been so fully and splendidly depicted for us. It seems as though Providence had made special provision that this period of human development in Egypt should be faithfully and picturesquely preserved for modern vision.

There is a still stronger reason why we should center attention upon Egypt: for it became the birthplace of a great many things that make our own civilization what it is today. Through the Jews, and later the Greeks, Egyptian ideas were transmitted to the Western world. It is, therefore, quite impossible to get a clear understanding of our industrial and spiritual background without a knowledge of Egyptian culture.

A. *Growth of the Arts and Crafts*

The evolution of practical activities. Following the age when primitive men lived in small tribes and wrested a precarious and scanty subsistence by fishing, hunting, and picking fruits in their season, thousands of generations slowly passed. Countless little steps of progress were taken, but so slowly that they were well-nigh imperceptible; this gave rise to the notion that early society was static. Yet in the aggregate these developments brought about a mighty transformation, the emergence of the first civilization.

During these thousands of years, the conquest of external nature was slowly taking place. First came the domestication of animals and the practice of agriculture, and the adoption of a settled abode. These developments called forth the elaboration of the arts and crafts. The busy minds and hands of men cultivated skill in fashioning innumerable articles. The construction of houses, the making of furniture, the elaborating of dress and of ornaments, for the home or person, the invention of numerous weapons of war, the devising of boats and chariots, the weaving of linen and wool for clothing and tapestries, the molding of potteries and glassware, and the making of many articles from the papyrus shrub are but a few of the activities of these centuries. One of the events of greatest moment to human progress was the discovery of copper about 4000 B.C. This discovery ended the stone age and ushered in the age of metal. Tools, weapons, and other metal instruments soon became the common possession. At a much later date, probably about 1300 B.C., the Hittites learned how to make iron, and this produced a revolution in the use of metals. Soon these various arts found their way to all the great peoples.

This evolution of human activities necessitated the functioning of man's reason and was accompanied by the reconditioning of his emotions. Thus man gradually constructed an artificial environment and at the same time built up his inner spiritual being. The enriching of his relations with his fellows made him even more fully conscious of himself and of the kind of behavior that brought the favor or disfavor of others. The evolution of practical activities and of institutional relations directly affected education. From age to age the increasing skill in the practice of the arts and the continued growth of knowledge and social adjustments increased the necessity for better education. Moreover, these very activities furnished the materials for such advanced training.

Tribal unification, the first step in civilization. Primitive mankind was tribal and nomadic, each group roaming over a considerable territory in search of food. In so far as the tribes came into contact, constant feuds and wars were the result. The number of people in any tribal unit was comparatively small; a few hundreds, or, perchance, thousands. In direct opposition to this primitive social condition were the great civilizations composed of millions. Ancient Egypt, at its grandest age, had a population of six to eight million people, and far greater possibly were the numbers in China and in India living together under unified governments. Such aggregations represented the result of thousands of years of ripening human relations.

It needs to be noted especially that these large aggregations of human beings first grew up in the fertile valleys of great rivers such as the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Ganges, and the rivers of China. These valleys in the subtropical belt most readily furnished the resources necessary for the existence of men in large numbers. The rivers furnished water to drink, fish and fowl to eat, and the easiest form of transportation. The rich, moist soil was suitable for agriculture. Herein lies the real secret of the first merging of scattered tribes into large states with settled governments. It was the development of agriculture more than any other single circumstance that brought about the growth and unification of population in these river valleys. The unity of the terrain was also a strong factor in causing the people to overcome tribal animosities and divisions. The abundance of food as well as its constancy of supply offered an incentive to savage tribes to accept the ways and restraints of civilization. More and more the scattered groups came under central control by powerful military governments.

In four important lines Egyptian craftsmanship attained great superiority: in building, in the control of irrigation, in embalming, and in the means of writing.

1. *Building.* Historians expatiate on the incomparable structures of ancient Egypt. Archeologists are able to trace the evolution of the construction of tombs from the shallow hole scooped out of the sand and walled with the crudest stone masonry to the colossal Pyramid of Gizeh. It is almost incredible that this remarkable advance took place within a century and a half.

The pyramids are by far the most stupendous piles of human workmanship. The Great Pyramid of Gizeh was built about 2900 B.C., as a tomb for the Pharaoh. It covers over 13 acres, and to build it required the toil of 100,000 laborers, not to mention other workers, for more than twenty years. Over 2,000,000 blocks of sandstone, averaging more than 2½ tons each, were used in constructing it; some of these stones were 27 feet long by 5 feet thick, and weighed 54 tons. These were lifted more than 200 feet from the ground to their positions in the structure. The total height of the Great Pyramid is close to 500 feet. The precision of the stonecutters was such that these huge blocks were fitted into place with joints of a thousandth of an inch.

The blocks used in some of the pyramids, and the still greater ones comprising the obelisks, were transported with remarkable skill by land and water from over 700 miles up the Nile. The tallest obelisk, quarried about 1500 B.C., was 105 feet high, measured 10 feet at the base, and weighed around 430 tons. Colossal statues weighing from 800 to 1000 tons were successfully transported for 150 miles.

In the art of building, the Egyptians were the first masters of remote antiquity. Their pyramids and obelisks still remain objects of astonishment and admiration for every generation.

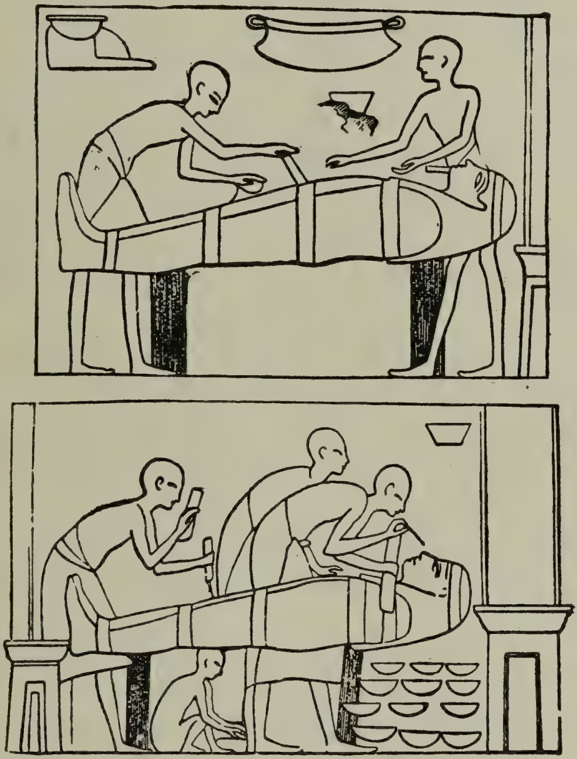
The temples are in ruins, but their magnificence testifies of the vaulting imagination, the keen sense of beauty, and highly developed skill in designing and in executing. It was their religious interest that stimulated Egyptian ideas of beauty and inspired the massiveness of their structures. Their ability to combine dignity, simplicity, and grandeur has never been equaled.

2. *Irrigation.* The annual overflow of the Nile has always been the fact of supreme significance in the life of Egypt. To utilize this fortunate factor to the greatest advantage required not only the exercise of indefatigable industry but a high degree of ingenuity. It involved the building of canals, dikes, sluices, roads, and bridges; the measuring of the amount of water; and the careful calculation of the calendar, for sluices had to be opened just at the right time. The necessary land surveys, geometric measurements, and elaboration of the means of defense against enemies called forth energy and intellectual activity to a degree not found elsewhere.

PYRAMIDS AND SPHINX.—*From "The New International Encyclopaedia," Dodd, Mead.*

3. *Embalming.* Embalming was an art peculiarly Egyptian. Only the scholar interested in Egyptian religion, society, and science can fully appreciate the important role this art played in the cultural evolution of this people. An authority has estimated that between the year 2000 B.C. and A.D. 700 no less than 420,000,000 bodies were embalmed in accordance with Egyptian practices, an average of 155,000 per year. It must have required at all times a large number of individuals to do

the embalming, to manufacture coffins, and to build and decorate the tombs. Numerous scribes were also necessary to copy the writings that were placed in and on the coffin. Furthermore, there were the priests who were employed on endowments to continue indefinitely the ceremonies for the departed. A large body of the living was needed to take care of the dead.



Embalming.

4. *Growth of art.* In the realm of the fine arts also the Egyptians surpassed other peoples of their era. This is true in many lines: architecture, sculpture, painting, textiles, music, pottery, furniture, and in the use of metals such as gold, silver, copper, iron, and bronze. A high degree of aesthetic appreciation entered into everything they made. It must be added, however, that their actual creativity was limited and their skill which, even at its peak, was never free and universal, was

lost in later ages. Egyptian artisans were always shackled by certain conventionalities of design that destroyed full freedom of expression. For this reason all the products of their art are marked with peculiarities that detract from our full admiration and enjoyment of them.

B. *Evolution of Ethical Life and Institutions*

The evolution of human relationships. It is universally recognized that man was naturally a gregarious creature. It is not fully understood, however, that behavior in the more complex human relationships was itself subject to evolution. How to act appropriately toward other humans was an art gradually acquired through imitation of the conduct of others, and by direct training. Furthermore, our primary social institutions were not natural gifts to man, but were gradually developed as humans slowly mastered the art of living in larger and larger groups.

Concurrently with his productive activities, man was creating the basic institutions that express his relations to his fellows, such as family life, the priesthood, the state, industrial organizations, and commerce. Civilization may be defined as the art of living together by means of organized activities. Through these social relations man extended his command of language, built up his productive skill, created traditions and myths, devised pictorial symbols and signs to represent his unfolding thoughts and activities, and gave expression to poetry, music and the dance.

In primitive society conduct was necessarily highly uniform under all circumstances, and there was much of mass action. *Esprit de corps,* that is, a common spirit, was the chief bond in primitive society; individuality was impossible.

When various tribes began to dwell together in large aggregations, human relationships grew in complexity and deepened in significance. The period of fifteen centuries from 4000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. was a unique stage in human culture, for it represented the earliest development of human relationships on a high level. Dr. James H. Breasted, foremost American Egyptologist, described it in this manner,

> The Nile Valley is for us therefore the earliest social arena where we may observe man victoriously emerging from an age-long *struggle with nature,* and entering this new arena of social forces, to begin the baffling *strug-*

> *gle of mankind with himself*—a struggle which has hardly passed its beginning at the present day. . . . There was an age, however, when the transition from barbarism to civilization, with all its impressive outward manifestations in art and architecture, had to be made *for the first time.* The significance of the appearance of civilization along the Nile does not lie in the splendor of its buildings alone, but in the fact that as a continuous and uninterrupted social evolution steadily moving on for over a thousand years *it was rising for the first time on our globe,* and furnishing the first demonstration that the highest vertebrate creature which had appeared on earth could thus rise from savagery to social idealism.[1]

The development of the higher human relationship brought about the institutions through which man expresses his social life. What these institutions were and how they evolved are of prime importance for the student of education.

1. *Family life and functions.* Among primitive people the family was a very simple institution performing only the least of its functions, child-bearing and nurture, shelter, and protection. The helplessness of the human infant and its prolonged period of dependence had profound effects in strengthening the marriage tie and in toning down man's savage nature. It was in the family relation that the deeper feelings of social relationship first emerged. It was in this relation that the moral sentiments appeared and began to yield the nobler fruits of human personality.

By the time of the great historical civilizations, the family had already evolved as the basic unit of society. It had become a distinct and separate institution, and it persisted as a distinct organism because of the functions it performed. As an institution the family had come to possess rights, and to owe duties. Discussing the evolution of family life, Dr. Breasted wrote,

> These tomb reliefs of the Memphite cemetery, representing roughly half a millennium, from nearly 3000 B. C. to about 2500 B. C., or after, form the first graphic revelation of family life which has survived to us from the ancient world. Their significance has heretofore been considered to be chiefly as monuments of art, and sources for our knowledge of agriculture, of pastoral, industrial, and, to some extent, of social life. It is, however, obvious that the delightfully amiable family relations disclosed by these tomb reliefs are a revelation of fundamental value in the *history of morals,* for . . . they furnish us with conclusive historical evidence that moral discernment had its roots in the life of the family.[2]

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[1] Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience,* pp. 11–12. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

[2] Breasted, James H., *Op. cit.,* pp. 120–121.

> The family first and the rest as the obvious fruit of family relationships. In the wisdom of Ptah-hotep, therefore, we find full confirmation of the evidence from the tomb inscriptions and relief pictures that it was the family life which first made man conscious of moral responsibilities. . . . Here began also reflective contemplation of human nature: the wise man and the fool were contrasted, traits, good and bad, were balanced against each other, and a world of new values was emerging. In such an age the consciousness of personality was born, and human society became an arena consciously new, where new forces and new weapons clashed. It was in this age of the earliest recognition of character that the first individuals emerged, rising above the nameless masses submerged in the immemorial ages of the remoter past.[3]

In the early civilizations family life had already replaced the tribe as the chief agency for the practice of religion and for the training of children. Ancestor worship was already an important phenomenon. On the vocational side it became the universal custom for the trades or arts to be handed down from father to son. How tenacious this tendency of social heredity became will be discussed in a later section on vocational and professional education. Still another basic aspect of the family as an institution was fully evolved by this time—the inheritance of private property.

It is a fact worthy of note that no civilization has risen to permanent greatness without strong emphasis upon family life and training. In the cultivating of the social instincts, the family has always performed a function that apparently is indispensable in fitting the young for civilization. Though it must be recognized that the tribe was the original social institution, the home has always been the most important agency for socialization and education.

2. *Development of society.* Primitive society had been a homogeneous unity in which to a large extent communistic equality existed. In general one man was as good as another. In the entire group uniformity and *esprit de corps* were exalted, while individuality was suppressed. By the time of the earliest civilizations primitive social equality and uniformity had already vanished. Society was sharply divided into distinct classes or castes. Mass action less rarely appeared. There was still some sense of social unity, some *esprit de corps,* but it had changed in character. The common feeling of social unity now found expression in family life, in class consciousness, in the worship of a

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[3] Breasted, James H., *Op. cit.*, pp. 139–140.

particular deity, and in special organizations. Real *esprit de corps* was impossible for the large bodies of people.

The history of Egypt exhibits in a remarkable manner the evolution of the higher social, industrial, moral, and religious life of early mankind. The literature from the first pyramid inscriptions onward covers a period of at least 3000 years. While the earliest processes of civilization are not all clear, the forming of the basic institutions, the family, social classes, government, religion, and industrial organization, is readily seen. Thousands of years of living in human relationships had led the more discerning minds to reflect upon the nature of such relationships and upon the kind of conduct most suitable for successful and happy living. A sense of moral responsibility emerged and gradually assumed power over conduct, and, in consequence, the distinctions between right and wrong, good and bad, the approved and the disapproved, became recognized. Human conscience appeared, and the evolution of natural morality under the conditions existing among masses of people became clearly apparent.

The genius of the Egyptians for differentiation of functions found its chief expression in a vast bureaucratic system of government and in a division of industrial activities. This remarkable flair for order in common affairs and especially in their colossal undertakings assisted in the evolution of the conception that the rule of righteousness and justice extends over all men. Finally, the idea of an ordered moral universe came to be associated with the conceptions of God and led to the idea of monotheism.

The evolution of Egyptian society from primitive uniformity into a vast bureaucratic organization reached its highest perfection in the period from 3000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. Changes then began to take place: gradually there arose, as new social phenomena, the decentralization of power, an increase in individualism, a degeneration of moral action, increased reflection on moral ideas, and an interest in the moral conditions of society as a whole.

The classes of Egyptian society. For a long time modern scholars generally believed that Egyptian society was a caste system. This view is no longer held, for recent researches that have greatly expanded our knowledge of Egyptian society have completely discredited the older view. In a caste society birth determines one's social status. In ancient Egypt, however, it was possible for a youth of superior talents to rise to a station higher than his father occupied; in fact, there was scarcely any limit. Nevertheless, the separation of the classes was quite distinctly marked. Three classes existed: the ruling class or land holders, the freemen, and the slaves. Speaking of the ruling class Diodorus informs us that the land was divided into three portions, one of which belonged to the Pharaoh, another to the priests, and the third to the military group. These three groups either leased their lands to the peasants or had them cultivated by slaves. The second and largest class comprised the free people who were engaged in various crafts. To it belonged the numerous herdsmen, the husbandmen, and artisans. The third class contained a large body of slaves who engaged in labor and personal service.

The upper classes were well educated. The priests were most influential because of their superior knowledge and because all others were dependent upon them for the highest learning. They sought a reputation for knowledge and piety, and practiced humility and self-denial. In general the priests were noted for their simplicity, cleanliness, and temperance in the use of food and drink.

3. *Government.* Government in primitive society was in the hands of the tribal elders, priests, and medicine men. In the ancient civilizations, it had been transferred to the oriental despots and the priesthood. Some time before 4000 B.C., the lord of Heliopolis subdued the other principalities of Egypt and formed the first large organization of men under a unitary government.

The thousand years from 3500 B.C. to 2500 B.C. was the first uninterrupted period of civilization, the first time there existed a steady evolution in a unified nation in whose civil life millions of people participated. The Nile valley was peculiarly favorable for such a unification and evolution. There an unusual concentration of wealth and effort produced the amazing variety of products found in the many-sided civilization of ancient Egypt. The control of the annual inundation, which demanded cooperation and system, challenged the people's ingenuity and accustomed them to constant toil. Only an organized and autocratic government could have secured and directed the cooperation of the large bodies of men needed to carry out the colossal projects of the Pharaohs.

> The earliest knowledge we have of the conditions of life in Egypt shows us a strict administration of political and agrarian relations; a state in which the individual was of little account, but in which much help was

given by the government in the establishment of works for the public good, and in the superintendence of practical details.[4]

Thus it came about that in Egypt, where conditions required it, there arose the first extensive bureaucratic government controlling a population that is said to have reached seven million souls.

The central government built and exercised control over the embankments, canals, sluices and lakes, and rationed the annual overflow of the Nile. Through a system of leasing, it farmed a large portion of the fertile land. It directed, likewise, most of the production and exchange of products, especially the work of the carpenters, potters, smiths, cabinet-makers, and other artificers. It also controlled foreign commerce. Vast public improvements, such as the building of temples, pyramids and other public works, were carried on under government control. Under the bureaucracy each special function constituted a government office. However, an individual was not limited to a single office but was allowed to hold many: one high dignitary held as many as forty offices at the same time. Intrigue was unceasingly active, and much diplomacy and even political machinations were essential to make things run smoothly. All citizens were required to be registered.

Theoretically, the Pharaoh exercised absolute power. As a matter of fact, his authority was strictly limited by the priestly class, the powerful nobles, and also by certain written laws, which he was obliged to observe; he was by no means free to follow his own caprice. In general the ruler lived simply though he was usually regarded as a deity; even his food was regulated by physicians. The country was divided into *nomes* governed by hereditary princes who imitated the court and administered justice within their jurisdiction. So far as a code of law is concerned, Egyptians never had one.

4. *Egyptian religion.* The earliest writings show that the religious leaders had already transcended primitive nature worship and animism. A bewildering pantheon of gods and goddesses which only the expert Egyptologist can understand baffles the ordinary student. The complexity is largely due, first, to the many local deities that were worshiped, and second, to numerous changes in their idea of these gods throughout the long period of time involved. Fortunately for ordinary purposes it is not essential to know in any detail the varied theological con-

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[4] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 13. Translated by H. M. Tirard, London: Macmillan and Company, 1894.

ceptions and practices by which their religious instincts were expressed at different epochs and in different places.

The three objects that impressed most profoundly the daily experience of the inhabitants of Egypt were, first, the unclouded sun shedding its refulgence over the whole land every hour of every day from morning to night; second, the Nile river with its annual life-bringing flood; and third, the verdant earth with its growing crops. It was to be expected that the Egyptian people would deify the sun; as for the Nile, Herodotus succinctly expressed it, "Egypt is an acquired country, the gift of the river." Nowhere on earth was vegetation and animal life so obviously dependent upon the waters of a single stream. Naturally, throughout all Egypt these two life-sustaining objects together with the fertile earth formed the nucleus of religious feelings and were adored and worshiped as gods in many different forms. While these objects were generally worshiped, it must be added that the Egyptians saw gods in everything about them. Birds, reptiles, animals, trees, and every process of nature and human life were filled with divine power.

The great power that manifests itself in all things and is the creator of all is Ra or Amen-Ra, identified with the sun. The divine mind from which all things intelligent spring was Thoth. He was the author of the art of writing, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and medicine. More universal than the worship of Amen-Ra was that of Osiris, his wife Isis, and their son Horus. As deities they were much more human than others. Moreover, the myth concerning the death of Osiris, the recovery of his body by Isis, and his restoration, have profound symbolic meaning in connection with the processes of vegetation and life after death. Osiris finally became Lord of the nether world.

Herodotus, the father of history, speaking as an eyewitness of the customs of the Egyptian people some two thousand years after their culture had passed its zenith, was obliged to declare, "They are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men." There was not a day or even an hour that did not have its religious ceremonial in the temples. The priests, always ready to offer the sacrifices brought by the people, maintained a constant round of religious exercises. Prayer, ritual observances, and sacrifice were the three regular forms of worship. In addition to these there were the great religious festivals, and the funeral services for the dead. For a long time the worship of the various deities had no relation to the moral life of the people.

The evolution of the higher religious and moral ideas. Several thousand years of great material prosperity as a result of the efficient organization of practical activities reached its climax around 3000 B.C. Long experience of human relationships in the more complex political, social, and industrial spheres was bound to produce a profound effect. A few of the more thoughtful priests then began to sense the existence of the moral order of the universe. Men were reaching a deepening consciousness of their own being and of the significance of human society in which they participated. According to Dr. Breasted,

> The earliest known discussion of right and wrong in the history of man is embedded in a Memphitic drama dating from the middle of the fourth millennium B. C.[5]

During this long stretch of time from 4000 to 2000 B.C. there arose in human consciousness the first glimmer of a moral order among men. The disintegration of the Old Empire after 2000 B.C. carried with it a change from ancient traditional conformity to custom, to the beginning of the expression of individuality and of personal responsibility. This sense of personal responsibility for conduct was greatly prized and was henceforth drilled into children. Out of this developed the sense of human conscience as such.[6] Since men had discovered a moral order first in their own family life and then in the nation, the next step of development was its extension to the universe as a whole. How this took place we shall now see.

After the long period in which religion was still naturalistic there took place among the highest and most favored class, the priests and rulers, the integration of the religious life with men's moral experience. For the first time the gods came to be thought of not merely as outer powers to be placated but as moral beings who rule the universe, even as the Pharaohs ruled over Egypt.

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[5] Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, p. 19.

[6] Moralists have usually emphasized conscience as an individual's own sense or principle of moral judgment. But the word signifies something that is known or held in common with others derived as it is from *con*, "together," and *scire*, "to know." Conscience is a standard of life, an ideal of conduct that the individual implicitly agrees with others to maintain and chooses himself to observe. It is a rule or code of conduct imposed by the group and accepted as binding by the individual. When he breaks the rule he passes judgment on himself as he would upon another individual and feels the justice of the condemnation. "Man's moral ideas are the product of social conditions and form a part of the social process. . . . Green has well said that 'no individual can make a conscience for himself. He always needs a society to make it for him.' " Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, p. 123.

From their experience with the governments of the Pharaoh, men became conscious of themselves as ethical personalities, living in an extensive social and moral world-order. In the course of time this same moral nature was attributed to the gods, especially to Amen-Ra, the sun god who was conceived as ruling the universe with righteousness, justice, and truth (Maat).[7] This conception of a single unified moral order was in effect the idea of monotheism, or of a single ethical ruler over all the universe. This deeper insight dawned first upon some of the priests and was held by them as a sacred mystery. The great fact is that all our exalted ideas of righteousness, social justice, conscience, together with monotheism, arose for the first time in human consciousness in Egypt some 5,000 to 6,000 years ago.

These profound insights, the most sublime products of the human spirit, it must be remembered, grew out of the Egyptian experience of human relations. As civilization extended among other peoples, these ideas were passed along in ever-widening circles to Assyrian, Chaldean, Hebrew, and Phoenician priests and peoples. From these they were transferred to the Greeks, and from the Hebrews and Greeks to ourselves.

Preparation for life after death an impelling force. Dominant as were the gods, especially Ra, the sun god, and Osiris, the god of verdure, the idea of the future still more powerfully "dominated, so that the preparation of one's tomb was constantly part of one's daily life." The paradox of Egyptian character becomes less striking when we remember that death to them was not really an event to be dreaded. They expected the same delights and pleasures to be continued in the life to come that they enjoyed here on earth. The preparations for death were like the preparation a man makes for the day when he will retire to enjoy years of unsullied pleasure. So the Egyptians laid in store in the tomb what they expected to enjoy in an endless life hereafter. It must be noted, however, that while their interest in the future life did not make them morose, they did nevertheless regard it with some melancholy foreboding, and in later centuries came to have a sense of future judgment upon their conduct while on earth. For thousands of years this profound belief in future existence caused the Egyptians, particularly of the higher classes, to make the most amazing preparation for the life beyond. It is not necessary to study in detail their conceptions of the nature of that future life and the judgment that confronted the soul after its departure, but we must note that they always felt that the soul in its future existence continued to be closely associated with the body.

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[7] The Egyptian word *Maat* signifies at once these three supreme moral ideas. The idea of Maat as justice first arose in the family relation and then passed over to the larger sphere as the basic moral order of the state. It was thought of as incarnated in the Pharaoh, who in his person represented the spiritual order and unity of Egypt. It then came to be looked upon as an eternal and ideal principle. The possession of Maat was the only security for happy life beyond the grave.

The belief that the life of the body continues after death, and that it feels the same needs and finds enjoyment in performing the same activities as before death was universal among primitive peoples. They imagined that the need for food and drink continues. The inscriptions and pictures on the pyramids and tombs show conclusively that the dead were supposed to enjoy all the possessions and activities of the present life. On the walls of the tomb tenants bringing produce and the servants and animals of the household are pictured; games, dances, hunting, and fishing were portrayed for the spirit to take part in them.[8]

The ideas of the Egyptians can be readily seen from the statement of Diodorus Siculus quoted by Rawlinson:

> The inhabitants of this region consider the term of man's present life to be utterly insignificant, and devote by far the largest part of their attention to the life after death. They call the habitations of the living "places of the sojourn," since we occupy them but for a short time; but to the sepulchres of the dead they give the name of "eternal abodes," since man will live in the other world for an infinite period. For these reasons they pay little heed to the construction of their houses, while in what concerns burial they place no limit to the extravagance of their efforts.[9]

The Egyptians, therefore, followed the universal practice of primitive races who buried food, weapons, clothing, and sometimes furniture, with their departed.

This burial practice became a veritable obsession, and the Pharaohs spent years in building their "houses of eternity." When the Pharaoh died, his body was embalmed and put into the tomb he had prepared. The tomb was then filled with all the elaborate paraphernalia that the deceased was accustomed to in this life. Nor was this all: endowments were set apart so that the supply of food might be continued indefinitely, that guards might be placed on duty at the tomb, and that priests might continually recite the ritual for his peace.

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[8] Consult Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, Index: Food supply in the hereafter, and so forth.

[9] Rawlinson, George, *History of Ancient Egypt*. Vol. I, p. 188, Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882.

Another aspect of this interesting development of human soul-life came with the emergence of the higher moral nature. As man's experiences of moral conduct expanded, he not only attributed moral qualities to the gods he worshiped, but he went still further; he felt that the gods expected him to act in a moral way and would hold him responsible for the highest standard of conduct. This awakening sense of ethical responsibility produced the idea of future punishment. To insure happiness in the future world Egyptian sages composed the materials brought together in the *Book of the Dead,* which advised the departed how to avoid enemies in the land beyond and how to plead his case before the tribunal of the supreme judge, Osiris. These writings were inscribed on the coffin, on the walls of the tomb, or on a papyrus enclosed with the body of the dead.

This strange view of the future existence, when fully grown into a social and religious tradition, was one of the chief forces in producing much of the practical progress of the Egyptians and their advancement in learning. The construction of the pyramids and temples promoted a knowledge and skill in architecture and engineering far beyond anything attained among other peoples. The art of embalming aided the knowledge of medicine, while the copying of the *Book of the Dead* advanced the arts of reading and writing.

Moral nature still rudimentary. Important as was the dawning of a deeper moral appreciation, it is easy to exaggerate its extension among the people. The ethical nature of even the best Egyptians always remained rudimentary. It very rarely reached the highest level; for Egyptians were incapable of the deeper reflective thinking that characterizes maturity of spiritual insight. They possessed no words for "motive," "responsibility," or "scruple." While conscience was awakened in the leaders, it failed to assume a large role in the moral life of the masses. Prudential considerations generally prevailed. Like children the Egyptians were dominated by an intense desire for social approval. Only in rare cases were individuals willing to acknowledge wrongdoing. Like children, too, they always defended their conduct or made excuses. The *Book of the Dead* is filled with the reiterated protestations of their virtuous and ethical rectitude while on earth.

Egyptian character. Rawlinson describes Egyptian character in these terms:

> They were industrious, cheerful; nay, even gay, under hardships, and not wanting in family affection; but they were cruel, vindictive, treacherous, avaricious, prone to superstition, and profoundly servile.[10]

Other authorities disagree in part with this view of their virtues and vices. Some regard them as kindly and not given to much cruelty. But the use of the stick was universal, and superiors freely laid their blows upon inferiors for even trivial offenses. While cruelty of a kind was native to them, they were, nevertheless, free from the ruthless savagery of other races.

The truth of the matter is that the Egyptians were paradoxical in character. Like all early peoples, they were childlike, highly emotional, passionate, and temperamental. On the one hand, they were superficial, gay, lighthearted, sensual, and self-indulgent; on the other hand, there was always present in the background of consciousness a sense of death, of future life, and of judgment to come.

In their relationships with one another, they were uniformly charitable and courteous in behavior. They had a strong sense of order and even of justice, yet they were not particularly honest. Standards of sexual morality were very low: Egyptian women were notoriously unfaithful, immodest, and licentious; the men practiced impurity openly and sometimes boasted of it in their writings. They succeeded to their own satisfaction in reconciling a vociferous avowal of innocence with an extraordinary laxity in practice.

C. *The Sciences and Higher Arts*

Egyptian science. The actual knowledge of the ancient Egyptians was never so profound nor extensive as the fables would have us believe, and yet it was greater than is generally appreciated. The chief lines in which they excelled were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, mechanics, and medicine. All these forms of knowledge they evolved in vital connection with the growth of practical skill in the arts and crafts. As they acquired more elaborate techniques, they gathered new experience and added to their store of information. This growth of the sciences was due chiefly to the peculiarities of the environment. No better example of the empirical theory of the origin and growth of knowledge can be found than the Egyptian sciences. They were wholly the results of experience; action preceded thought, and practical experience reconditioned action.

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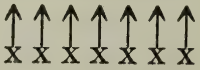
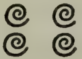
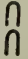
[10] Rawlinson, George, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 109. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882.

Detailed accounts of the Egyptian sciences would take more space than can be devoted to them here. But every student of education should know the chief facts regarding the origin of the basic sciences as they were called forth to meet human needs. In a general way such information is suggestive of the manner in which young children still acquire their earliest knowledge.

1. *Arithmetic.* The beginnings of arithmetic may be summarized in this way: In connection with their practical activities, primitive peoples learned to count in a rudimentary fashion. They began by distinguishing or counting two or three objects, and in time they arrived at five. When they reached this stage, they used their fingers and attached names to the numbers. At first numbers were always inseparably associated with the concrete objects. For example, in the Malay and Aztec tongues the number names mean "one stone, two stone," and so on. The natives of the Southern Pacific use "one fruit, two fruits, three fruits," and the Javans, "one grain, two grains," and so on.

For a long time counting was confined to a very small range. With the exchange of goods, the collecting of taxes, and counting of booty and captives of war, it became necessary to count to higher numbers. Records of very ancient times indicate the Egyptian scribes were familiar with numbers running up into hundreds of thousands and even millions. Their notation had distinct symbols for one, ten, one hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, and so on. Other numbers were expressed by repetition of these characters, as in the Roman notation.

Comparison of Notations

Arabic notation:	7	4	2	3
Roman notation:	MMMMMMM	C C C C	X X	I I I
Egyptian notation:				

The same experience of practical life that required counting also made it necessary to devise units of weights and measures.

A heap, crowd, pack, flock, foot, ell, bushel, mile, and other units were invented to bring more definiteness into human activities.

The Egyptians made the earliest conquests in the realms of arithmetic and geometry, and progressed further than other peoples. Yet they did not clearly understand the fundamental arithmetical operations. The understanding of fractions was not easy, and it remained a stumbling block for a long time after elementary numbers were familiar. They knew something about the use of simple fractions, the equation, and the elements of mensuration, but their knowledge in all of those fields remained strictly empirical, dealing with certain specific problems. Other than the use of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ they understood only fractions with 1 as the numerator. All higher fractions were solved by additions. For example $\frac{5}{8}$ was $\frac{1}{8}$ plus $\frac{1}{8}$ plus $\frac{1}{8}$ plus $\frac{1}{8}$ plus $\frac{1}{8}$. It could, however, be shortened to $\frac{1}{2}$ plus $\frac{1}{8}$. $\frac{24}{30}$ was $\frac{2}{3}$ plus $\frac{1}{10}$ plus $\frac{1}{30}$.

A papyrus coming down from the period between 1850 and 1650 B.C. contains 110 problems, from which one may judge the extent and character of the knowledge of the more ancient Egyptian in the field of mathematics. All of these problems are very simple; 26 of them are geometric in character. Two examples may be given.

> Given that 13 hekat of upper Egyptian grain is made into 18 des of besha date-substitute beer, and that 1 des of this makes $2\frac{1}{6}$ des of barley beer, what is the strength of the barley beer?
>
> Divide 100 loaves among 5 men in such a way that the share received shall be in arithmetic progression and that one-seventh of the sum of the largest three shares shall be equal to the sum of the smallest two.[11]

The food of geese, cranes, and other birds, and of cattle is discussed in other problems.

2. *Geometry.* It is generally accepted that the origin of geometry, or "earth measuring" as the name implies, was the necessity of resurveying the lands along the Nile after each annual inundation. Such knowledge was also employed in laying out the ground plans for the temples and pyramids. For some unknown reason the builders were exceedingly particular in the orientation of these structures. To accomplish their purpose they sought to determine the points of the horizon so as to obtain

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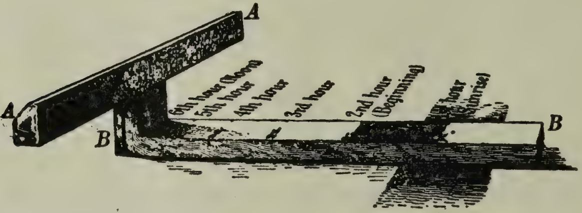
[11] Archibald, Raymond Clare, *Outline of the History of Mathematics*, Fourth Edition, p. 12. Oberlin, Ohio: The Mathematical Association of America, Inc., 1934.

the north-south line. To get a right angle the east-west line was then used. Still another use of geometry was to determine the size of a plot of ground for purposes of taxation. From examples that have come down to us, we find that geometrical measurements were likewise employed to calculate the contents of barns and other structures used as granaries. All this early geometry deals with "particular numerical problems and not with general theorems." This was characteristic of the Egyptian mind for they did not think abstractly; geometry was not in reality a science, but merely the art of measuring.

3. *Astronomy.* No extensive development of human activities could take place without some means of calculating time. The dependence of the Egyptian people upon the annual overflow of the Nile, not to mention other circumstances, must have made them extraordinarily observant of the measurement of time. Their first important discovery in this connection was the determination of the solar year. According to Dr. Breasted, the first event in human history definitely dated was the devising of the calendar by Egyptians in 4241 B.C.[12] This calendar recognized twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days were set apart as feast days. It likewise adjusted the additional time that makes up the extra day in our leap year. This first known calendar was superior to the calendars used in Europe down to the sixteenth century of our era. For telling the time of day the Egyptians used the Shadow clock. One of these, the most ancient timepiece in existence, dates back to the sixteenth century before our era. How much earlier this method of keeping time was discovered is not known.



Shadow Clock.—*From Breasted, J. H., "Ancient Times," Ginn.*

The Egyptians mapped the heavens, and identified the more prominent fixed stars. They had instruments sufficiently perfected to determine the positions of the sun and moon. That they employed their knowledge for predicting eclipses is not now accepted as credible. Furthermore, they did not go so far as to construct at this early time a theory of the heavenly bodies, though they had crude fancies about them.

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[12] Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World*, p. 45. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1916.

The Egyptians worshiped the sun, moon, and stars, and they believed each month of the year was under the power of some special deity. They did not, however, give as much credence to astrology as did the Babylonians, who fostered the belief that human destiny might be read in the relations of the stars.

4. *Mechanics.* In mechanical knowledge and skill the Egyptions excelled. Historians are agreed that compared with their structures, "Nothing more perfect mechanically has ever been erected." In building operations their ability to polish and transport huge blocks has ever been the amazement of posterity. Their ingenuity in connecting them is well-nigh incredible. The control of the waters of the Nile during flood time to obtain the greatest efficiency in irrigation was another field in which they exhibited the highest skill. They constructed sluices, canals, and even great lakes. They ingeniously placed gauges 700 miles along the Nile at precisely the same level so as to secure information regarding the rise of the river.

5. *Geography.* Here is another science that the Egyptians originated. Their practical use of mensuration and surveying and their far-reaching commerce led to a knowledge of geography. Originally, we may conjecture, the Egyptians were isolated. The use of boats on the Nile caused them to build ships and navigate the sea, and to conduct a thriving commerce with other countries on the Mediterranean, especially Phoenicia, Syria, Crete, and Greece. Moreover, their caravans passed through Palestine and early penetrated the valley of Mesopotamia. Indeed, at one time the empire embraced Palestine and a large portion of Arabia. If we are to accept ancient authorities, "they recorded their march in maps."

6. *Medicine.* Egyptian medical knowledge goes back to a remote age, its origin, lost in antiquity, being ascribed to a king or a deity. Moreover, this knowledge was so important that it was formulated and written down probably by the celebrated Imhotep about 3000 B.C. Every physician was obliged to study these writings and to follow the prescribed remedies without alteration. If he varied from the formulated treatment and the

patient died, he was liable to capital punishment. Such conditions rendered progress in medical science impossible.

The process of embalming, one might suppose, would have greatly promoted a knowledge of anatomy and even physiology. Such, however, was not the case beyond a certain point. The belief in the continued existence of life connected with the body after death produced a deep-seated prejudice against dissection. Moreover, the process of embalming became a fixed procedure which allowed no variation.

All ancient peoples revered the Egyptians for their medical knowledge and skill. A number of papyri furnish our day with information regarding their diagnoses of diseases and the remedies which they prescribed. Dr. Breasted describes the most interesting of these ancient documents:

> This oldest medical book, when unrolled, is today about sixty feet long and has recipes for all sorts of ailments. Some of them are still good and call for remedies which, like castor oil, are still in common use; others represent the ailment as due to demons, which were long believed to be the cause of disease.[13]

So far as the causes of disease were concerned, the Egyptians knew practically nothing. It was their belief that diseases were produced by evil spirits, and, in consequence of this idea, they relied largely upon the use of magic. Incantations and charms invariably preceded or accompanied the taking of medicine. Most of their recipes are absurd. A decoction of the hair of a black calf was recommended to prevent gray hair. Remedies revolting to our sensibilities and wholly without reason were commonly prescribed.

Judging, however, from all the facts, one must conclude that the Egyptians were not only the first to attain any knowledge of medicine whatsoever, but that their knowledge surpassed that of all other ancient peoples down to the time of the Greeks. Summarizing, they knew nothing of anatomy, possessed elementary ideas about physiology, but practiced simple surgery and dentistry. It seems clear that specialization in medicine began at an early date. For common ailments they stumbled upon a few fairly good remedies. Their knowledge of medicine always remained empirical; of real science, they knew barely the rudiments.

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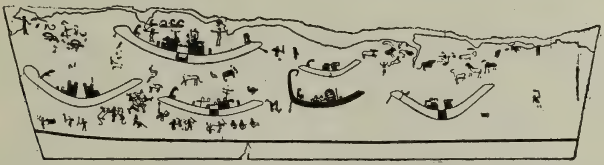
[13] Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World*, p. 78. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1916. *Consult also* Breasted, J. H., *The Edwin Smith Surgicial Papyrus*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1930.

D. *The Development of Language Arts*

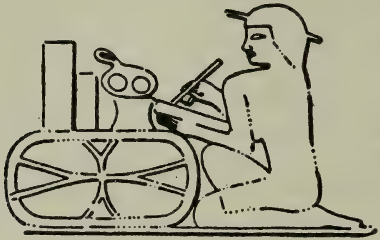
The main thing that distinguishes man from the animals is not the ability to reason, as Aristotle thought; it is rather his facility in the use of language. Psychology now makes it clear that it was language that made reasoning possible. Among primitive mankind, language was rudimentary, but it was already highly developed among the peoples of the earliest civilizations. It must, moreover, be recognized that the growth of language would keep pace with the increasing complexity of human relations and the development of man's practical activities. Step by step along with the progress in language and other primitive processes, man's native intelligence gradually developed.

Symbolization, drawing, and writing. It has already been pointed out that most primitive peoples objectified their simple imagery by means of drawing. To reproduce the thought of an absent object, a crude outline of it was made. One of the greatest steps of human advancement occurred when these crude drawings came to be used as written symbols. It has always been this ability of the human mind to devise and use symbols that has most effectively assisted the development of intelligence and has wonderfully hastened progress. Growing out of the earliest drawings or representations made by primitive peoples, the first writing was picture writing. In other words, writing was a development from drawing. As every primary teacher well knows, the natural order is for the child to draw first; by means of drawing, he is most naturally introduced to writing.



EARLIEST KNOWN PAINTING.—*From Breasted, J. H., "A History of Egypt," Scribner's.*

The Egyptians were the earliest people to learn to write with facility. When writing first began is not known, but the use of hieroglyphics and of the reed pen and papyrus were already a commonplace in Egypt at the building of the pyramids, 3000 B.C. So long before that time had the hieroglyphic characters passed beyond the stage of picture writing that they were then already considered an ancient invention. The earliest pyramid sculptures depict the scribe present on every occasion sitting on the ground with his writing materials before him and in the act of writing. The ability to write became the indispensable accomplishment of every vocation and of all government officials.



SCRIBE OF THE ANCIENT KINGDOM.—*From Erman, A. and Ranke H., "Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum," Mohr.*

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the art of writing. Dr. James H. Breasted has well expressed its profound significance in human history:

> The invention of writing and of a convenient system of records on paper has had a greater influence in uplifting the human race than any other intellectual achievement in the career of man. It was more important than all the battles ever fought and all the constitutions ever devised.[14]

Circumstances that encouraged writing. Three special conditions made writing not merely a useful art but a genuine mania or obsession among the ancient Egyptians. These conditions were the abundance of paper, the dependence of government and industrial activity upon written records and documents, and the equipment of the individual for the life beyond.

1. *Papyrus and other writing materials.* One of the most fortunate circumstances for the Egyptians was the abundance of the papyrus plant along the banks of the Nile. Needing but slight manipulation, it became the best writing material ever discovered. Papyrus was not only abundant, easily prepared and, therefore, relatively cheap, but it proved to be so marvelous in its endurance that many rolls of it still endure after the lapse of centuries. As the material itself, so the word also has sur-

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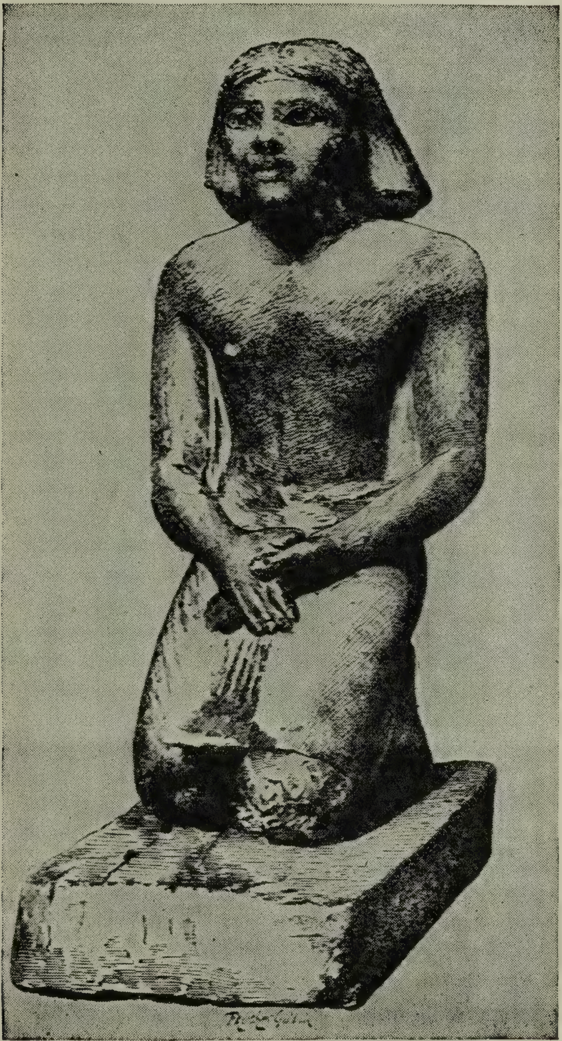
[14] Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World,* p. 45. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1916.

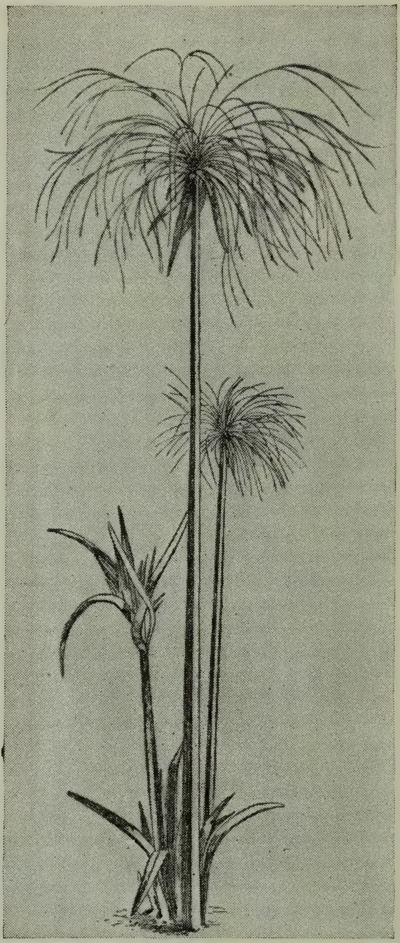
vived in our word "paper." The largest roll of papyrus that has been recovered is the Great Harris Papyrus, which is 135 feet long and 16½ inches wide. It was written about 1167 B.C. The second largest measures 123 feet and is 18½ inches wide.

Even more abundant than papyrus was the supply of thin



Kneeling Scribe.—*From Maspero, G., "Manual of Egyptian Archeology," Putnam.*

slabs of soft white limestone which were used as copybooks by the boys for their first efforts in learning to write. These are called *ostraka,* and many have come down to our day preserving



Papyrus Shrub.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

precious copies of ancient Egyptian literature. Leather, frequently, and at times wood, were employed.

Writing materials were in common use before the dawn of Egyptian history: the writing palette was a rectangular piece of wood or ivory 2 or 3 inches wide and from 9 to 16 inches long. At one end were two wells for red and black ink. A groove was cut to hold the pens, which were made of reed, usually about 10 inches long. The end of the reed was bruised like a brush.[15]

2. *Writing indispensable for government and business.* Just as in our own day, so in ancient Egypt, the conduct of business and commerce and the administration of government were dependent on written records. This was true from earliest times. The rulers showed considerable genius in directing practical affairs, for they were born organizers. Because of the Pharaoh's faculty for organization, the "busy bee" was the hieroglyphic symbol always employed to represent him. The bureaucratic government required a strict system of registration of the population. From the royal orders to the most trivial transactions of commerce everything depended on written records. Scribes were needed in connection with the immense public works conducted by the Pharaoh and with the operations of the government along all lines, administrative, judicial, and commercial. From the Pharaoh down, every important government officer needed scribes to make records of events, conduct correspondence, and transact business. The exchange of letters and official documents between government agents, nobles, and businessmen, was voluminous.

The advantage of skill in writing lay in the opportunities it gave for individual advancement. A large number of lucrative posts were open only to skilled scribes; among the highest positions were those of provincial governorship, ambassador, superintendent of scribes, director of public works, and innumerable others. As foreign commerce increased, many new offices were opened for scribes to fill. In fact, nothing was done under the Egyptian government without documents and reports. It must be remembered, furthermore, that much of the business of the entire land was under the control of the Pharaoh. What was true of the central government was true of the provincial administrations as well, and also of the general commercial and industrial affairs of the nobles and free citizens. Books and accounts were kept; orders and receipts were given; wills, deeds, and contracts were recorded. Civilization, whether ancient or modern, could evolve to a high degree only as clerical skill became available.

3. *Writing and religion.* The religious life of the Egyptians stimulated the practice of writing to an extraordinary extent.

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[15] For fuller description of writing utensils, *see* Sir K. A. Wallis Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 171–177.

Our authors write for the living; Egyptians wrote much for the dead. The walls of the interior chambers of the pyramids were covered with hieroglyphic writings and sculptures describing the daily life, and the moral and religious ideas of the kings, priests, and courtiers entombed. In later centuries the sides of the coffins and the walls of the tombs were inscribed with the *Ritual,* or *Book, of the Dead.* Another practice was to place rolls of papyrus inscribed with this ritual in the tomb or coffin. The task of preparing such writing was immense and must have required numerous scribes.

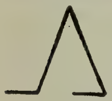
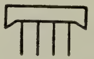
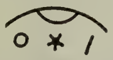
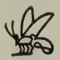
In addition to all of this, the priesthood, which constituted the most important element in Egyptian society, needed writing for the conduct of its affairs. Every temple had vast endowments of cities and lands for its support. Like the government itself and the great lords, every temple collected taxes, registered the sacred treasures, and managed vast estates; and every transaction called for written records. Finally, the priests were the custodians of the sacred documents and the transmitters of the science and wisdom of Egypt. The temples were schools of sacred learning and religion, and every priest was required to be a skilled scribe.

The evolution of the alphabet. It may be questioned whether among literary arts there has ever been an invention more useful and significant than the alphabet. While many phases of its development are still undiscovered, archeologists have established several links in the process by which man came to write with an alphabet. The main steps in this amazing discovery are relatively clear, and they are set forth here because of their great significance in the history of human culture, and because of the valuable hints that primary teachers may get as to how they should teach writing and reading to their pupils.

Picture writing or pictograms served the simple needs of primitive thought. The early drawings were crude, yet concrete and vivid. Their meaning, however, was indefinite and quite limited in range; for, at best, the drawing could tell little about an object beyond its static image. To convey anything more definite required a more elaborate technique. A second grave weakness of the picture method of writing was the fact that it had no way of expressing any but concrete and visual images or ideas. Consequently, as human experience deepened and more abstract conceptions emerged, picture writing was no longer an adequate means for expressing thought. It was incapable of depicting inner feelings such as love, hate, and suspicion, all the abstract and immaterial objects, and the innumerable shades of meaning of complex life. Naturally, early writers strove to meet these needs by devising new symbols or by revising the old.

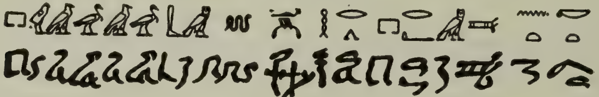
A third weakness of picture writing was that it was extremely laborious to learn and to practice. For range of expression, thousands of different characters were necessary. As the need for written records increased, greater rapidity in writing became necessary. This necessity was the chief factor in the changing of picture writing into a simplified alphabetic system.

Among the objects used for hieroglyphics were the heavenly bodies, the human body and its parts, domestic and wild animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, plants, fruits, flowers, clothing, furniture, armor, geometric, and grotesque images. Considerable similarity has been found in the pictograms of the various primitive races.

Development of picture writing. At first, pictures were merely the representations of the objects themselves. When thought became more elaborated and pictograms became more symbolic, it was necessary to portray actions, motives, sentiments, and other ideas. The writers did this most ingeniously. The legs,  indicated "going" or "coming"; the heaven with water coming from it represented rain,  ; the eye with drops represented "crying"; the two eyes meant "seeing"; the holding of a vase indicated "offering." The moon, a star, and sun represented "one month,"  . Many abstract ideas were represented by a resemblance, real or fancied, to the characteristics of some object. For example, the bee,  , because of its organizing ability, represented the "king"; a book represented knowledge; a scarab, a god; a lute, "goodness"; an eye, "judgment"; a crocodile, "evil"; the head of a lion, "superiority."

From pictogram to phonogram. The first great step toward genuine alphabetical writing was taken when the signification of the pictures or signs that had represented the visual images of objects was shifted, so that they began to represent words or vocalizations. This change from visual to auditory images or spoken words, which was due to the direct association of the name with the symbol, took place long before the dawn of written history. That this process had really occurred, Egyptian hieroglyphics show, for alongside the ancient picture symbols a phonetic alphabet of 24 consonants was used. According to William A. Mason:

> The fully developed system of hieroglyphic writing with phonetic alphabet characters was in use in the time of Menes, the first king of the first dynasty.[16]



HIEROGLYPHICS AND HIERATIC.—*From Breasted, J. H., "Ancient Times," Ginn.*

Just how the change from pictograms which appealed to the eye to letters that appealed to the ear took place in the history of writing is a matter of some speculation. It is so important, however, that we must seek an explanation.

The hieroglyphic sign, 𓉐, was the pictogram used to represent a house, the word for house being *p-r*. We do not know what the vowel with these two consonants was, for Egyptians never wrote the vowels. In time, this sign, 𓉐, came to stand, not for the visual image of a house, but for the vocalization or word *p-r*. This new development meant little, however, until the sign came to be used for all words in which the sound *p-r* was found. For example, the verb "to go out" was "pr." Similarly, a whole series of signs developed which represented two consonants or a syllable. Finally, 𓉐 came to represent only the consonant "p." As another example the original symbol for mouth was 𓂋, and the word was *ro*. In time, this symbol, 𓂋, came to represent the consonant "r." Thus, in the effort to write rapidly and beautifully, Egyptian writing came to be more and more abbreviated, until about 600 signs were in use representing single consonants, syllables, and monosyllabic words. These 600 signs were finally reduced to 24 symbols representing consonants as shown in the table on page 68. In this fashion, the writing of phonetic symbols was devised—one of the most momentous inspirations that has occurred to the human soul. Though the Egyptians made this amazing discovery, they did not, however, have the insight to take full advantage of it. Strange to say, they never pressed on to the devising of signs for vowel sounds. This neglect was a serious defect because the reader had in every case to guess what the vowel was. This weakness added materially to the difficulty of reading, and it made the meaning of symbols less definite.

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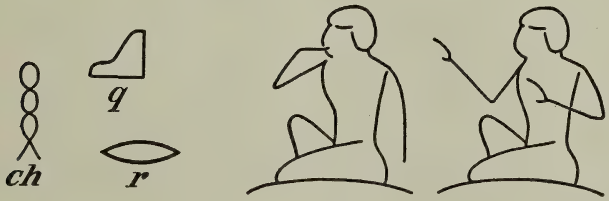
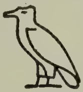
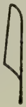
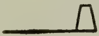
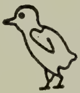
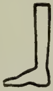
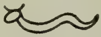
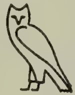
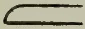
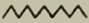
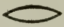
[16] Mason, William A., *A History of the Art of Writing*, p. 210. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920.

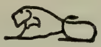
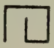
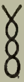
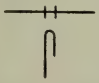
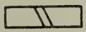
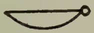
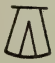
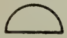
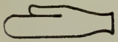
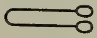
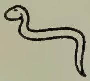
There was still another weakness in the writing of the Egyptian scribes. Conservative in the practice of all arts, they adhered with great tenacity to the traditional ways of writing. They were such creatures of habit, so lacking in flexibility of mind and action, that they never were able to discard the older forms completely; they always carried along the vestiges of the old pictorial system. They were like modern English scholars who continue to write "programme" and "cheque," although they say *program* and *check*. The Egyptian has been compared to a chick that has emerged from its shell, but throughout all its life carries the shell about on its back.

The following words in Egyptian indicate how the phonetic alphabet and the pictographic method were combined. The symbols below spell the Egyptian word for hungry (*ch*-*q*-*r* plus the kneeling figures).

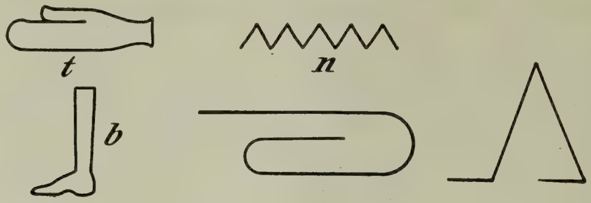


The first kneeling figure has his hand to his mouth, and indicates hunger or thirst. The last figure indicates that the reference is to a human being. The whole signifies hunger. The two figures at the right are survivals of ancient picture writing. The word *taben* had several meanings, one being "to move around." It

Hieroglyph	*Egyptian Name*	*Meaning*	*Letter*
	ahom	eagle	Smooth breathing as h in "honor"
	ake	reed	i or y
	āa	arm	a guttural sound
		chick	w or u
	bu	leg	b
	pu	shutter	p
	fent	snail	f
	moulak	owl	m
	(used later)	tongs	
	nu	water	n
	ro	mouth	r

Hieroglyph	***Egyptian Name***	***Meaning***	***Letter***
	labo	lion	l
	ha	freta or labyrinth	h
	hake	twisted loop	ch (as in German "ich")
			kh (as in German "Bach")
		chair back or crochet	s
	she	tank	sh
		quadrant or knee	q or k
		cup	k
		altar	g
	ta	a roll of bread	t
	tot or dot	hand	d, t
	thethet	looped cord	th
	zst	serpent	z or dsh

was written in the following ingenious yet adequate manner:



The hand is *t;* the leg, *b;* the zigzag is *n.* *t-b-n.* The spiral and legs are ancient signs indicating "going about."

From this hieroglyphic writing which still retained picture characters there developed the more rapid writing on papyrus called the hieratic. For the sake of speed and the saving of effort, it changed many of the symbols. Most of these hieratic signs were, in course of time, still further abbreviated and changed from the original form. This abbreviation of the hieratic, occurring about the 8th century B.C., has been termed the "demotic."

About the year 1000 B.C., through the agency of commerce, papyrus was carried to Phoenicia, and with it the cursive Egyptian script. There, it is thought, the commercial scribes, in their desire to write with more ease and rapidity, took the final step, inventing an alphabet of both vowels and consonants. This system of alphabetic writing was acquired from the Phoenicians by the Ionian Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor, and these in turn introduced it into Europe.

II. EDUCATION IN EGYPT

A. *Elementary Training*

Introduction. The process of education in ancient Egypt evolved in a purely natural way. The father transferred to his son by the apprenticeship method the necessary skill in performing the activities of daily life. The schools of Egypt were not separated from the actual activities of life as they are today. The Egyptian word for education was *sochpr,* which signifies "causing to become." The thought was that the father caused the son *to become* a carpenter, a physician, or an army officer, as the case might be. Education was, accordingly, an apprenticeship in all the affairs of life under the guidance of the father or of someone who took the place of the father; it was not the separate acquisition of the tools of learning, or of a certain amount of information.

The history of ancient Egyptian civilization is usually divided into three periods: that of the Old Kingdom, from 3000 to 2000 B.C.; that of the Middle Kingdom, from 2000 to 1600 B.C.; and that of the New Kingdom, down to 1000 B.C. During the Old Kingdom, education was almost entirely in the hands of the father. A number of writings from that era survive which indicate the interest of fathers in the moral guidance and vocational success of their sons. The first mention of the school came late in the Old Kingdom when Duauf placed his son in the royal Residence to be educated with the sons of the princes. The period of the Middle Kingdom was a time of the slowing down of progress, and the writings are fewer. During the New Kingdom the writings of the former period were copied by the schoolboys to improve their style and to learn the accepted ideas in morals and manners. By this era the scribe was the mainspring of all affairs, and promotion in office depended upon the literary training of the individual.

No popular education. Popular education as we think of it today did not exist in ancient Egypt at any time. There were no public schools in which boys acquired the arts of reading and writing. A sharp line of demarcation separated the upper educated class from the common man and the slave. Except for this higher class, schools did not furnish the opportunity for training. Diodorus, who may be taken as authority on this point, stated:

> As to the general mass of the Egyptians, they are instructed from their childhood by their fathers or kinsmen in the practices proper to each manner of life; but as for reading and writing, the Egyptians at large give their children only a superficial instruction in them, and not all do this, but for the most part only those who are engaged in the crafts.[17]

It must be added, however, that frequently the chance to learn to write was given poor boys and, furthermore, that such boys with outstanding ability could always expect promotion, even to the highest offices.

Periods of childhood. The life of the child was divided into two periods: infancy, from birth to the age of four years; boyhood, from four to fourteen or sixteen. Egyptian children matured with amazing rapidity. They were ready for formal education at four and were prepared for life by fourteen. In the first period the care and training were in the hands of the mother, who usually nursed the child for three years.

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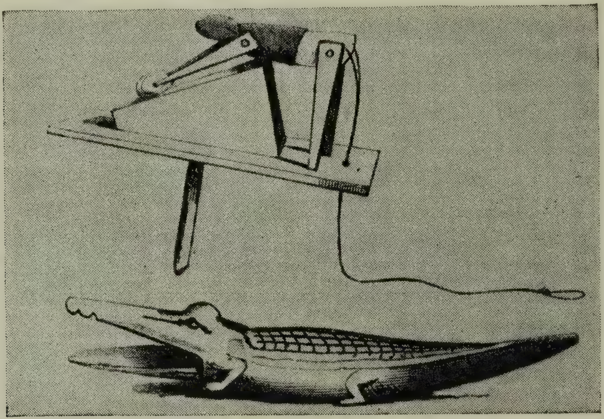
[17] Oldfather, C. H., *Diodorus of Sicily with an English Translation*, p. 279. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1933, by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.



Egyptian Toys.—*From Wilkinson, J. G., "Popular Account of Ancient Egyptians," John Murray.*

Egyptian schools. Precisely what schools existed in ancient Egypt? On this point the Egyptologists are strangely reticent, and even contradictory. Specific information on schools is fairly rare, though the Egyptian literature that has come down is remarkably abundant. The few glimpses it affords the student intrigue his fancy rather than satisfy his inquiry; as a consequence questions regarding details cannot be answered. That schools existed is certain, though most education was unquestionably domestic and vocational. Rawlinson half a century ago declared:

> There were schools in the larger towns open to all who desired education. In these reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught, together with "letters" in a more extended sense.[18]

More recent authorities are by no means so positive in their assertions.

Apparently there were various ways in which instruction was provided. In accordance with very ancient custom every father trained his own son in religion, in morals, and in the practice of his craft. Writing would be included as part of his vocational equipment. Secondly, in higher social circles the boy was sometimes sent to live in another home where he was trained in his life activities by the head of the house, or by scribes appointed for the purpose. A third means of instruction was probably provided in the latest period of Egyptian civilization. Primary schools were set up where old scribes taught the elements of writing to young boys through the day. Even at the tender age of four years the laddie was sent to become "a writer in the house of books."

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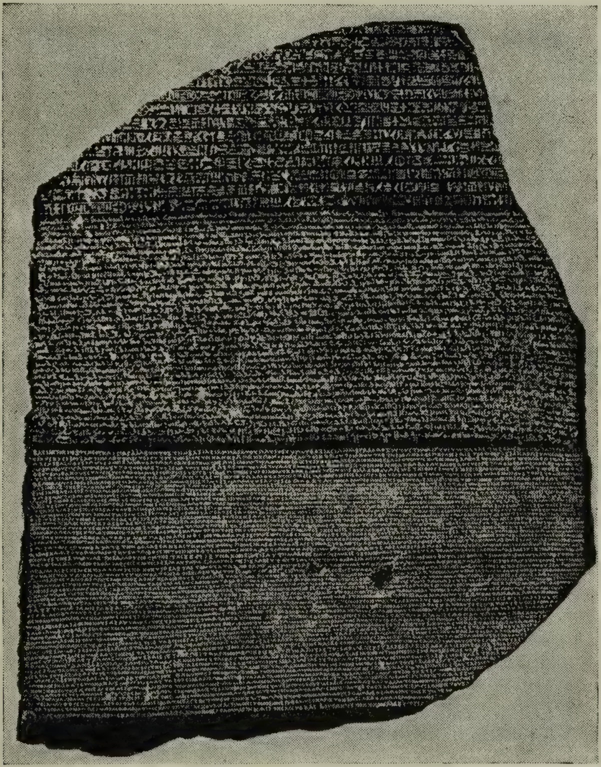
[18] Rawlinson, George, *History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, pp. 541–542. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882.

Temple schools. The words "hieroglyphic" and "hieratic" indicate that writing began as a priestly art. The first writing



Rosetta Stone. This celebrated stone has used the hieroglyphic at the top, the demotic in the center and the Greek below. Because of this arrangement modern scholars were enabled to decipher the ancient Egyptian writings.

schools were fostered by the priests, and the greatest interest in this and kindred arts was always maintained by them. Naturally no group would be more assiduous in perpetuating the family prerogatives and culture than the priests, since the continuation of their leadership depended upon their superior educational attainments. An important school was connected with the temple which Rameses II built for Amon at Thebes and known as the Ramasseum. There, in a little mound, many sandstone tablets have been found. Evidently the Temple school was located at this place, and, when the pupils had finished their writing lessons, their tablets no longer of use were thrown out. It is interesting to note that copies of the same writings were found on school papyri at Memphis.[19] One is safe in assuming that every temple had its school for boys.

The court school. Coincident with the rise and organization of the state, writing became necessary for the civil officials. The rulers had to be able to write and to direct their secretaries. In fact the Pharaohs and high officials were very proud of their ability. Erman points out that they posed as scribes:

> It was not without good reason that the high officials of the Old Kingdom were so fond of having themselves represented in writing posture; for that was the occupation to which they owed their rank and their power. The road to every office lay open to him who had learnt writing and knew how to express himself in well chosen terms, and all other professions were literally under his control.[20]

It was the need of literacy that necessitated the court school. The heir to the throne was brought up in the palace or "Residence," in what was called the *Shep.* He was taught by a tutor who was one of the court officials, called *muse* or nurse. Companions, who were carefully selected, shared this training.[21]

That it was a well-established custom to educate promising boys in the court school may be judged from many references in literature. Ptahshepses, who became high priest at Memphis, proudly relates his education at the court:

> *I was born* (in) the time of Menkure; whom he educated among the king's children in the palace of the king, in the privy chamber, in the royal harem; who was more honored before the king than any child.[22]

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[19] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 185–186. Translated by Aylward M. Blackman, London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1927.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

[21] Compare the interesting case of Sesostris on page 99 of this text.

[22] Breasted, James Henry, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 117, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906.

During the time of the Middle Empire, the Prince of Siut stated:

> I was a favorite of the king. He caused that I should rule as a child. . . . He had me instructed in swimming along with the royal children. I was one correct of speech.[23]

A high official of the palace boasted "he had sat at the feet of the king, as a pupil of Horus, the lord of the palace." [24] Still another related:

> His Majesty seated me at his feet in my youth, and preferred me to all my companions. His Majesty was pleased to grant me daily food, and when I walked with him, he praised me each day. . . . I became a real relative of the king.[25]

During the Old Kingdom, Duauf, a commoner, in the introduction to the counsel to his son, wrote,

> Instruction, which a . . . man, named Duauf, the son of Khety, composed for his son, named Pepi, when he voyaged up to the Residence, in order to put him in the School of Books *among* the children of the magistrates.[26]

The court school was an apprenticeship in the duties of royalty. It often happened that the youth who was accorded this favor, became what was called a "royal relative" and married the daughter of the Pharaoh.

Department schools. Each department of government had its own school in which the young were prepared for their special official careers. Bekenchons from his fifth to his fifteenth year was assigned to one of the royal stables where he received a military training. At sixteen he was made "Captain in the Royal Stables for education." [27] Later he changed his vocation and became high priest. Hori, the royal groom, who trained the Pharaoh's horses, boasted that he was a teacher in the "academy of writing, a teacher of subordinates in the house of books." This school was connected with the royal stables. In teaching writing "His fingers make the child become great." Erman reports still another example of a department school connected with quarrying rock for the royal tomb.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[24] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 78. London: Macmillan and Company, 1894.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 68. Translated by Aylward M. Blackman, London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1927. A similar case is found on page 189. "I place thee at school along with the children of notables, to educate thee, and to have thee trained for this aggrandizing calling."

[27] Gosse, A. Bothwell, *The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 16. New York: Stokes, 1916.

> When the tomb of Ramesses IX was being hewn out of the rock . . . an official who was employed on this work could not give up teaching even in this solitude.[28]

There was naturally a department school in connection with the royal treasury, or "house of silver," whose innumerable records required many scribes. We are informed that the "chief registrar of the treasury" taught school as one of his official duties. A training school was also conducted in connection with the royal workshop, which was taught by "the scribe of the workshop of Pharaoh." The "House of Books" was the Royal Library and was in charge of a scribe. It contained a great variety of official documents and books, and required a large staff of clerks whose training called for a large school.[29]
In another case a former pupil writes his official superior, "I was with thee since I was brought up as a child; thou didst beat my back and thy instruction went into my ear." This young man entered upon his vocation as a very young child under an official who was evidently a plantation owner.[30] From these examples it may be concluded that connected with every group carrying on some special office or activity there was a school to train the future staff of workers.

Education was vocational training. Egyptian education involved three aspects, vocational training, learning to write, and good conduct. These were not conceived as separate forms of training in the way that modern curricula regard the so-called "subjects." They had, rather, grown up as correlated activities, and were handed on in accordance with the parental apprenticeship system. In early times as skill in any art or craft and in the management of affairs increased, the man who could write had a decided advantage. He would, therefore, train his son not only in the technique of his craft, but also in writing. Thus it came about that the scribal art, which was at first an auxiliary art, came in time to be considered the most important. All education was in fact vocational, the acquiring of a specific skill along some practical line. The boy did not learn so much to write in general, but to write the vocabulary of the vocation which he was learning. He did this by copying in his spare time old papers, letters, bills, and the customary records, contracts, calculations, and the practical formulæ of his vocation. According to the universal custom of the orient, he imitated what he saw his father doing. All training was an apprenticeship, but the lads were apprenticed, so to speak, to their own fathers or to some department or bureau of government. Only knowledge and activities that were useful were acquired and handed on. Above everything the Egyptian was a practical individual; he had not reached the high level of theoretical intelligence.

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[28] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 188. *Compare* Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 548–550.

[29] Maspero, G., *The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldaea.* Translated by M. L. McClure. Fourth Edition, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1901.

[30] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 211–212.

A splendid example of the Egyptian form of organizing industry and vocational training is found in the report of Qagabu to his chief, Pare-em-heb, "the superintendent of the house of silver." He had been commissioned to inspect the vineyard of the temple of Amon in the town of Ramases. Summing up his survey of the force in charge of the vineyard, he wrote,

I found: Gardeners:	men	7
	youths	4
	lads	4
	boys	6
	Total	21 Souls[31]

These four groups indicate that very young boys, evidently learning the art of the vinedresser, were included in the force in charge of the vineyard.[32]

Later developments. What changes in schools there may have been in later centuries is a matter of conjecture. Under the New Kingdom older scribes taught the little boys the elements of writing. About 1000 B.C. or later the scribe Anii reminds his son how, when he was at school learning to write, his mother brought him bread and beer daily.

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[31] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.

[32] For this form of organizing vocation and education *see* Erman, Adolf, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, neu bearbeitet von Hermann Ranke, p. 376. Tübingen: Mohr, 1923.

The school day. A statement from Duauf in very ancient times would seem to throw some light upon the school day. The passage refers to the boys getting out of school at midday:

> When thou comest out of the house of teaching (i.e., the school)—it having been told thee that midday has come—and thou goest singing (or, shouting)—about the courtyards of the houses, I charge thee not to enter into (the houses) to which they belong.[33]

Duauf had placed his son in the court school with the children of the magistrates. Evidently the period of instruction in this princely school lasted only to noonday.

The curriculum. Training in the schools was separable into two levels. On the lower level the chief task was learning to write the many symbols of important objects. The young lad first learned to copy the more important characters. When he had acquired some facility in this, he proceeded to copy lines. Arithmetic was also taught in its simplest form. In hours of relaxation, fairy tales were told to the children.[34] In addition to these subjects, swimming, sacred song and dancing, manners and morals completed the curriculum of the lower level of education.

Writing, the main process of learning. Among the Egyptians the literate man was the man who could write. Furthermore, the high class gentleman or the man of culture as distinguished from the less highly educated was the one who had acquired this art to the greatest efficiency. Writing held a remarkable fascination for the Egyptians. It was looked upon as of divine origin; one scribe called himself "A craftsman in the God's Words." It was considered of such importance that pictures were made of the Pharaoh and officials in the act of writing and also watching their sons exhibit their skill.[35]

Egyptian writing was naturally far more difficult to master than ours. It demanded the recognition and accurate reproduction of hundreds of different signs and required infinite practice to attain skill. "Scarcely any system of writing provides so many possibilities for mistakes as the hieroglyphic." Furthermore, each profession had many signs more or less peculiar to it, just as each of them has its own vocabulary in our day. To be able to write these particular signs was an essential element in acquiring the vocation.

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[33] Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt*, p. 74. London: Hopkinson and Company, 1924. The quotation comes from the Instruction or teaching of Duauf as given in Papyrus Sallier. *Compare* Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 331, and *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 71.

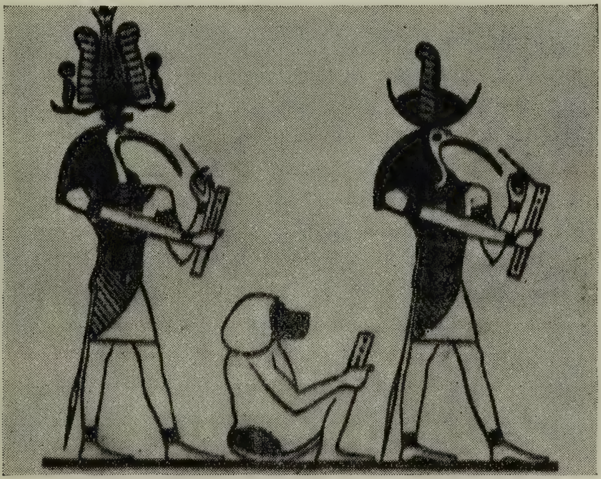
[34] For examples of Egyptian Fairy Tales, *read* James Baikie, *Ancient Egypt*, Chaps. VII and VIII. London: A. & C. Black, 1916.

[35] Maspero, G., *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 288, note.

Writing was in a peculiar fashion the real foundation of Egyptian education, for it was the process by which the Egyptians acquired their learning. In schools of other peoples the main effort has always been to acquire the lesson by verbal repetition. In ancient Egypt, with its passion for writing, the pupil was a "*writer* in the house of books"; the one concern of instruction was that he learn the correct written forms. A present-day authority has aptly expressed the idea,

> "Writing," he stated, "was the foundation of their education, just as reading is the basis of ours."[36]

In brief, to write was to learn, for to write was also to read and recall. These three arts were not thought of separately as they are today; they were parts of one art. The symbols of writing were learned and recognized by writing them. The youth also learned arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and other branches by



THREE FORMS OF THOTH.—*From Rawlinson, G., "History of Ancient Egypt," Cassino.*

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[36] Gosse, A. Bothwell, *The Civilization of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 14. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1922.

learning to write the symbols of each science. So it was also with the literature and the moral philosophy or wisdom of the ancients. These were acquired by laboriously copying the ancient writings. In ancient times, the learned man was the *scribe,* because through practice of writing he had acquired the funded wisdom of his fathers.

This identification of learning with the art of writing was not universally accepted without criticism, we learn from Plato. He relates a tradition which he found in Egypt to this effect: when Thoth explained to King Thamus his discovery of the arts of learning and wished to teach them to all Egyptians, this objection was made by Thamus to the claim that writing would make them wiser and more able to remember:

> This discovery of yours will create forgetfulness in the learners' souls because they will not use their memories; they will trust to the external written characters and not remember of themselves. The specific which you have discovered is an aid not to memory, but to reminiscence, and you give your disciples not truth, but only the semblance of truth; they will be hearers of many things and will have learned nothing.[37]

The point is that reliance upon the written symbols weakened the effort to grasp the thought and atrophied the mind on the empirical level rather than stimulated it to make the ascent to the level of conceptual thinking.

Method of teaching writing. What individual words young pupils were taught to write can be learned from a book that was in use for a long time and in many schools. Its author was Amen-em-ope, "the scribe of the God's Book in the House of Life," which was the name for the university. It bears this lengthy title:

> *The doctrine that makes prudent and instructs the ignorant to know everything that exists, what Ptah has created and Thoth has written, the heaven with its stars, the earth and what is in it, what the mountains belch forth, and what flows from the ocean, of all things which the sun shed a light upon and all that grows in the earth.*

This papyrus consists of long lists of names, both common and rare, arranged in a systematic order. First are listed the heavens and what is in them: heaven, sun, moon, star, Orion, Great Bear, Ape, Giant, Sow, clouds, storm, dawn, darkness, sun, shade and sunbeams; and then, water and soil. Following these, in six groups, come the words designating persons: God, goddess, blessed dead (male), blessed dead (female), king, queen, and so on; next the highest officials, the high priests and wise men; then a large group of the lower officials and laborers; and finally expressions for mankind, troops, and names of foreign peoples and places. After these the pupils learned 96 Egyptian cities, 42 expressions for buildings and their parts, land and field names; names of all kinds of food and drink, including 48 different things baked, 24 kinds of drinks, and 33 of flesh. In the conclusion there were also the names of the various birds, various words for cattle, and numerous other things. Evidently in all this catalogue of names Amen-em-ope had, as the chief purpose, to teach the correct writing of these individual words.[38] This work was widely popular as a text judging from the many copies that have been preserved.

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[37] Plato, *Phaedrus,* § 275.

Music. The Egyptians were fond of music. They used a variety of instruments, and music played an important role in their daily lives. The court had three "Superintendents of the royal singing," who were held in highest respect, and ranked as "royal relatives." Music likewise enjoyed a prominent place in the religious ceremonies of the temples and was diligently pursued by the priests as a science.

In regard to the place of music in education, authorities differ to some extent.

> In wrestling and music, however, it is not customary among them to receive any instruction at all, for . . . they consider music to be not only useless but even harmful, since it makes the spirit of the listeners effeminate.[39]

This view of Diodorus is thought by some to apply only to the use of music as an amusement. Plato, who was acquainted with the customs of the Egyptians from direct contact about three centuries earlier than Diodorus, says they considered music of the greatest consequence because of its salutary effects upon the morals of the youth, in whose training they were exceedingly strict. The songs which the young were taught were strictly censored, and no innovations were permitted.[40] According to Strabo,

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[38] Erman, Adolf, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, p. 240. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1923. *See also* translation by Aylward M. Blackman, p. 187.

[39] Oldfather, C. H., *Diodorus of Sicily with an English Translation*, pp. 279–281. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

> The children of the Egyptians were taught letters, the songs appointed by law, and a certain kind of music established by government.[41]

The best school for female singers, Erman informs us, was at Memphis.[42]

B. *Secondary Training*

The second level of training. In the elementary training, probably from four to ten years of age, the boys learned the simpler signs of the ancient hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. When this period was over, the pupils had to copy certain approved books to acquire style. On one of the papyri, copied by some youth, three dates are written on the right-hand side. First comes the 23rd., of the month Epiphi, then three pages later, the 24th., and three pages after that the 25th. From this it is surmised that three pages formed the daily writing stint of more advanced pupils. In addition to this task the boys assisted in the practical work of the master. They sometimes wrote memoranda of such duties on the back of their writing lesson.

Copybooks. After long experience in teaching writing, some masters compiled copybooks of selected writings which the pupils had to imitate as their daily exercises. None of the original collections have descended to our day, but the copies made by the boys have survived in numbers. In fact, many of the papyri that have been found were the writing exercises of schoolboys. According to Baikie,

> The curious thing is that among all the books that have come down to us from ancient Egypt, there are far more old copybooks than any other, and these books, with the teachers' corrections written on the margins, and rough sketches scratched in here and there among the writing, have proved most valuable in telling us what the Egyptians learned.[43]

These copybooks were used during the New Empire and contained writings fully fifteen hundred years old. Describing these materials Maspero tells us,

> We still possess school exercises of the XIXth and XXth dynasties . . .

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[40] Plato, *Laws*, § 656.

[41] Wilkinson, Sir J. Gardner, *A Popular Account of The Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 83. London: John Murray, 1854.

[42] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 252.

[43] Baikie, Rev. James, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 36. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1916.

in which we find a whole string of pieces of every possible style and description—business letters, requests for leave of absence, complimentary verses addressed to a superior, all probably a collection of exercises compiled by some professor, and copied by his pupils in order to complete their education as scribes; the master's corrections are made at the top and bottom of the pages in a bold and skillful hand, very different from that of the pupils, though the writing of the latter is generally more legible to the modern eye.[44]

It is interesting to know that it was the schoolboys of Egypt who preserved so much of their ancient literature, but the lads frequently did not understand what they were writing and made many blunders. Erman states,

> The mess they made of the texts which they copied absolutely beggars belief! . . . When the school-boy had to make a copy of a work, the understanding of which was made difficult for him by old linguistic forms, it was often changed under his hand into what is obviously nonsense.[45]

Writing for the young Egyptian was no easy task, for what they copied was to them an ancient language, like Anglo-Saxon to students of today. There was good reason for the great efforts necessary to spur the pupils to industry.

Pupils were trained in form and good style by copying these lengthy compositions, flowery petitions, reports, complimentary letters, and addresses to their superiors, and to the Pharaoh. The instructor improved and corrected what was written, giving attention to the form rather than the sense. The aim was twofold: moral discipline on the one hand, and training in style and orthography on the other.

The older boy was also taught to write original compositions similar to those he copied. Letters were written to fit particular situations. He imagined various governmental situations, journeys of the Pharaoh and higher officials, the building of temples or of cities, repairs of ships, petitions of lower officials to their superiors, the replies of superintendents, requests for furlough, complaints, and many other such occasions for letters. He had to compose letters suited to these situations and address them to his teacher or to the Pharaoh or some official. Most unusual of all, he addressed letters to himself charging that he was a careless, lazy fellow and deserved a hundred lashes.

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[44] Maspero, G., *The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldaea*, p. 288. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1901.

[45] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*. Translated by Aylward M. Blackman, p. xliii. London: Methuen & Co., 1927.

Training in style. In the schools of the higher officials, more particularly after 2000 B.C., attention was directed to literary style. Judging from the many excerpts found in the school copybooks of the New Empire (1530 B.C.–1050 B.C.), the works of the Middle Empire (2130 B.C.–1930 B.C.) were always the most highly valued models of classical perfection. This may, however, have been due more to their moral sentiments than to any genuine literary excellence they possessed. Among the chief works that were copied because of their superior style were the following:

1. *The Speeches of the Eloquent Peasant.* This document written before 2000 B.C. forms one of the most interesting of Egyptian literary remains. The story tells that a peasant on his way to market with the products of the salt-field was artfully "highjacked" by a high official and robbed of all his produce and his train of donkeys. He pleaded his case so eloquently before the Grand Steward that this officer reported to the king, "My lord, I have found one of these peasants who is verily beautiful of speech." The king arranged with the Grand Steward to lead the peasant on until he had delivered nine addresses, unusually eloquent for that day. This work became a favorite school copybook not only because of its style but also because of its moral sentiments.

2. Another very popular model has been preserved intact from the time of the New Empire, about 1300 B.C. This was a literary controversy between one scribe who had command of the army and another who had charge of the royal stables. The latter tried to be not only a learned man but a wit; he boasted he was "proficient in the sacred writings, a servant of the lord of Chmunu (the god, Thoth)," and a teacher in "the house of books." The chief author boasted that "whatever comes out of my mouth is dipped in honey," and showed off his graceful literary style through many pages of sarcastic humor. He criticized the epistolary effort of his friend in this fashion:

> I found it was neither praise- nor blameworthy. Thy sentences confuse one thing with another; all thy words are wrong; they do not express thy meaning. It is a letter laden with many periods and long words. What thy tongue says is very weak; thy words are very confused; thou comest to me involved in confusion; and burdened with faults.[46]

This is probably the earliest known example of literary criticism. For its excellent style the writing masters evidently had the pupils copy this manuscript through many centuries. It differed from all their other copybook material in that it contained no moral nor religious sentiments whatsoever.

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[46] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 380. London: Macmillan and Company, 1894.

C. *Educational Principles*

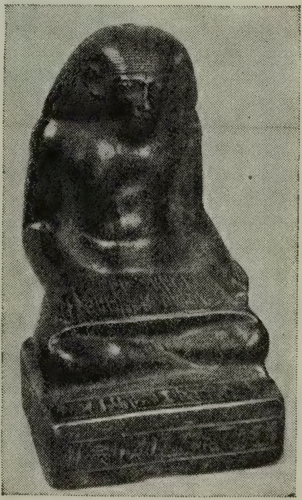
Motivation and punishment. The motivation for learning to write was twofold: first, there was the appeal to the boy's ambition by comparing the fortunate lot of the scribe with others full of hopeless drudgery, and without possibility of promotion to high office. To impress this lesson the boy was made to copy the *Teaching of Duauf,* a long series of admonitions in which he compared the life of the scribe with that of the artisan, stone mason, barber, gardener, and many others. The chief desire of Duauf for his son was this,

> Would that I might make thee love books more than thy mother, would that I might bring their beauty before thy face. It is greater than any calling.[47]

He advises his son after this fashion:

> Set to work and become a scribe, for then thou shalt be a leader of men. The profession of scribe is a princely profession, his writing materials and his rolls of books bring pleasantness and riches.[48]

> The scribe alone directs the work of all men, but if the work of books is an abomination to him, then the goddess of fortune is not with him.[49]



Scribe.

Laziness was a fault to which Egyptians were prone, and many were the warnings against it. The boy was not permitted to lie in bed too late in the morning.

> The books are (already) in the hands of thy companions, take hold of thy clothes, and call for thy sandals.[50]

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[47] Erman, Adolf, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians.* Translated by Aylward M. Blackman, p. 68. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1927.

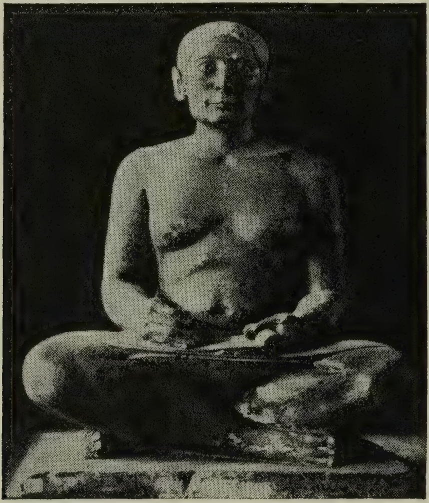
[48] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* p. 328. Translated by H. M. Tirand. London: Macmillan and Company, 1894.

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 329.

[50] *Ibid,* p. 330.

Among the many admonitions against laziness were the following:

> O scribe, be not lazy, otherwise thou wilt have to be made obedient by correction.
>
> Let thy mouth read the book in thy hand, take advice from those who know more than thou dost. Prepare thyself for the office of a prince, that thou mayest attain thereto when thou art old. Happy the scribe who is skilled in all his official duties. Be strong and active in thy daily work.
>
> Be zealous in asking counsel—do not neglect it in writing; do not get disgusted with it.[51]



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Second, there was an incessant resort to that most ancient means of motivation, the rod. Many texts indicate that the rod or strap was the synonym for instruction. The Egyptian was ever ready to beat a subordinate on the slightest provocation. Prince Tahuti, who lived around 1500 B.C., tells that he received a flogging about as regularly as he received his lunch. One master is credited with this choice bit of pedagogical wisdom: "Spend no day in idleness, or thou wilt be flogged. A boy's ears are on his back and he hears when he is beaten." A former pupil wrote to his master, "I was with thee since I was brought up as a child: thou didst beat my back, and thine instruction went into my ear." Even harsher punishments were meted out at times. One boy wrote his instructor:

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[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 330–331.

> Thou hast made me buckle to since the time that I was one of thy pupils. I spent my time in the lock-up, and was sentenced to three months, and bound in the temple.[52]

Another statement attributes the stick to divine origin as follows: "Thoth (the god of learning) has placed the rod on earth. Educate the stubborn with it."

The Egyptians, as other people, in later ages, justified such severity on the ground that education must use the same method that is employed in taming animals. "The *Ka'ere,*" brought from Ethiopia, learned to understand speech; lions were tamed, horses were broken in, and hawks were trained. A boy must be trained in the same way. Consequently, the accepted course of action was admonition and correction ceaselessly applied.

Morals, the central feature of Egyptian education. The supreme feature in Egyptian education was the cultivation of a purely practical and prudential moral behavior. In this the Egyptians followed the form of training established by primitive mankind, which became traditional with all the great civilizations of antiquity. The virtues of primitive society were few and simple; they did not relate to the individual but to the perpetuity of the tribal life. Bravery, blind conformity to tribal custom, uniformity of conduct, and fortitude were the basic qualities. Civilization demanded the evolution and enrichment of moral life. To this end the Egyptians sought to train and instruct their young in the art of virtuous living. Their method of moral cultivation was a great advance beyond the simple training of primitive society, and yet it was similar in character. Their chief writings were a series of moral aphorisms and incidents, the distilled experience and wisdom of the fathers, set down for the instruction of their sons. The boys learned this wisdom by copying the "wisdom literature" again and again as their daily lessons. It was literally "line upon line, precept upon precept"; but these were learned by writing and not by memorizing them.

The sage old vizier, Ptah-hotep, in the 27th century B.C., wrote, "Precious to a man is the virtue of his son, and good character is a thing remembered." This is said to be the first recorded use of the word *character* in literature. Some five centuries later in the *Instructions* written for King Merikere, his father, who was the Pharaoh, referred to "God, who knoweth *character*." The Egyptian use of the word *character* signified "to shape, to form, or to build." It had in view especially the work of the potter, in molding clay on his wheel. Our word *character* is derived from the Greek (χαράσσειν, to engrave) which had in view the impression of an engraved seal on wax, or of a die on the metal in making a coin. Thus it appears that the Egyptians were the first to become aware of the significance to society of personal character. Thousands of years of observation of human nature and of conduct and its results were necessary before *"the age of character"* could dawn.

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[52] Baikie, Rev. James, *Ancient Egypt,* p. 27. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1916.

Didactic nature of ancient literature. The literature of remote antiquity had a distinct pedagogical purpose. The first and deepest of all human interests, or, one might say, the first of all sciences, was the knowledge of how to live. Not how to secure food, but how to live with, and act toward, one's fellows, that is, to live in human relations. It was this science of conduct, the accumulated experiences of man in society, the observed results of millenniums of human behavior that brought about reflection, produced the proverbs, and resulted in the original literature of mankind. With its origin lost in the darkness of prehistoric ages, such knowledge was passed on orally from father to son, from age to age; when at length it was gathered together and written down, it was looked upon as divinely inspired. The Apostle Paul rightly divined its purpose when he declared, "All scriptures are given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." [53] It is a mistake to consider any of the most ancient writings as primarily records of historical facts, or of scientific knowledge. They are not fiction, to be sure, but their factual worth was subordinate to their instructional or ethical significance. The works of hoary antiquity were produced to teach lessons of moral and religious living, to edify the youth, and to form patterns of character.

Every great civilization grew up around a literature that expressed the spiritual values that experience had proved of supreme worth. The ancient Chinese literature consisted of *The Four Books* and *The Five Classics*. In these works, the celebrated

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[53] 2 *Timothy* 3:16.

Chinese savants, Confucius and his disciple, Mencius, gathered together the traditional wisdom of a more remote past. These works were written in the fourth and fifth centuries before the Christian era. The Vedas of the Hindoos, and the ancient literature of the Persians, Assyrians, and other oriental peoples were more religious in character; but the motive in all was to convey to the younger generation a wise and practical way to live the best life. The Egyptian literature was the most ancient, the most varied and extensive. From each of the long periods of Egyptian history, there remains a literature written by fathers for the guidance and instruction of their sons in how to live. There is in these writings nothing of speculation, no questioning, only the practical reflections on life as it had been experienced.

Egyptian literature. The Egyptian literature is the most remarkable product of remote antiquity. First came the mortuary or grave inscriptions reaching back before 3000 B.C.; second, the Book of the Dead followed by the wisdom literature, and finally, the literature of various fields of activity.

> If the extent of the literature is thus great and surprising, still more remarkable is the variety of subjects which it embraces. Besides history, which is largely represented on the monuments, and is occasionally illustrated by the papyri, Egyptologists enumerate works on religion and theology; poems, historical and lyrical; travels; epistolary correspondence; reports, military and statistical; romances, or rather short tales; orations; treatises on morals and rhetoric; mathematical and medical works; books on geography, astronomy, astrology, and magic; collections of proverbs; calendars; books of receipts; accounts; catalogues of libraries, and various others.[54]

Astonishing as the list is, one must hasten to state that the merit of the bulk of these works is very slight.

> The novels are vapid, the medical treatises interlarded with charms and exorcisms, the travels devoid of interest, the general style of all the books forced and stilted.[55]

The Book of the Dead. This compilation of centuries was filled with moral conceptions. It taught the spirit of the dead what answers to give the inquisitors when brought before the judgment seat of Osiris to be judged concerning the life on earth, and how to escape evil spirits in the nether world. Extracts or full copies of this book were regularly placed in the coffins.

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[54] Rawlinson, George, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 141. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

> Each of the forty-two assessors in turn questions him, bids him tell his mystic name and its meaning. In reply, he addresses each in turn by name, and to each declares his innocence of some sin or other. "I have not blasphemed," he said; "I have not deceived; I have not stolen; I have not slain anyone treacherously; I have not been idle; I have not been drunken; I have not issued unjust orders; I have not been indiscreetly curious; I have not multiplied words in speaking; I have struck no one; I have slandered no one; I have not eaten my heart through envy."[56]

The wisdom literature of Egypt. Among the most important writings in which the moral ideas of the ancient Egyptians were recorded, and which were used as copybook exercises by the boys in school, are the following:

1. *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep.* The copy of this work that has come down to our day was written about 2000 B.C.; the original author, however, was the Grand Vizier of King Isesi who lived about 2675 or 2870 B.C. In all probability the aphorisms which he wrote were still more ancient and represent the philosophy of life of the educated classes in the fourth millennium B.C.

Ptah-hotep, growing old, wrote down instructions for his son in order to train him as his assistant and successor in office. His admonitions inculcate modesty, common sense, prudence, and other virtues which are needed to insure success in all the varied aspects of an all-round life.

> How worthy it is when a son harkens to his father! If a son receives what his father says, none of his projects will miscarry.

When invited to dine with a superior, he advises,

> When he gives to thee, take what he puts before thee, but do not look at what is before him, look at what is before thee, and bombard him not (literally "shoot him not") with many glances (that is, don't stare at him!) . . . Turn thy face downward until he addresses thee, and speak only when he has addressed thee. Laugh when he laughs, so shalt thou be very agreeable to his heart and what thou doest will be very pleasant to the heart.

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[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143.

> Speak thou when thou knowest that thou solvest difficulties. It is a craftsman who speaks in council and speech is more difficult than any craft.
> If thou hast become great after thou wert little, and hast gained possessions after thou wert formerly in want . . . be not unmindful of how it was with thee before. Be not boastful of thy wealth, which has come to thee as a gift of the god. Thou art not greater than another like thee to whom the same has happened.
> Make righteousness to flourish and thy children shall live.
> Established is the man whose standard is righteousness, who walketh according to its way.[57]

2. *The Teachings of Ke'gemni.* This is similar to the wisdom of Ptah-hotep. King Huni, when old, commanded his viziers to write down his experiences for the children of the king. The writer who copied it many centuries later was of royal lineage. The original probably belonged to 2900 B.C.

3. *The Teaching of Duauf.* This was a prime favorite as a copybook of the schools of the late New Empire about 1300 B.C. Like the others it originated much earlier. The introduction gives this account of the origin of the work: Instruction that a man by the name of Duauf, the son of Cheti, produced for his son when he went up to the royal "Residence"[58] in order to place him in the school of books with the children of the magistrates. It was most acceptable as a textbook for it was written to glorify the school and education.

4. *Instruction for King Merikere.* This manuscript comes from the time of Tutmoses III, 1478–1447 B.C. The original, it is thought, dates from about 2300 B.C. It contains the advice which a king, whose name is unknown, gave his son, Merikere. After recounting his life experiences, he instructs the young man how to conduct his sovereign office. The spirit and message of this book is found in the statement concerning the wise man:

> Truth (Maat) comes to him well brewed, after the manner of the ancestors. Imitate thy fathers, thy ancestors . . . for lo, their words abide in writing. Open, that thou mayest read and imitate knowledge. Thus shall the craftsman become instructed.[59]

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[57] Breasted, James H., *The Dawn of Conscience*, pp. 130–133. Gunn, following Petrie, calls The Instruction of Ptah-hotep and of Ke'gemni the oldest books in the world. The latter is placed about 3998 B.C. and the work of Ptah-hotep at about 3550 B.C. Other authorities place them about one thousand years later.

[58] The palace of Pharaoh, and therefore the court school.

[59] Breasted, James H., *Dawn of Conscience*, p. 154.

This is about the only one of the works of wisdom literature that presents religious ideas. Urging the performance of sacred observance, he advises against mere external compliance:

> More acceptable is the virtue of the upright man than the ox of him that doeth iniquity.
> A man's virtue is his monument, (but) forgotten is the man of evil repute.[60]

5. *The Teaching of King Amenemhet to his Son.* This work was extremely popular with Egyptian writing masters, judging by the many copies that have survived. King Amenemhet was the founder of the twelfth Dynasty from 1965 to 1955 B.C. The teaching was the counsel of the aged king to his nineteen-year-old son Sesostris, whom he associated with himself in the government as co-regent. It presents the advice of a disillusioned old man who, out of bitter experiences as a ruler, warned his son of the dangers of the throne.

Many copies of this work and of parts of it remain, and many references to it are found. Many of the copies made by careless schoolboys are badly scored by the corrections of the teachers.

6. *The Teaching of Sehetep-ib-re.* This was the instruction of a high court official to his children. The date was between 1847 and 1797 B.C.

7. *The Wisdom of the Anii.* This is a collection of proverbs such as many ancient and modern writers have gathered. It was of comparatively late date, somewhere between 1000 and 745 B.C.

8. *Proverbs of Amenemope.* The extant copy of this work dates from about the sixth or seventh century B.C. The original, however, was the counsel of Amenemope written about 1000 B.C. The author was a man of many offices, chief of which was that of "Grain scribe of Upper and Lower Egypt," in other words he was the minister of agriculture. His writing was entitled *Teaching Concerning Life.* This counsel, which is marked by a distinctly religious note, was translated into Hebrew and greatly influenced the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. In this remarkable document is found the first collection of Proverbs. Centuries of observation of human conduct and its results had aroused a critical attitude toward morals and reflection had provided the foundation of a science of ethics. This science came to be summarized in gnomes or proverbs that were handed on to

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[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 159–160.

the youth. A few examples of these ancient sayings may be cited:

> Be not greedy for a cubit of land, and trespass not on the boundary of the widow.
>
> Better is poverty in the hand of God than riches in the storehouse; and better are loaves when the heart is joyous, than riches in unhappiness.
>
> Shift not corruptly the hand-balance, nor falsify the weights.
>
> Take not gifts from the strong; neither shall thou oppress the weak.
>
> Justice is a great gift of God; he giveth it to whom he will.
>
> Let not thy heart go out after riches,
> They have made themselves wings like geese,
> And they have flown to heaven.

The whole gamut of human virtue is treated in thirty chapters. These sayings were circulated widely and many of them in slightly altered form are found in the book of *Proverbs.*

9. *Moral Instruction from Papyrus Prisse.*

> Be not proud of thine own learning, but do thou take counsel with all, for it is possible to learn from all. Treat a venerable wise man with respect, but correct thine equal when he maintains a wrong opinion. Be not proud of earthly goods or riches, for they came to thee from God without thy help. Calumnies should never be repeated. Messages should be faithfully delivered. In a strange house, look not at the women; marry; give food to thy household; let there be no quarrelling about the distribution.[61]

Egyptian virtues. Piety toward the gods is the first evidence of wisdom. "Acknowledge the greatness of *God* so that it may dwell in thy heart." Deep religious feeling was expressed in many writings of the Egyptians. It was the sense of absolute submission to the supreme and overshadowing will of God. One is strongly reminded of the spiritual experiences expressed in the Old Testament; unquestionably many of the religious ideas of the Hebrews were borrowed from the Egyptians. The reliance upon God in times of adversity is a recurrent theme. The terms "fear of God" and "way of life" were common expressions in Egyptian literature.

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[61] Erman, Adolf, *Life in Ancient Egypt.* Translation by H. M. Tirard, p. 165. London: Macmillan and Company, 1894.

The virtues needed in personal relationships were strongly emphasized, especially one's attitude toward his superiors. First and foremost was abject loyalty and honor to the king. As in most oriental lands the Pharaoh was looked upon as a god. The following maxim was learned by every schoolboy: "A friend of the king will be revered. But there will be no grave for the enemy of his Majesty. His corpse will be thrown into the river." The youth was advised to pay the utmost deference to official superiors, for promotion came only by the favor of higher officers. A spirit of slavish subservience to rulers was inculcated in the Egyptian youth. "Bend your back before your chief" was the advice of the wise man, Ptah-hotep.

Next to doing honor to the king and official superiors came honor to parents. No other ancient literature has more fully stressed filial piety and duty. Many beautiful and touching passages testify to the tender relation between father and son, and mother and son. "The Egyptians revered their mother more than anyone else in the world," declares Baikie. An old Egyptian sage gave this advice to his son:

> Thou shalt never forget what thy mother has done for thee. She bore thee, and nourished thee in all manner of ways. She nursed thee for three years. She brought thee up, and when thou didst enter the school, and wast instructed in the writings, she came daily to thy master with bread and beer from her house. If thou forgettest her, she might blame thee; she might lift up her hands to God, and He would hear her complaint.[62]

From this and other writings it is clear that family life evolved to a high stage in Egypt as it did also in China.

Another virtue that was inculcated was neighborliness, especially toward the poor and needy. Their expressions of conscientious good-will are highly remarkable, almost incredible. Covetousness is vigorously assailed. This maxim Ptah-hotep taught:

> Be not avaricious in a division, nor greedy (even) for thy (own) goods. Be not avaricious towards thy own kin. Greater is the appeal of the gentle than that of the strong. Impoverished is he who overreaches his kin. A little for which one practices guile engenders enmity even in the cool tempered.[63]

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[62] Baikie, Rev. James, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 39. London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1916.

[63] Breasted, J. H., *Dawn of Conscience*, p. 134. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

Avarice was looked upon as the chief cause of family squabbles.

Self-control is one of the prime virtues of a well-educated, wise man. Such a man must control his passions. Other much admired qualities were modesty, mastery over the tongue, truthfulness, and, lastly, moderation in eating and drinking. They particularly valued respect for old age, and assiduously inculcated it in the young.

The motive of moral conduct. Among a few in the higher circle of the sages moral conduct for its own sake may have been the recognized ideal of life. In general, however, moral action was motivated by the law of reward and favor, and it aimed at happiness in a purely worldly life. All a man desired was to insure the continuance of his earthly enjoyments beyond the tomb. At a later date when their moral ideas had somewhat matured, the sages conceived the future state as dependent upon good conduct during the life on earth. But even if one lived wickedly, it was believed that he could escape punishment by a resort to magic.

Summary of Egyptian ideal. A clear-cut statement of the Egyptian ideal of life is given by Flinders Petrie as follows:

> We may sum up the personal character which the Egyptian strove for and even considered essential for those who would enter into the kingdom of Osiris. He should be strong, steadfast, and self-respecting; active and straightforward; quiet and discreet; avoid covetousness and presumption, yet with all this, while striving for the highest character, he was to keep the use of life before him and to avoid miserliness or asceticism.
>
> The main points of character in external matters were self-help, prudence, and respect for success; the value of knowledge, and of conciliation and fair speech for a hold on other men; avoiding the taint of covetousness, and keeping good credit; not being tied by mere pleasures, and being always ready to resign life. . . . They simply enjoy life without being too particular, and lay great stress on making it as pleasant as possible to other people.[64]

From this it is seen that the Egyptians of the higher classes placed great value upon morals and good manners, and practiced a very strict etiquette.

D. *Professional Education*

Higher learning. The temples were the centers of advanced learning, the universities of that ancient day. Heliopolis (City of the Sun), in Egyptian called "On," was the most popular and profound seat of learning. Its High Priest was the Royal Astronomer. Applied mathematics, astronomy, and physics were the most important subjects pursued there. Preparatory courses were offered in geometry, mensuration, surveying, and in volumetric problems. Herodotus states that the priests of Heliopolis were the foremost students of history among the Egyptians. Many of the master minds of antiquity spent time in study there; among these were Moses, Thales, Solon, and Plato. In a later era the library and instruction were transferred to Alexandria, and Heliopolis fell into utter decay.

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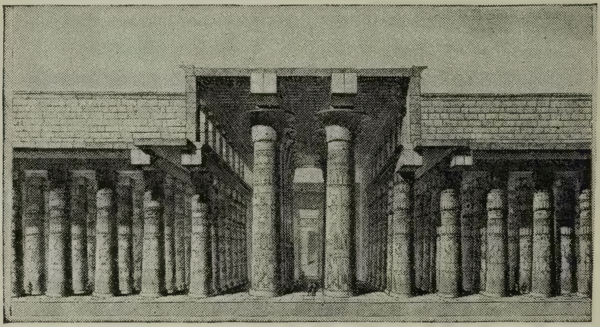
[64] Petrie, William Flinders, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 121–122, 130–131. London: Methuen.



GREAT HALL, TEMPLE OF KARNAK. Reconstruction by Chipiez.—*From Woermann, Karl, "Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völke," Bibliographical Institute.*

There were many other temples where learning of the highest rank flourished; among these were Karnak at Thebes and the temples of Memphis, Edfu, and Heracleopolis. One of the most romantic of all was that at Tel El Amarna built by a heretical and revolutionary Pharaoh. Recent excavations have brought to light many remarkable facts in connection with this temple.

> Next door to the Records Office lies a very ruined building, its bricks stamped "The House of Life." This is Egyptian for "university" and here were found potsherds with lists of names, "Royal Scribe Romose," "Royal Scribe Aahmose," and so on.[65]

Such were the names of some of the regency professors in that ancient institution.

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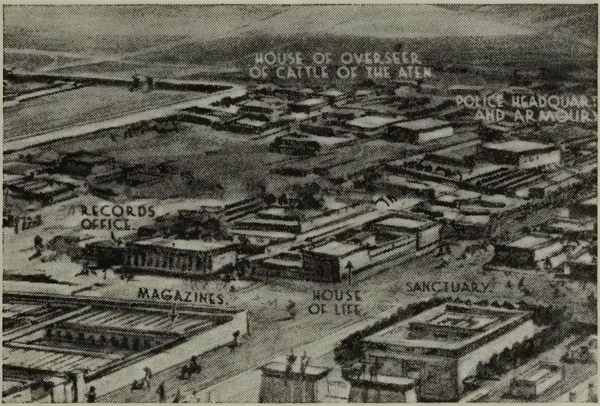
[65] Pendlebury, J. D. S., "The New Tel El Amarna Discoveries," in *The Illustrated London News*, Sept. 15, 1934, p. 386.

Among the studies pursued at these institutions were the ancient forms of writing, the hieroglyphic and hieratic. Other subjects were geography, cosmography, astronomy and chronology, sculpture and painting, ritual dancing, the theory of music, law, medicine, morals, arithmetic, mensuration, hydrostatics, and architecture. Theology was another professional subject pursued at all of the temples, and foreign languages were learned at least in some of them.



House of Life.—*Courtesy, "Illustrated London News."*

Professional education. Concerning education for the professions, very little information has come down to us. From the earliest times practice rather than theory formed the method of education, and this was handed on from father to son. Even today in the orient the son is usually trained in the vocation of the father. In most vocations the technique was a trade secret carefully guarded in the family. This attitude was exceedingly ancient. In the 27th century B.C., Ptah-hotep, the Grand Vizier, "feeling the infirmity of advancing years, requested the sovereign to permit him to instruct his son, in preparation for the duties of an official career as his father's assistant and successor." Speaking of the process of embalming, Diodorus says: "Now, the men who treat the bodies are skilled artisans who have received this professional knowledge as a family tradition." A family of architects has been tabulated in which this vocation descended from father to son for twenty-two generations. In another case, the high-priesthood was held by descendants of one family for nine generations in succession. For seven generations members of a single family were superintendents of scribes. Herodotus relates that the high priests of Thebes were descended in a direct line for 345 generations. This is too incredible for acceptance. Nevertheless the exaggeration would not have occurred if this practice did not have its basis in fact. The learned professions were medicine, priesthood, military office, and architecture. These high professions were acquired largely by the parental apprenticeship method.

1. *Medical education.* All Egyptian learning had from earliest times a close relation to religion and was in consequence under the direction of the priestly class. This fact supports the evidence that medical science was taught at the great temples of Heliopolis and Sais.[66] The papyri that have been recovered dealing with medicine appear to have been textbooks for the use of professional students. The practice of medicine came to be so restricted by petty regulations that medical education involved the learning of only the traditional practices. But even then there was a distinct tendency toward specialization.

2. *Priesthood.* It was the privilege of the priests alone to be initiated into the divine mysteries. Not all priests, however, were thus admitted; only the heir to the throne and such priests as excelled in virtue and wisdom were privileged to know the deepest mysteries. Their broader range of knowledge gave them a superior station. Diodorus, who lived at the time of Augustus Caesar, wrote:

> In the education of their sons the priests teach them two kinds of writing; that which is called "sacred" and that which is used in the more general instruction.

By this time, the ancient hieroglyphic and the hieratic scripts were revered as classical languages. Knowledge of them was required of all the priests, together with the demotic; just as Latin and Greek were long required of modern scholars. In addition to these languages, geometry and arithmetic, which were needed to settle disputes over boundary lines, were given special attention in priestly schools. Chronological calculations and astronomy also formed a part of their curriculum. Concerning these studies Diodorus wrote:

> Of arithmetic they have also frequent need, both in their domestic econ-

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[66] Schafer, Heinrich, *Ärtzte Schule in Sais. In Zeitschrif für Ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. 37, p. 72.

> omy, and in the application of geometrical theorems, besides its utility in the cultivation of astronomical studies; for the orders and motions of the stars are observed at least as industriously by the Egyptians as by any people whatever; and they keep a record of the motions of each for an incredible number of years, the study of this science having been, from the remotest times, an object of national ambition with them. They have also most punctually observed the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, as well as the power which they possess with respect to the nativities of animals, and what good or evil influences they exert; and they frequently foretell what is to happen to a man throughout his life, and not uncommonly predict the failure of crops, or an abundance, and the occurrence of epidemic diseases among men and beasts; foreseeing also earthquakes and floods, the appearance of comets, and a variety of other things which appear impossible to the multitude.[67]

In the field of practical ethics great attention was given to the development of self-control, moderation, and humility. The round of religious duties and the secret doctrines that were taught only to the priests formed in reality the true apex of their education.

3. *Military education.* The officers of the army belonged to the educated class. They not only learned military science but were also instructed in literary style. The mode of training is not well known, but we have the following curious account from Diodorus:

> Now at the birth of Sesostris his father did a thing worthy of a great man and a king. Gathering together from over all Egypt the male children which had been born on the same day and assigning to them nurses and guardians, he prescribed the same training and education for them all, on the theory that those who had been reared in the closest companionship and had enjoyed the same frank relationship would be most loyal and as fellow-combatants in the wars most brave. He amply provided for their every need and then trained the youths by unremitting exercises and hardships; for no one of them was allowed to have anything to eat unless he had first run one hundred and eighty stades. Consequently upon attaining to manhood they were all veritable athletes of robustness of body, and in spirit qualified for leadership and endurance because of the training which they had received in the most excellent pursuits.[68]

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[67] Quoted by Wilkinson, J. Gardner, *A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 321–322. London: John Murray, 1854.

[68] Oldfather, C. H., *Diodorus of Sicily with an English Translation*, Vol. I, p. 187. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1933. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Twenty miles before breakfast is rather strenuous, and need not be accepted *in toto*. Evidently the king believed in the hardening process. From boyhood the future soldiers practiced swimming, running, jumping, wrestling, and marching in company. Hunting also formed a portion of the training in order to accustom the youths to exposure to heat and cold, and to foraging for food.

The Egyptians were not a military people, and military service was not hereditary. Owing, however, to the strength of social custom, the sons of the military class usually followed the vocation of the father. A boy was early taken to the barracks where he was taught the use of weapons such as the battle-ax, the lance, and the shield. In addition he was put through the physical exercises required to give his body the qualities needed for military service.

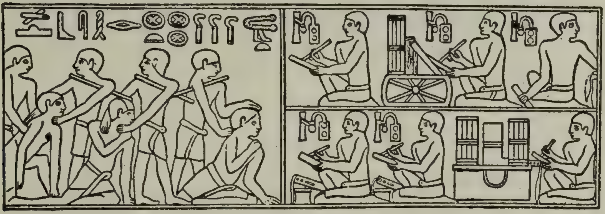
Military officers were selected from among the "royal scribes of the army." The highest officer was designated the "superintendent of the soldiers and scribe of the army." As in all other professions success and promotion to the highest positions came only to those who possessed a classical education. Cavalry officers and charioteers became "scribes of the royal stables." In addition to learning writing they took care of the horses, and distributed provisions to the soldiers. The lot of the common soldier was a hard one, and it was ridiculed in literature that was copied by schoolboys in their writing lessons.

4. *Architecture.* For some time architecture took precedence over all other professions, and enjoyed a rank and esteem never accorded to it in any other civilization. The Pharaohs generally prized their buildings more than any other achievement. Royal architects were often recruited from the princes, and, for a time, almost without exception, they married either the daughters or the granddaughters of the reigning sovereigns. The Grand Vizier, the Pharaoh's prime minister and head of the entire government, was frequently the chief architect. The earliest architect to use stone in a large way was Imhotep, who lived in the 30th century B.C. He has been called the father of architecture and one of the greatest sages of antiquity. Of special schools for architects there is no mention, nor how they secured a succession of competent practitioners in this field.

5. *The importance of scribes.* The scribe was exalted above the ordinary rank of people. The high valuation placed upon the scribal art was because it gave preëminence over the illiterate,

and, even more because it opened the doors to every office of state. This regard is seen in the many admonitions copied by boys in their writing lessons. "One will do all you command if you are experienced in writing." "Concentrate on writing and fix it in thy heart, then everything you say will be important." "Become a scribe and you will be a leader among men." The great sage Amen-em-apt has left us his estimate of the value of writing ability as follows:

> As for the scribe, any (or every) position at court may be his; he needs not be a beggar therein. The man who works to satisfy another never obtains a settled position. I have considered the other professions likewise, and to them also this aphorism may be applied. I would make thee to love books as thy mother. I would bring in their beauties before thy face, for the profession of the sciences is greater than any other—there is nothing equal to it upon the earth. Even when he is a beginner, though still a mere youth, his views are discussed.[69]



Collection of Taxes.—*From Breasted, J. H., "A History of Egypt," Scribner's.*

The work of the ordinary scribe was largely drudgery, for along with his secretarial tasks he had to perform the menial work of his vocation. One of the chief remains of Egyptian literature boasts at great length of the superiority of the scribe over other men. Especially does it contrast his fortunate life with the exacting and disagreeable lot of the toiler. In general they were exempt from forced labor, and enjoyed other privileges.

There were various grades of scribes ranging from the insignificant clerk, ragged, humble, and poorly paid who registered oxen, up to the noble or priest who belonged to the class of educated gentlemen and scholars. Anyone who knew how to write, which naturally included a knowledge of reading and ciphering, could be a scribe. The scribes, however, did not form a separate profession. The term was always used in connection with some office or department.

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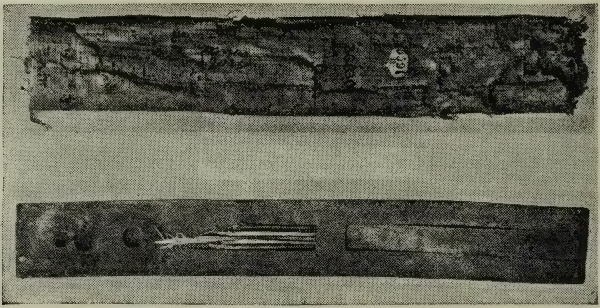
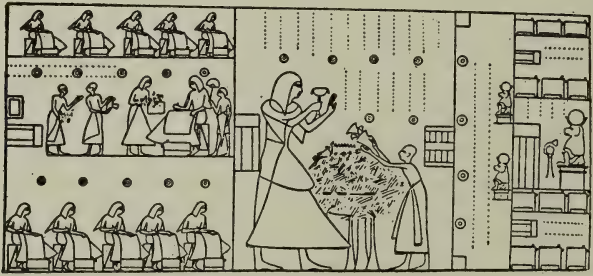
[69] Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, *Amen-em-apt*, p. 68. London: M. Hopkinson and Company, Ltd., 1924.

The most exalted positions were given to those scribes who had shown greatest ability, and the term was attached to many of the great official titles. The highest military officer was known as "the Superintendent of the soldiers, and scribe of the army." Every judge was designated a "chief scribe," and the highest judge was the "Superintendent of the writing of the King." Under the Old Empire, we find reference to "the scribe of the house of God" and the "scribe of the altar." "The scribe of the house of food" was in charge of provisions. "The scribe of the house of silver" was in charge of the royal treasury. At a later date we read of "the scribe of the House of Life," which signified the University; "the registrar of docks"; "keeper of the royal library"; and "the scribe of the temple."



INKPOT AND REED PENS, BRITISH MUSEUM.—*From Rostovtzeff, M., "A History of the Ancient World," Clarendon Press.*



SCRIPTORIUM OF THE VIZIER OF RAMESES II.—*From Erman, A. and Ranke, H., "Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum," Mohr.*

Since all business was conducted in writing, to be an administrator or executive implied that the official was himself a scribe, and had other scribes under his charge as secretaries and apprentices.

E. *Summary and Decline*

Great events in ancient culture.

1. 4241 B.C. The first calendar was devised by the Egyptians. Breasted declares this "the earliest dated event in history."

2. The discovery of copper and its first use in Egypt came about 4000 B.C.

3. The earliest government and nation controlling millions of people arose in Egypt 4000–3500 B.C.

4. The devising of phonetic signs that led to writing first and later to the alphabet arose in Egypt before the fourth millennium. "There were twenty-four letters in this alphabet, which was known in Egypt long before 3000 B.C. It was the earliest alphabet known."

5. The earliest taxation in the form of grain or flax tax began in Egypt.

6. First use of masonry in Egypt began about 3100 B.C.

7. The earliest sea-going ships were built around 3000 B.C.

8. The pyramids were built between 3000 and 2500 B.C.

9. Pens, ink (black and red), and paper were used first in Egypt, but how early is not known.

10. Horses were introduced into Egypt from Asia after 2000 B.C.

11. About 1300 B.C. the Hittites introduced iron. The Assyrian forces were the first large armies equipped with weapons of iron.

12. There emerged for the first time in human records the sense of right and wrong, ideas of truth, justice, righteousness, the sense of conscience, and the intimation of future retribution. The good in human conduct, or what is approved, is "what is loved"; the bad is "what is hated."

Causes of the decline of progress. It seems very strange that after centuries of such remarkable progress in so many of the arts and sciences a decline should have taken place. What caused the paralysis of progressiveness in Egypt?

1. Since the monopoly of higher learning was in the possession

of the priestly class, the inquiry must first look to them for an answer. The priests became obstinately conservative, the slaves of traditional practices. Fear of altering the accepted rules and practices possessed their minds. Diodorus relates that physicians used only the receipts in the ancient books for fear they be accused of manslaughter in case the patient died. Egyptians became equally timid along other lines. The formulas in geometry were not changed after 1500 B.C. nor was there any progress in astronomy, engineering, building, or the other arts. The religious and moral ideas and practices of the later ages were far below the enlightened conceptions of the period from 3000 to 2000 B.C. After this era magic dominated their thinking, and animal worship became the general practice.

2. The tendency to formalism is the invariable result when any practice or idea becomes the fixed habit of the people. All the arts of the Egyptians became highly formalized.

3. Another cause for the cessation of progress lay in mere mental laziness, or lethargy. Progress takes place only when a people is growing, and a people grow only when they possess a superabundance of energy: both physical and mental energy.

4. A fourth cause of the decline of progress lay in the domination of all practice by the older men who had lost the spur of desire and the power to readjust to new conditions. The old almost invariably become non-progressive, and when the young men do not have vision and are hindered by older men from realizing their ideas, decay sets in. It is notorious that among the Egyptians the priestly class and the elder men formed a barrier to progressive measures on the part of younger men.

5. A further obstruction was due to the educational system. Egyptian education was purely an apprenticeship system. No liberalizing training was given. In its two aspects, training for social behavior and for vocation, it relied wholly upon imitation and not upon inquiry.

6. The chief cause for the cessation of Egyptian progress lay in the incapacity of the Egyptian mind to make the steep ascent from the level of the practical and empirical to that of the scientific and universal. These ancients lived on the level of individual cases. The sciences of all the ancient civilizations arose out of practical experiences in response to particular need, and they never transcended the concrete circumstances from which they issued. Arithmetic came from the common needs of the shopkeepers, the commercial agents, the tax gatherers.

For practical life they needed to add and subtract, and to apply weights and measures. Geometry sprang from the necessity of reestablishing the boundaries of farms for the assessment of taxes after the annual inundation of the Nile. The knowledge of geography grew with the expansion of the kingdom, the promotion of commercial relations with other peoples, and military expeditions. Mechanical engineering developed with the control of the waters of the Nile, the building of temples and pyramids. The science of medicine made notable progress within a narrow range and then became a dead formalism.

These ancient peoples did not think of general principles but of concrete situations. They did not think two plus two make four; but rather two cows and two cows make four cows. It was notorious in all fields of thinking; they were fettered by the concrete.

The Egyptian thought of the concrete, the individual object and action, never of the class as such. They did not say "I see," but "My eyes see"; not "You walk," but "Your legs walk." They used the word "heart" for mind or understanding. Even their ethical ideas still partake of their concrete origin. They had no abstract word for "right" but only the concrete term "right direction." The quality "reserved" is "hidden of mouth." They possessed no words for "ought," or for "virtue." Their ethical conceptions were all expressed in the concrete; for example, "I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, and clothes to the naked." "I did what men love, and what the gods approve." Until late centuries social approval was the chief incentive to virtue.

Free imagination lacking. Conceptual thinking, deductive reasoning, creative imagination, were foreign to the Egyptians as to other peoples of remote antiquity. Having exhausted the stimulus and growth that sprang from practical needs, their thinking power was spent. For some reason empirical knowledge does not possess the capability of inner renewal. It was left for other races to transcend the level of practical living and lift mankind to a higher stage of religious, ethical, and scientific experience. Scholars agree that the ancient Egyptians had an interest in science for its practical usefulness only. It never occurred to them to enter upon the search for truth as such; they did not possess any genuine intellectual curiosity. They saw in knowledge only a means of practical advancement; they had no love of knowledge for its own sake.

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3

Theocratic Education Among the Hebrews

Above all other ancient peoples, the Hebrews were remarkable for the profound impression they have left upon history. From them have come, in a large measure, three of the most important religions of the world, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and above all, Christianity. Though an exceptionally exclusive people, their instincts and interests have scattered their descendants throughout the earth as those of no other race. Though most inhumanly persecuted, and, at times, well-nigh annihilated, they still remain by all odds, the most persistent, resilient, and irrepressible of people. Under the circumstances their contributions to moral insight, internationalism, commerce, science, and industrial organization have been truly amazing.

I. GENERAL HEBREW CHARACTER

The fundamental principle. For the Hebrew mind, at the time of writing of the Old Testament, everything had its origin in one eternal principle. This principle was vividly experienced or apprehended as a living deity, Yahweh. So immediate and concrete was their consciousness of Yahweh that they felt that he actually appeared and spoke to them. The evolution of their ideas, their code of laws, religious practices, and educational forms—in fact, everything connected with their daily lives—was derived from this profound sense of the divine Presence and Will. The products of their national thinking were felt to be the positive and direct commands of Yahweh. Throughout the Old Testament such expressions as "The Lord God said unto me," or "unto him," "The Lord spake unto . . . ," "They heard the voice of the Lord God," and "The word of the Lord came unto . . ." are employed with great frequency. Forms of the verb *davar* meaning "to set forth," "to speak," or "to instruct" are used in this way about one thousand times. The noun signifying "the *word* of the Lord" is employed almost four hundred times. In these passages Yahweh, it is stated, directly or through others, spoke or gave his instructions or commands to individuals or to the children of Israel.

Statements that deities spoke to men were not confined to the Hebrew scriptures; they are found in most, if not all, of the ancient literatures. But nowhere else is this assertion made so frequently or throughout such a stretch of time as in the Old Testament and in the New. Yahweh, it is declared, spoke directly to Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David, the prophets, and many others. He revealed himself in dreams, and on a number of occasions appeared to individuals either directly or through others. Theophany must be considered the outstanding characteristic of the Hebrew genius.

The Hebrew mentality was by nature highly susceptible to such psychical phenomena because of the fact that the minds of the leaders were thoroughly dominated by the consciousness of Yahweh. This sense of the divine was apparently not a mystical experience but the result of a growing and commanding concept of God. The Hebrew theophany was not a hallucination, and therefore to be regarded as psychopathological; it must rather be explained by the psychology of creative thinking. The Hebrew mind was extraordinarily fertile, but only in the field of religion. This creative capacity for religious experience sprang from their profound and yet direct apprehension of the divine Being.

The Old Testament writers thought of Yahweh as a genuine personality, creative, omnipotent, universal, just and righteous in all his dealings, pure and holy, but exacting in the observance of his laws. He is loving and, therefore, forgiving and merciful. He is, moreover, *the only God,* and he embraces all peoples in His providential care. To the Hebrew mind God was the universal Patriarch who made all things, and rules the earth and its people according to "the laws of the Lord," which have universal validity, and who must one day be obeyed by all nations. This comprehensive conception of deity was the result of the integration of the ideas of external creative energy and that of the ethical life of the universe.

The Hebrew nature conceived Yahweh as a ruler who entered into intimate personal relation with man, and revealed his purposes to those who trust him. Amos asserted with confidence, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets."[1] Again, of Abraham it was said, "And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do?"[2] Yahweh not only was concerned about his people, but his divine program for the world was to be realized by his indwelling Presence.

The central feature of the concept of *God* was the idea of a being who practiced righteousness and personal fidelity in carrying out contracts. Civilization is founded upon contracts which individuals voluntarily make with each other. The power to make contracts is the basis of the personal life. At the heart of the Hebrew religion was the sacred contract or covenant which Yahweh sealed with the patriarchs individually and later with the whole people. At Sinai the Hebrew tribes bound themselves as a nation solemnly to worship Yahweh only, and to observe his laws and statutes forever. On his part Yahweh pledged himself to guarantee long life, earthly prosperity, the perpetuity of Israel as a people, triumph over enemies, and continued possession of the land of promise. As they first conceived the nature of the ethical world it seemed logical that these material benefits should be "the wages of righteousness."

Hebrew social life, education, and government were theocratic. They were all derived from the inner experience of God, and evolved from that experience. *"In the beginning God"*—such is the most fundamental axiom of this unique race. Not only did God have priority in time because of creation, but He must have absolute authority over his people. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Furthermore, all wisdom, knowledge, and right conduct have their origin in the fear of the Lord. The life of man is summed up in the admonition, "Fear God and keep his commandments."[3]

The narrowness of Hebrew interests. The Hebrew mind was narrow in its range of creative interest. Nothing but what was perfectly congruent with the conception of Yahweh and his law was admitted into the tradition. The Hebrews borrowed much from other peoples, but what was borrowed was subordinated to their dominating ideology. There was no spontaneous flowering of interest in architecture, art, drama, or philosophy and science, as among other peoples. The great temple of Solomon, their most pretentious attempt in the field of construction, was largely the work of foreigners. Their chief industries were sheep raising, agriculture, horticulture, fishing, and trading. Their arts and crafts were largely borrowed, and in these lines they contributed nothing of conspicuous merit.

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[1] *Amos* 3:7.
[2] *Genesis* 18:17.
[3] *Ecclesiastes* 12:13. Compare *Deuteronomy* 10:12; *Micah* 6:8.

The suppression of the art impulse. The leaders of the ancient Hebrews were animated by great dread of all representation of the objects of nature. The second commandment emphatically forbade the making of graven images:

> Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.[4]

The Deuteronomic law was still more emphatic:

> Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye saw no manner of form on the day that Jehovah spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire; lest ye corrupt yourselves and make you a graven image in the form of any figure, . . . the likeness of anything that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth, and lest thou be drawn away and worship them and serve them.[5]

To emphasize this command a very definite curse was uttered against the making and worshipping of images.[6] This deep-seated aversion to all drawing, modeling, or sculpturing of living forms had its origin in their abhorrence of nature religion and its degrading effects upon its worshipers. The purpose of these stern commands was the complete extermination of idolatry in all its aspects. It points to the desire to think of God not in concrete forms but as an invisible being. While it operated effectually to render the evolution of art impossible, it greatly emphasized conceptual thinking and the consciousness of the spiritual.

This fear of representation was already present in Moses, who had seen the bestializing results of animal worship in Egypt. The making and worshiping of the golden calf called forth a terrific outburst of wrath. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this aversion to all image-making with the fashioning of the brazen serpent which remained an object of veneration for many centuries.[7]

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[4] *Exodus* 20:4. Compare *Leviticus* 26:1; *Deuteronomy* 5:8–9.
[5] *Deuteronomy* 4: 15–18.
[6] *Deuteronomy* 27:15.

Hebrew literature. In general the literary products of the Hebrews compare favorably with those of contemporary peoples. In range, however, they are not imposing. There is poetry, history, anecdote, a little of drama, touches of philosophy, but little or no science, and no genuine oratory as we understand it. On the other hand there is much of the hortatory, the legalistic, the prophetic, and the proverbial. The most outstanding characteristic is, of course, its profound religious tone. The purpose that runs throughout is distinctly didactic—the teaching of God and of man's duty to obey his laws. At every turn Israel is reminded of its deliverance by divine power; its wanderings are rebuked, and it is admonished that salvation is to be found in a return to Jehovah.

It is now generally accepted that the literature of Israel began in the songs, poetry, stories, legends, traditional tales, and proverbs that were passed from mouth to mouth. Through many centuries a wealth of oral literary treasures was transmitted from generation to generation with astounding tenacity of memory. Poetry came first; prose followed much later. The priests recited to all comers the great events connected with the history of Israel and of their local shrines. The shepherds enlivened their long night watches by recounting over and over the tales of the past. Fathers and mothers in the homes related these stories to the children. Professional minstrels and wandering storytellers built up a repertoire which they recited far and wide. Thus the earliest literature of Israel was first of all oral, and yet rich and colorful.

Hebrew literature may be divided into three parts: (1) The Pre-Biblical; (2) The Biblical; and (3) The Extra-Biblical.

1. The Pre-Biblical literature consisted of all the earliest writings. The Old Testament furnishes numerous glimpses of this original literature, and Biblical criticism emphasizes the existence of these earlier sources. These works were lost centuries ago, but much of their content was unquestionably incorporated into the books of the Old Testament. Many of the Pre-Biblical works are mentioned in the Old Testament, and Biblical research conjectures that there were still other early sources. That Moses and other Israelitish leaders left some writings would seem a

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[7] II *Kings* 18:4.

natural assumption, but so far there is no evidence that places it beyond question. According to critical scholars, especially important were two works designated *J* (from the use of *Jahweh*) and *E* (from the use of *Elohim*), which formed the basis for the first books of the Old Testament.

2. The Biblical literature is that found in the Old Testament canon. These books according to authorities were written from the ninth century B.C. onward. It is held that the historical books known as "The Law"[8] (*Torah*) were largely compilations from the oral traditions and Pre-Biblical literature which has since been lost. This is the Wellhausen theory generally accepted by Biblical scholars. The point of supreme importance is not that these books were compilations from former sources and did not arise from the experience of the writers. The matter of greatest significance is rather that these materials were selected and put together in their new form under the dominating sense of the concept of Yahweh. At the time these books were composed the Yahweh experience had reached its ripest fruitage in the consciousness of the Hebrew. This consciousness of the being and nature of God and his relationship to man was the organizing and selective element in the composition of the Old Testament.

The circumstances of its composition are described by a recent writer in this way:

> It was the first comprehensive history that had ever been written; even the Greeks had nothing like it till centuries later. The history of Israel was set in the framework of the history of the world! The vast horizon which takes in the nations of the world in its sweep, together with the comprehensive grasp of the history from the creation of mankind . . . was a historiographical achievement of the first order. And equal in importance was the marshalling of the whole movement of history under one great idea . . . as the working out of the purpose of God. For He was behind the great movement and He ordered events according to His plan.[9]

The Old Testament is in fact the history of the spiritual unfolding of the race at its best. It was inspired in the sense that its books were written in harmony with a profound sense of the presence of God.

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[8] This includes *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*.

[9] Reprinted from Bewer, Julius A., *The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development*, p. 69. New York: Columbia University Press, 1922.

3. The Extra-Biblical literature consists of the noncanonical or apocryphal books and the *Talmud.* Mention must also be made of the writings of Josephus and of Philo in the first century of our era. Some of these works have special significance for the history of education; instruction is frequently referred to, though mention of a school is rare. *The Wisdom of Solomon* and *Ecclesiasticus* are among the best examples of Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews, and these, like the *Book of Proverbs,* were intended as texts for the education of the youth. The *Talmud,* which was originally the oral law, comprises the civil and religious laws of the Jews, and these were put in written form after the second century of our era. It contains some valuable information on education.

Character of Hebrew literature. So far as the study of education is concerned, the results of Biblical criticism are of collateral importance. But the Scriptures take on a wholly new interest for educational history when they are viewed in the light of their real purpose. This entire literature from the story of creation through the *Book of Job,* the *Psalms,* and to the last of the *Prophets* was not written primarily for the sake of historical explanation or of science. It was composed for the supreme purpose of inspiring the people to believe in God and to be obedient to his commands. The true end of scripture was pedagogical. This was understood by the writers of the New Testament who declared:

> Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.[10] All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.[11]

The Scriptures present the spiritual and moral evolution or history of the race; historical truth was only the scaffolding for the deeper truth.

II. THEOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Education in the patriarchal age. With reference to education in the time of the patriarchs nothing is very certain. Knowing, however, the extreme conservatism of the peoples of the Near East, we are safe in assuming that the training of children from the days of Abraham to the time of Moses was much like that of Bedouin tribes in later eras. There were no schools, and indeed none were needed, for family life and training furnished the entire education of the young. The statement of *Genesis* 18:17–19 assigning a reason for the choice of Abraham may be taken as highly significant:

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[10] *Romans* 15 : 4.
[11] II *Timothy* 3 : 16.

> The Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do; Seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him? For I know him, that he will command [*teach* or *train*] his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.

The ancient Hebrew family was a patriarchy with the father as the absolute ruler at its head. A strict parental training in right conduct was the characteristic of this race from the beginning. The tribe, organized as a large family, was at once home, school, and government. Education was a participation in the practical activities and religious rituals of the common life. Independent of outside control and influence, the rigorous discipline and regimen of the Hebrew family were the fundamental origin of all the great features of the Hebrew nature and religion.

The Mosaic educational program. Moses was confronted with a gigantic task when he led the children of Israel out of Egypt. For several centuries they had been mere slaves, and were innocent of any knowledge of government or social organization. The creation of civil order had to be brought about by welding the various loose tribal organizations into a solid national unity. The supreme need was the creation of a national *ethos* or character which would transcend tribal differences and transmit the national culture from generation to generation. A national ethos to be effective required two things: (1) a powerful tradition that would be the common possession of all social elements; (2) a common aim for future realization. The deliverance from Egyptian bondage was the greatest common experience of the Hebrew tribes, and it became the foundation for building a vital national tradition. This event was utilized to the utmost in song, in story, and in ritual. Never must Israelites to remotest generations be permitted to forget this momentous deliverance—symbol for all time of all other deliverances, civil and spiritual, national and individual. It formed the central theme in their feasts and celebrations, in psalms, prayers, prophecies, exhortations, and daily instruction.

But the children of Israel were not to be allowed to live complacently on the achievements of the past, however memorable and heroic. They must become a united democracy ruled by the righteous law of Jehovah. A compelling national aim, and *esprit de corps,* must be found to give cohesiveness to the national spirit. A national ethos, or character, must be formed to lift the people above the divisive aims of nomadic tribes. The worship of Yahweh, the supreme God, and strict obedience to his law must be inculcated; moreover, its transmission must be assured from generation to generation. The worship of the covenant-keeping God implied the imperative obligation to realize justice and righteousness throughout all the earth. From early times Israel was growing conscious that it had a far-off and lofty ideal that embraced all nations. This traced its origin to the spiritual experiences of Abraham when he went forth from Ur of the Chaldees. Of this it is written:

> Now the Lord said unto Abraham, I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; . . . and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.[12]

It was this sense of destiny that formed in its best tradition the organizing principle of Hebrew life and striving.

The forming of the national spirit required universal moral and religious education, the instruction of each new generation in the national tradition and in the ideals to be realized in the future. Moses was the first man in history to attempt to nationalize education. Everyone must learn the law of the Lord—men, women, and children. Moses was more than a lawgiver; he was the builder of a new race and culture.[13]

The most remarkable legal document so far discovered through archeological research was the so-called code of Hammurabi, who was king of Babylon (2067–2025 B.C.). This copy of his code contains 282 separate laws. These laws deal with property and personal rights. They prove that Babylonia had reached a complex state of civilization many centuries prior to Abraham. The similarity with those of Hammurabi of many of the laws ascribed to Moses is so striking that Dr. Price, a highly conservative authority, felt obliged to say:

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[12] *Genesis* 12:1–3. Compare *Genesis* 28:14.

[13] In attributing the Deuteronomic program to Moses, there is no intention of crediting him with its complete formulation. What we know as the Mosaic economy was unquestionably a growth through many centuries, and received its final organization during the post-exilic period. Nevertheless its basic conceptions were undoubtedly ordered by the Great Lawgiver. It is now impossible to tell just what he originated and what elements were of later growth. The Mosaic conception found its flower and its fruit in the final form as presented in the literature of the Old Testament, which was gradually edited and written after the ninth century B.C.

> Our conceptions of Moses and his resources must be materially modified. We must henceforth look upon him as a compiler for Israel of some laws which had been in oral or written existence more than a thousand years before his day.[14]

The results of other celebrated lawgivers, Hammurabi, Draco, Solon, and Lycurgus have long since been obliterated. Be it said to his honor, the foundation Moses laid still endures as a living force.

The family the chief educational institution. In the Mosaic program the family was retained as the foundation of Hebrew civilization. So thoroughly did this point of view dominate that the nation as a whole was looked upon as one family. The Hebrews were called "The Children of Israel." The prophet Amos has this important observation:

> Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O Children of Israel, against *the whole family* which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, You only have I known *of all the families* of all the earth.[15]

As the patriarchal family life was the cradle of the idea of Yahweh and of government and law, so an effort was made to perpetuate family sentiment and regimen as the basis of all religion and civil life.

The Hebrews generally had a much saner attitude toward the sexual instinct than the other races of antiquity. Their sensibilities revolted against the gross sensuality everywhere prevalent. They loved children and deplored childlessness as a mark of divine disapproval. The Psalmist declared:

> Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord: and the fruit of the womb is his reward. As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man, so are the children of youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.[16]

Nothing expressed the Hebrew attitude better than the lament of Rachel, "Give me children, or else I die." [17] Every individual was led to look upon normal domestic life as the divine pathway to individual peace and happiness.

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[14] Price, Ira Maurice, *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, p. 217. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1925.

[15] *Amos* 3:1–2. Compare *Jeremiah* 31:1.

[16] *Psalms* 127: 3–4.

[17] *Genesis* 30: 1.

Parental instruction compulsory. By the most positive command the Mosaic law required the father as head of the family to instruct the children.

> Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it: That thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged. Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey. Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord; And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart; And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.[18]

Here it is clear that the family not only was to be the instrument for the instruction of children in morals and vocational activity, but it was to play its part in training them in the great national tradition, and in the law of the Lord. The solemn imposition upon the parents, the father first and by implication the mother, to instruct the children, had its counterpart in the command "Honor thy father and thy mother." The family henceforth became the impregnable fortress of Jewish religion and life. It was the efficiency of this institution that has enabled the Jew to survive and transmit his racial traditions under circumstances that would have utterly obliterated every other race of people whatsoever. The proper upbringing of children was regarded from of old as the highest function of life.

Other means of national training. The Mosaic program comprehended several plans for the inculcation of the national tradition.

(1) Monuments of stone were set up in various places as memorials of the great events in the life of Israel. This was done especially to impress the young. When Joshua passed over Jordan, he established such a memorial.

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[18] *Deuteronomy* 6: 1–9.

> Take you up every man a stone upon his shoulder. . . . That this may be a sign among you, *that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones?* Then ye shall answer them.[19]

The setting up of a stone pillar was evidently used in the distant past to mark a contract between men,[20] and to signalize any memorable event.

✓ (2) Another means of impressing the young was that of the sacred feasts. These would be peculiarly valuable in that the ritual of their enactment possessed an element of drama and the child himself was given a distinctive role to play. At a point in the observances of the feast of the Passover, and also that of Unleavened Bread, the youngest child arose and made inquiry as to the meaning of the feast. The father then explained its significance.

> And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year. And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites, as he sware unto thee and to thy fathers, and shall give it thee. . . . And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, What is this? that thou shalt say unto him, By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from the house of bondage.[21]

This arrangement for the participation of the child in the ritual was a pedagogical device of great astuteness. The interest and attention of the young were thus aroused, and the question of the child guaranteed his intelligent comprehension of the significance of the ceremonial. Nothing could be better calculated to fix the national tradition and identify the individual with the national spirit.

✓ (3) As a further means of inculcating the worship of Jehovah, the priests and Levites were commanded to teach the law to the people.

> For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.[22]

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[19] *Joshua* 4 : 5–7. Compare *Genesis* 28 : 18–19; I *Samuel* 7 : 12.
[20] *Genesis* 31 : 44–52.
[21] *Exodus* 13 : 8–14. Compare *Exodus* 12 : 25–59; *Deuteronomy* 6 : 20–25.
[22] *Malachi* 2 : 7. Compare *Leviticus* 10 : 8–11; *Deuteronomy* 33 : 10.

A number of instances are mentioned showing that this function was more or less faithfully carried out. More particularly the priests were to give instruction in the law at a mass meeting of Israel every seven years. This probably followed the practice of Moses and Aaron in holding assemblies of all the people during the journey through the wilderness.

> And Moses commanded them saying, At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which thou shalt choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing. Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law; and that their children, which have not known anything, may hear, and learn to fear the Lord.[23]

In order to teach them the law such assemblies of the people were held by Samuel [24] and Nehemiah,[25] and probably by others. It is noteworthy that the presence of women and children is stressed. This was done that no one in Israel might remain ignorant of the law. Moreover, the one purpose was to insure for all time to come the transmission of the worship of Yahweh and the keeping of his law. So important was the law that Moses commanded Joshua to study it daily:

> This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein.[26]

The content of early education. The curriculum of this most ancient period was rather narrow. Religion formed the one inclusive subject. Instruction in religion was connected so closely with living that it covered many other subjects. It required some arithmetic in connection with the tithes. The domestic arts were also connected with religion. These were: the weaving of fine linen; the graving on metal and stone; making articles of gold, silver and brass, such as chains, rings, and settings of stones; embroidery; garmentmaking; making of the tabernacle and temple furnishings; furniture making; woodcarving; the preparation of oils, incense, and fine flour; and building of storehouses.

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[23] *Deuteronomy* 31 : 10–13. Compare *Joshua* 8 : 33–35; II *Kings* 23; *Nehemiah* 8 : 1–8.

[24] *Samuel* 7 : 5.

[25] *Nehemiah* 8–9.

[26] *Joshua* 1 : 8.

Music. From the beginning song played a large role in the life of Israel, and its power over their religious emotions was utilized to full effect. The songs of Moses and of his sister Miriam [27] were of a high order. Before his death, it is stated, Moses wrote another song with the intent that it should preserve future generations from infidelity to Jehovah.

> Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach it to the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel.
>
> And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are befallen them, that this song shall testify against them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their imagination which they go about, even now, before I have brought them into the land which I sware.
>
> Moses therefore wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel.[28]

That music continued throughout the centuries to be a vital element in the life of Israel may be inferred from many circumstances. Their songs formed a strong national bond. Among the less highly developed peoples, music has an unusually powerful influence. The effects of music upon the temperament of King Saul are well known. But that it was commonly employed among the bands of prophets to induce the prophetic spirit is not so familiar. Even Elisha resorted to music for this purpose.[29]

David, noted for his interest in music, organized musical life on a grand scale, employed teachers, and composed many songs.

> Moreover David and the captains of the host set apart for the service certain of the sons of Asaph and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals. . . . So the number of them, with their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord, even all that were cunning, was two hundred fourscore and eight. And they cast lots for their offices, all alike, as well the small as the great, the teacher as the scholar.[30]

Nehemiah records that 245 "singing men and singing women" were among those that returned from captivity.[31]

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[27] *Exodus* 15.

[28] *Deuteronomy* 31 : 19, 21–22.

[29] II *Kings* 3 : 15. Compare I *Samuel* 10 : 5–6.

[30] I *Chronicles* 25 : 1–8; I *Chronicles* 23 : 5 speaks of 4000 who "praised Jehovah with the instruments." Compare I *Chronicles* 15 : 16–24; I *Chronicles* 16 : 4–43. *See also* I *Samuel* 10 : 5; II *Samuel* 6 : 5, for list of instruments.

[31] *Nehemiah* 7 : 67.

The law. The main element of the curriculum was the law. This included at once morals, sanitation, civil law, and religion. This curriculum was narrow, intensive, and canonical. It was "Thus saith the Lord." Neither pupil nor teacher was permitted to make any changes.

> What things soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.[32]

Such was the educational policy of the Mosaic era. It was not carried out perfectly, but it was for at least a portion of the Hebrew people more effective than the education of other races.

Their ideal during this era of their history was that of piety toward parents and toward God. "The fear of the Lord" was at the basis of their conceptions of life, both civil and social. Their view of the moral ideal, while higher than those of contemporary peoples, had a tendency toward utilitarianism. This is seen in the Beatitudes of the Old Testament:

> And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord. Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall command the blessing upon thee in thy storehouse, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto; and he shall bless thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. The Lord shall establish thee a holy people unto himself, and he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, and walk in his ways. And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord; and they shall be afraid of thee.[33]

From this it is clear that the motive for good conduct was largely material prosperity. How infinitely below the standard of the Beatitudes of the New Testament! Yet it must be acknowledged that the ethical insight that was to develop to such sublimity in later centuries was already present in the sense of obedience to the law of Yahweh.

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[32] *Deuteronomy* 12: 32. Compare *Proverbs* 30: 6.

[33] *Deuteronomy* 28: 1–10.

Writing and the early scribes. The art of writing was by no means as essential to the early Hebrews as to the Egyptians. Their simple economic order and religious life did not require it. There were no cheap writing materials such as the Egyptians possessed. Again, for many centuries there was no court and central authority to promote writing in diplomatic correspondence, historic records, and in the conduct of business. Moreover, there was a difference in mental attitude between the Egyptians and the Hebrews; the one trusted more to records written on stone and papyrus, the other to "the tablets of the heart." The emphasis of the Old Testament was on learning, as we commonly say, "by memory" or "by heart." Such learning was obligatory, as these passages show:

> These words, which I command thee this day, shall be *in thy heart*.[34]

Again,

> Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart *from thy heart* all the days of thy life.[35]

For many centuries the Hebrew tradition was transmitted orally through song and story.

How early writing was practiced by the ancient Hebrews is still a disputed point. Peritz, as quoted by Dr. Fletcher H. Swift,[36] states that the Israelites acquired "their system of weights and measures and the mode of writing" from the Canaanites. It is, however, highly difficult to believe that the long contact with the Egyptians left no literary results. Slaves though they were, the leaders among them must have observed daily the Egyptian scribes writing down their customary reports, and must have gazed upon the many monuments with hieroglyphic records. It is indeed strange, if Moses and others, as tradition declares, did not write on stone tablets and monuments and even papyrus. That they did write would be a natural assumption. That the ark of the covenant was in actual fact a cabinet for preserving the sacred scrolls is highly credible. Just such cabinets were commonly used in Egypt. However, it must be acknowledged that the command, "And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates,"[37] seems highly incredible as coming from Moses. It is altogether improbable that the art of writing was so common at so early an age in Israelitish history that every man could write the law upon his doorpost. Furthermore, they did not have any doorposts until long after Moses.

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[34] *Deuteronomy* 6 : 6; Compare *Psalms* 37 : 31; 40 : 8; 119 : 11.

[35] *Deuteronomy* 4 : 9.

[36] Swift, Fletcher H., *Education in Ancient Israel*, p. 8, 27. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919.

[37] *Deuteronomy* 6 : 9.

The evidence from archeological research shows that the language and cuneiform script of Babylonia were in official use in Palestine in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Later under Egyptian overlordship the language of Egypt was also introduced. According to Dr. Price:

> The Israelites who settled in Canaan in the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C., perhaps used the Phoenician script, for that is the language which we find on antiquities whose date falls in the period after Israel's settlement. The oldest scraps of the language are those found on ostraca unearthed at Samaria, of about the middle of the ninth century B.C.[38]

It is surmised that writing was becoming known in Palestine during the time of the Judges.[39] Some weight may be attached to the statement that Gideon

> caught a young man of Succoth, and inquired of him: and he wrote down for him the (names of) princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, seventy and seven men.[40]

The contact with this youth was accidental, which gives significance to the statement.

In the next period, under the monarchy, official recorders, private secretaries, army scribes, and other scribes were employed.[41] There is a reference to "the families of the scribes"[42] as though the art of writing were a hereditary trade. There was also use of writing in this period by the major prophets. Amos and Micah were mere country-bred men and yet wrote their remarkable books—a clear evidence that knowledge of writing had already spread among the common people. The Moabite Stone set up by King Mesha about 850 B.C. at Dibon to celebrate his victory over Israel indicated that there were those who were able to read it. This writing was in the Phoenician script. By the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah writing had made a good beginning, judging from the references to books and writings in the following passages:

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[38] Price, Ira Maurice, *The Monuments and the Old Testament*, pp. 247–248. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1925.

[39] *Judges* 5:14.

[40] *Judges* 8: 14.

[41] Under King David, Jehoshaphat was the official recorder or "remembrancer," or "writer of chronicles." It was his duty to keep the Royal records. II *Samuel* 8: 16–17; 20: 24–25; I *Chronicles* 18: 15. Jonathan, David's uncle was "counsellor and scribe." I *Chronicles* 27: 32. Shemaiah was private secretary. I *Chronicles* 24: 6. A number of scribes are also mentioned. Similar officers and scribes were employed under other kings, so that such employment must be accepted as common practice. Cf. I *Kings* 4: 3; II *Kings* 13: 18; 19: 2; 22: 8–12; *Isaiah* 36: 3, 32; II *Chronicles* 34: 8, 13. For army scribes, II *Chronicles* 26: 11; II *Kings* 25: 19.

[42] I *Chronicles* 2: 55.

> Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.[43]

> Now go, write it before them in a table, and note it in a book, that it may be for the time to come for ever and ever.[44]

> Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read.[45]

> Write thee all the words that I have spoken unto thee in a book.[46]

Jeremiah employed a writer to take down his prophetic message and then to read it to the public in the temple.[47]

A few years later Hezekiah caused a conduit of 1700 feet to be cut through solid rock to supply running water to Jerusalem. An inscription in the rock tells the story, and there must have been those who could read it. During the same time Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, sent the princes and Levites throughout the land to teach the people the law of the Lord.[48] Even earlier the Kings were directed to have copies of the law transcribed for themselves.[49]

All of these evidences are mere scraps and show that the tools of learning were as yet probably not widely diffused. As Kennedy [50] sagaciously remarks:

> Reading and, still more, writing must rather have been the accomplishment of the few than the custom of the many.

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[43] *Isaiah* 8 : 16.
[44] *Isaiah* 30 : 8.
[45] *Isaiah* 34 : 16.
[46] *Jeremiah* 30 : 2.
[47] *Jeremiah* 36 : 4 sq.
[48] II *Chronicles* 17 : 7–10.
[49] *Deuteronomy* 17 : 18.
[50] Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Article: *Education.* Vol. I, pp. 646–651. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

It was not until after the return from Babylonia that reading and writing became indispensable to the Jew. This need arose in connection with the profound interest in the learning of the law.

III. THE GROWING COMPREHENSION OF GOD

Yahweh. These centuries in the history of Israel mark the evolution of a more profound knowledge of the nature of God. It is for this reason they are so tremendously significant for our race. Here for all time one can trace the spiritual ascent of mankind to the point where he came to see God as an ethical being and to understand his nature and true relation to man.

The spring of all Hebraic developments was the patriarchal family regimen. Unlike other peoples, their idea of God found its symbol not in the forces of nature either celestial or terrestrial, but rather in the experience of patriarchal government. The patriarch himself furnished the apperceiving idea. His strict regimen gave rise to the "fear of the Lord." His dealing with others led to the conception of law, righteousness in conduct, and covenant keeping. He was the leader and protector against hostile forces of every kind. Perfect loyalty to him led to tribal unity and strength. Obedience to his commands brought material prosperity. The fundamental elements of Yahweh are those of a defender, father, and just ruler. Yahweh was the Patriarch of the whole Israelitish family.

The ancestors of the Hebrew people espoused the anthropomorphic view of religion. It is true the rank and file of the people had a tendency to lapse into animal worship even down to the time of the return from the exile. But the leaders repeatedly rebuked them and charged them with infidelity to Yahweh. These leaders did not worship a man such as Abraham, Jacob, or Moses, but yet Yahweh as they conceived him had many human characteristics. Of the evolution of the idea, Dr. Fletcher H. Swift rightly declares,

> In early Hebrew thought Yahweh is represented as having human characteristics and performing human activities. Images are employed in worshipping him (*Judges* xvii and xviii), and he makes known his will through the sacred Calf (*Ibid.*) . . . He is despotic, merciless toward all who offend, beast as well as man. He is concerned with the minute details of ceremony and rite. His wrath is averted or his favor won and kept by elaborate ceremonies, lavish and costly offerings not excluding human sacrifices. (C. G. Montefiore, "Origin and Growth of the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," *Hibbert Lectures,* 1892, p. 40.)

It is remarkable that nowhere amid the traces of this early stage is Yahweh associated with any of the gross immoralities which stain the biographies of the gods of Greece, Rome, and other nations.[51]

The circumstances of development. Throughout the centuries, especially from the time of Samuel to the exile, *i.e.*, from the tenth century B.C. to the sixth, a transcendent change took place in the conception of Yahweh. For a time, under the early monarchy, the fortunes of Israel reached their pinnacle of prosperity and glory. Except for this brief era under David and Solomon, the Israelites were in almost continual bondage to other peoples, to Egypt, the Philistines, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and in later centuries the Greeks and Romans. Israel was in the geographical center of civilization and was in consequence made the victim of every great international struggle. Strange as it may be, it was just this dire misfortune that caused the Jewish people to become the generators of the spiritual conception of religion. Before pursuing this thought further, it is advisable to consider that remarkable class of men, the Hebrew prophets, who conceived the new idea of God.

The prophets. The prophets were men of superb courage. Fearlessly, and at times to their faces, they denounced and rebuked kings, queens, and their debauched courtiers. They dared pagan priests and reproached hostile mobs for their sins. They were not ignorant men, though some of them were peasants and shepherds caught up suddenly by the spirit of prophecy when plowing in the fields or tending their flocks. They knew how to write and speak fluently and powerfully. They were, furthermore, men of thought and reflection, well acquainted with what was going on around them, both in the social and in the political world of Judah and Israel. They were not provincial, but fully conversant with the complexities of international affairs and movements.

Of profound interest is the nature of the prophetic afflatus to which these men were subject. They commonly saw visions, received divine messages, and experienced ecstatic mental states. Such transcendent experiences were caused by what they termed "the spirit of Yahweh." Music was employed for producing the prophetic spirit.[52] Whereas orgiastic seizures were common phenomena among pagan priests, and were expressed in the wildest excess of emotion, usually very debased, the experiences of the Hebrew prophets were of a wholly different character. Isaiah, who was himself caught up by a supreme vision and in consequence thereof became "the most majestic of the prophets," analyzed and defined this prophetic spirit quite fully. The spirit of Yahweh, as he knew it, was "The spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of the knowledge and the fear of the Lord." This spirit causes one not to judge "after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears." Under the control of this spirit "with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth." [53] In other words these men were animated by a holy zeal for purity of life, for social justice for all men, especially the poor, for international righteousness, and universal peace. They had a passion for right living, for knowledge, and for the insight that is connected with the highest ethical principles.

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[51] Swift, Fletcher H., *Education in Ancient Israel from 'earliest times to 70 A.D.*, p. 15. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919.

[52] I *Samuel* 10: 5–6; I *Kings* 3: 15.

From Yahweh to God. The change from Yahweh to God is by far the most sublime and transcendent experience that has ever come to the soul of man. In early Hebrew life Yahweh was only a tribal deity, one among many gods, though, as the leaders of Israel believed, the most superior and powerful. He worked miracles over the forces of nature, insured victory over enemies, and brought abounding earthly prosperity. He was peculiarly the God of battles. From this early and childlike view the prophets came to see God as the one and only deity, the Creator and Lord of the whole earth and of all peoples. Yahweh was worshiped by feasts, a continuous round of sacrifices, and by the observance of the law or covenant. All of this was outer form. God on the other hand is a purely ethical being; he is worshiped by an upright heart in deeds of righteousness, humility, and mercy. Yahweh could be worshiped only at certain shrines or at the temple in Jerusalem. God as a purely ethical being is above time and space; he can be worshiped everywhere and at any time. When Israel and Judah were carried into exile, it dawned upon the prophets that God can be worshiped in foreign lands as well as in Jerusalem; and that such worship is not by the sacrifice of beasts and a temple ritual but by the adoration of an upright heart. The new attitude was expressed by Micah,

> What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? [54]

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[53] *Isaiah* 11 : 2–4.

[54] *Micah* 6 : 8.

It was highly difficult for the ancient Jew to understand how Yahweh could love his own chosen people and yet permit them to suffer at the hands of other nations. In the continued scourgings administered by the Gentile nations, the prophets perceived that these nations were but the instruments of Yahweh. He not only used Israel but he used all the nations of the earth in the accomplishment of his program. Throughout the bizarre events of human experience runs one great, divine objective, the realization of absolute righteousness. "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth; and the isles wait for his law."[55]

This realization of universal righteousness must come by universal acceptance of the divine law that Yahweh had revealed to his chosen people Israel. With such prophetic vision as inspiration, it became the objective of Judaism that "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."[56] Not only Israel but all peoples are the vehicles of Yahweh in the achieving of his ends. The prophets revealed the supreme truths of the ethical universe.

> Foremost among such truths were the facts, now first practically realized, that God's government and interests were not merely national, but universal; that righteousness was not merely tribal or personal or racial, but international and world-wide. Neither before nor since have the ideas of God's immediate rule and the urgency of His claims been so deeply felt by any body or class of men as in the centuries which witnessed the struggle waged by the prophets of Israel for the supremacy of Yahweh and the rule of justice and righteousness which was His will. The truths then uttered are contained in the writings of the Later Prophets. They were not abstractions, but principles of the divine government and of the right, human, national life.[57]

Here for the first time is a philosophy of history; the most sweeping and comprehensive insight into the significance of human existence. Its view is world-wide; it embraces all people and all time. It discloses the divine theme in the epic of mankind.

This conception of the vital and indestructible character of righteousness took firm possession of the prophets. Even when defeat, disaster, and exile came, it sustained their indomitable confidence that a remnant would return from exile, that a new kingdom would be set up in Jerusalem, and that a great Messianic hero would ultimately arise to realize the ideal kingdom of righteousness, justice, and peace.

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[55] *Isaiah* 42: 4.

[56] *Isaiah* 11: 9. Compare *Jeremiah* 31: 34.

[57] *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol X, p. 214. New York: Copyright by Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1905.

The most difficult lesson of all human experience for the ancient Hebrew to understand was the problem of evil. Yahweh had entered into a solemn covenant to provide blessings for his people. Evil was surely the reward of infidelity and sin. But observation of life gradually taught them that evil descends on the righteous as well as on the wicked. Furthermore, the unrighteous are seen to prosper. This profound ethical problem was discussed at length in the *Book of Job*. The conclusion reached here was that God is the author of both good and evil. Even the righteous suffer and the wicked flourish. But the final outcome of the two is entirely different. When the good man suffers he is inducted into a more intimate and blessed communion with God than he would otherwise have known. Job's suffering resulted in knowing God in the deepest and most superlative experience:

> I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself . . . So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning.[58]

The working out of this exalted knowledge of the one God, an omnipotent, omniscient, spiritual, ethical being, creator of the heavens and the earth, manipulating history for the ultimate triumph of truth and righteousness, mercy, and love, is the grandest achievement of human thought. Nothing can even begin to compare with it except the development of the Copernican astronomy and its final grasp of the physical universe in the *Celestial Mechanics* of Newton. But the conception of the Hebrew prophets was even more comprehensive, more significant. It was the result of the deepest travail of the human spirit, the integration of thought, emotion, feeling, and action the most profound. It was the spiritual counterpart of the *Celestial Mechanics* which it long preceded.

Fatherhood of God. It has been charged that the ancient Hebrew failed to think of God as a father, and that this idea is not found in the Old Testament. This is an entirely erroneous conception, for this was one of its most deep-seated teachings, as many passages show: [59]

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[58] *Job* 42 : 5–12.

> Do ye thus requite Jehovah, O foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy father?—*Deuteronomy* 32: 6;
>
> Like as a father pitieth his children so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.—*Psalms* 103: 13;
>
> Wherefore David blessed the Lord before all the congregation; and David said, Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel, our father, for ever and ever.—I *Chronicles* 29: 10;
>
> His name shall be . . . The everlasting father.—*Isaiah* 9, 6;
> For I am a Father to Israel.—*Jeremiah* 31: 9;
>
> Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?—*Malachi* 2: 10;
>
> O Lord, father, and Governor of my life.—*Jesus, Son of Sirach,* 1: 1.

This conception of God as father brings to the front a profound dualism that divided the Hebrew people to the rise of Christianity. In earlier times, the mass of the Hebrews were never able to divest themselves of primitive nature worship. Despite every effort to win them from idolatry to the pure worship of Yahweh, they constantly reverted to idolatry. The ten tribes were lost because they could not measure up to the new spiritual ideal.

Furthermore, with the development of the conception of God as absolute perfection, two opposing views of religious life emerged. Men like David and the prophets saw in religion a warm spiritual communion with God. Nothing could express this view in more classical terms than the twenty-third Psalm.

On the other hand were the priests, the scribes, and, in later times, the Pharisees, who looked upon religion as a ritualistic or legalistic performance. The intimate spirtual relation to God was regarded by them as presumptuous and even blasphemous. They were not only themselves content with a cold externalism, but they endeavored to force the same attitude upon others. It was this spirit of narrowness that led them to kill the prophets. Their chief accusation against Jesus was that he called God his father.

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[59] See also *Deuteronomy* 14 : 1 ; *Psalms* 68 : 5 ; *Psalms* 89 : 26 ; *Isaiah* 64 : 8 ; *Isaiah* 63 : 16 ; *Jeremiah* 3 : 19 ; *Malachi* 1 : 6.

The sons of the prophets. The great central feature of the Hebrew religion was the dominating consciousness of Jehovah, and the individuals who most clearly expressed this spirit were the seers and prophets. Their minds were illuminated so that they saw the application of the God-idea to the circumstances of the time, and they prophesied or spoke forth in the name and spirit of Yahweh.

From the time of Samuel onward there is mention of "the sons of the prophets" and of their associations at certain ancient religious shrines. It was natural that young men should attach themselves to the new spiritual leaders. These disciples, notable for their zeal, sought to experience the spiritual exaltation of the master. Since these associations were voluntary, but were most active in times of great peril to the worship of Jehovah, it is surmised that they came together to preserve the purity of the religion of Jehovah. They lived with their families in colonies at Ramah, Bethel, Gilgal, Jericho, Carmel, Gibea, and probably Samaria. Samuel evidently founded the colony at Ramah[60] since he had his home there, and he was apparently its leader. At a later period Isaiah had a similar group of disciples about him.

In these communities the young men resorted to various means in order to induce the prophetic spirit.[61] As we have already seen, sacred music had profound effects in producing the spirit of prophecy. Most certainly, its practice engaged the attention of the young prophets. Without question the study of the law of the Lord and ancient traditions likewise formed a prime feature of their association. Prayer, meditation, and formal worship were a daily exercise. It is also probable that the spiritual conditions of the nation and even international situations may have claimed attention. May one not assume that the burning social messages of the prophets and their vision of the universal rule of Jehovah and his righteousness had a background other than the thought of an individual prophet? These evangelical groups experienced exalted and inspiring visions of a world ruled by Jehovah, the God of all righteousness and of all mercy.

The national ethos and education. The Hebrews were the first people to create a national ethos or ideal of character, and to form a national system of education. Every man, woman, and child was obliged to learn the fundamentals of the law. They were the first people to practice democracy, though it was in the form of a theocracy. National education aimed at the cultivation of individual character to the end that every one might serve the Lord. Israel was inherently democratic, a people without cultural discriminations,[62] the source of modern equalitarianism.

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[60] I *Samuel* 19 : 18–24.
[61] I *Kings* 18 : 28; I *Kings* 20 : 37–38; *Zechariah* 13 : 6.

The movement begun at Sinai culminated in the complete formulation of the law in later centuries. At Sinai the tribes banded themselves together by a common oath and solemn compact with Yahweh to serve him and to observe his law. By this covenant they lifted custom and habit from their former naturalistic and traditional basis to the level of positive duty and responsibility. Conduct was no longer governed by the empirical and experiential, but recognized the obligation of the divine and universal. The law was the command of Jehovah and hence, was binding equally upon all—and binding in all circumstances. Thus the comprehensive integration of the idea of God as the creator of nature and as the supreme ruler in human affairs was completed and affirmed. The fire of Sinai and the giving of the ten commandments and the law indicated the fusion of the naturalistic and ethical in the spiritual experience of the race.

The law of the Lord is a religious obligation assumed by the tribes of Israel in a covenant or divine contract. This covenant and law were summarized in the ten commandments, which form the most remarkable code of instruction on human and divine relations ever formulated. Obedience to the law became a matter of honor between Jehovah and his "holy people." Violation of the commandments or covenant is the breach of a contract and therefore a positive sin.

The tribes of Israel by their contract with Jehovah and each other became a people apart, *i.e.*, "a holy people unto Jehovah." Their ideal was that of a people who had entered into a solemn agreement to keep the law of Jehovah and to serve him. The Hebrews were conscious that their religious and moral principles were different from those of other people, and that these set them off as a peculiar and chosen people.

For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God; the Lord thy

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[62] Servitude was possible, but it could never take permanent root among a people whose most profound tradition was that of deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The fundamental law carefully provided against permanent enslavement by their own people.

> God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth.[63]

This gave them a sense of superiority or aristocracy, and became one of the chief causes of their unhappiness and persecution. Their ideal of character placed a wide barrier between them and other peoples, and fostered the conscientious conviction that certain things common to others "ought not to be done in Israel."[64]

Vision, illumination, or enlightenment. In the days of the prophets, the Hebrew mind was peculiarly creative in the realm of ethical insight. They looked upon all knowledge as a revelation directly from God. Truth was arrived at by a flash of insight rather than by careful thinking or by mental effort. Knowledge or understanding was imparted, or transferred, and not merely grown from experience. God "causes" one to know and understand,[65] or He "shows" one the truth or way.[66] The yearning of the Hebrew heart was for ethical principles. The seers and prophets were accustomed to dream, to hear voices and to see visions. Under the surge of powerful emotions in thinking through their normal problems, their minds most naturally expressed their new thoughts in visual and auditory patterns. In this respect they resembled the early poets who were filled with a divine afflatus. Their imagery, so strikingly vivid, seems peculiar to our more abstract and prosaic modes of thinking. Because of these flashes of illumination they came to consider all insight into truth as a revelation from outside their own minds. As light comes to the outer eye so knowledge is the enlightening of the eye of the mind.[67] The method of instruction then used was, figuratively, that of illumination of the eyes, heart, or mind darkened by ignorance and superstition. Such enlightenment was by means of truth as found in the law. As already stated, the sons of the prophets sought to arouse such vivid experiences by means of music and even orgiastic rites. Another means used to this end in post-exilic times was fasting and prayer.

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[63] *Deuteronomy* 7 : 6.

[64] 2 *Samuel* 13 : 12 ; *Judges* 19 : 23 ; 20 : 6 ff. ; *Genesis* 34 : 7.

[65] Cause me to understand wherein I have erred.—*Job* 6 : 24.

God be merciful unto us and bless us ; and cause his face to shine upon us ; That thy way may be known.—*Psalms* 67 : 1.

Thou wilt show me the path of life.—*Psalms* 16 : 11.

Make me to understand the way of thy precepts.—*Psalms* 119 : 27.

Thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt show them the way.—*Exodus* 18 : 20.

[66] The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him ; and he *will show* them his covenant.—*Psalms* 25 : 14.

Behold thou desirest truth in the inward parts ; and in the *hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom.*—*Psalms* 51 : 6.

The Lord hath given me knowledge of it, and I know it.—*Jeremiah* 11 : 18.

Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he *revealeth his secret* unto his servants the prophets.—*Amos* 3 : 7.

The Spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me.—*Ezekiel* 2 : 2 ; *Cf. Ezekiel* 3 : 12, 24 ; 83 ; 11 : 1, 24 ; *Isaiah* 48 : 16 ; 61 : 1.

When such visions of truth died out and more prosaic habits of thought took their place, the sages complained in despair, "Where there is no vision the people perish." [68] Hosea declared, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." [69]

Furthermore, the prophets began to look forward to an ideal era in the future which was to be a time of new visions.

> It shall come to pass afterwards that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.[70]

Again: "Behold I will pour out my Spirit upon you; I will make known my words unto you." [71]

In that great era God will show himself especially gracious, in that teaching shall not be interrupted.

> Yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers: And thine ears shall hear a word behind thee saying, This is the way, walk ye in it.[72]

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[67] The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple.—*Psalms* 119, 130.

I will instruct thee and teach [cause to enlighten] thee in the way that thou shalt go.—*Psalms* 32: 8. Compare *Ezra* 9:8; *Psalms* 13: 3; *Proverbs* 29: 13.

The commandment of Jehovah is pure, enlightening the eyes.—*Psalms* 19: 9.

Arise, shine [literally, cause to give light, *i.e.*, teach]; for thy light is come.—*Isaiah* 60: 1.

The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.—*Isaiah* 60: 3.

The commandment is a lamp, and the law is light.—*Proverbs* 6: 23.

The word of God is a light.—*Psalms* 119: 105.

The command of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes.—Psalms 19: 8.

[Israel was to be the] "light of the Gentiles."—*Isaiah* 42: 6.

I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles.—*Isaiah* 49: 6; Compare also *Isaiah* 9: 1, 60: 1–3.

Oh, send out thy light and thy truth, let them lead me.—*Psalms* 43, 3.

[68] *Proverbs* 29: 18; Compare *Lamentations* 2: 9; *Amos* 8: 11–13.

[69] *Hosea* 4: 6.

[70] *Joel* 2: 28; Compare *Numbers* 11: 29.

[71] *Proverbs* 1: 23.

[72] *Isaiah* 30: 20–21.

Finally, it was believed that Israel was set by divine appointment to *enlighten* the Gentiles.[73]

The Wisdom Literature. The Wisdom Literature is different in its *genre* from all other Hebrew writing. It comprehends such canonical books as *Proverbs,* and *Ecclesiastes;* and such apocryphal works as *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon.* In these works Hebrew thought and expression are more akin to the thought and expression of other peoples. It is entirely probable that many of the Proverbs were copied directly, others indirectly, from the Wisdom Literature of Egypt and other peoples. In these works there breathes an intellectual life that knows nothing either of the spiritual exaltation of the prophets, or of the narrow bigotry of the legalistic scribes. Wisdom is a universal interest; it considers men as men and not as Jews.

Wisdom is the ripened reflection of sages on the problems of human life; it is the form of generalization on the results of human conduct; it is the science of practical ethics, the insight that enables the individual to get the greatest possible satisfaction out of life. It dates back to an early period. The Hebrew Wisdom Literature like that of the Egyptians was written as textbooks for children and youth. Most popular in pre-exilic and early post-exilic centuries, it belonged to the period when the home was still the seat of learning, and the father and mother were the instructors. It was out of harmony with the minute study of the law in later centuries.

The Wisdom Literature was particularly didactic. It considered parents the natural teachers. They are teachers, however, more because of duty and not so much because of their affection for their children. Parents must not play with their children or treat them with much tenderness. An attitude of restraint and severity is more salutary.

The proverbial or Wisdom Literature places chief emphasis upon the acquisition of certain virtues. Among the virtues most valuable are prudence and forethought,[74] temperance,[75] chastity,[76] diligence,[77] truthfulness,[78] justice and consideration for the poor, and charity toward enemies.[79] Among other lessons stressed are the value of true friendship,[80] and the dignity of womanhood.[81]

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[73] It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: *I will also give thee for* a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth. *Isaiah* 49 : 6.

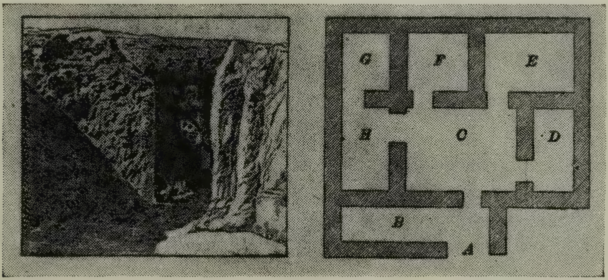
And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. *Isaiah* 60 : 3.

[74] *Proverbs* 24 : 27 ; [75] *Proverbs* 21 : 17 ; 23 : 20–21 ; 29–35 ; [76] *Proverbs* 7 : 5 ; 26 : 3 ; [77] *Proverbs* 6 : 6–11 ; [78] *Proverbs* 17 : 7 ; [79] *Proverbs* 25 : 21–22 ; [80] *Proverbs* 17 : 17 ; 18 : 24 ; 27 : 10 ; [81] *Proverbs* 31 : 20–31.

IV. EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE POST-EXILIC ERA

The exile and its cultural effects. In 722 B.C. the Northern Kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians and a large portion of the people was carried into exile. These tribes were so skillfully distributed in Assyria that they never returned to reoccupy the homeland, and are known in history as the "Lost Ten Tribes." In 586 B.C. the kingdom of Judah in the south was overthrown after repeated assaults by the Babylonians. Jerusalem and the magnificent temple of Solomon were ruthlessly destroyed. The leading Judeans were carried away into exile. Some years later, thanks to the liberal policies and unusual generosity of Cyrus, king of Persia, a large body of these people was permitted to return to Jerusalem in order that they might reestablish the worship of Jehovah, whom he called "the Lord God of heaven." They rebuilt the city, gathered the peasant Jews, who had not been taken into exile, from the surrounding territory and revived the ancient religious life.

The effects of the exile upon the Judeans, or the "Jews," as these people were henceforth called, were far-reaching. It marked a distinct turning point in their religious and cultural history. There were several reasons for this: first, they had come into contact with a civilization superior to their own culture. Babylon at this time was the most advanced center of culture and learning in the world. Here schools, libraries, and literature were already ancient. In contact with this environment, the Jews came to understand more fully the importance of the school and literature. Accordingly, after the return to Judea, marked changes took place in their cultural life. Second, the new Ju-



Oldest Known Schoolhouse. After Scheil.—*From Breasted, J. H., "Ancient Times," Ginn.*

deans were not an agricultural and shepherd people. Henceforth, they lived for the most part in towns and engaged in fishing, commercial activities, and craftsmanship. In the course of time, the prophets having disappeared, their exalted ideas ceased to be an influential factor; the priests and scribes henceforth were the rulers of the Jews.

The rise of the scribal order. A new class now arose known as the scribes (Sopherim) who became the educators of the Jewish people. It was Ezra, the priest and scribe "of the law of the God of heaven," who began a profound literary and religious reformation. Ezra, we are told, "was a ready scribe of the law of Moses." His return to Jerusalem was an event epochal in importance, "for Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." [82] The new regime began with a great popular assembly of men, women, and children at which all accepted the written law of the Lord as their national faith.

The Jewish scribes performed functions very different from those of Egyptian scribes. They were at first a combination of copyist, lawyer, and interpreter. By virtue of their work they became the first professional teachers, and formed a literary guild. The day had passed in the life of this people when prophets fresh from the plow were the mentors of Israel. The scribal life became so exacting that only the wealthy with ample leisure could qualify. The author of *Ecclesiasticus* has given us a good description of who can be a scribe:

> The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder. So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboureth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work: The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly: So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is always carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number: He fashioneth the clay with his arm,

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[82] *Ezra* 7: 6, 10.

and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace. All these trust to their hands: and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down: They shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment: and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world, and [all] their desire is in the work of their craft. But he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtile parables are, he will be there also. He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables. He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men. He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins. When the great Lord will, he shall be filled with the spirit of understanding: he shall pour out wise sentences, and give thanks unto the Lord in his prayer. He shall direct his counsel and knowledge, and in his secrets shall he meditate. He shall shew forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord. Many shall commend his understanding; and so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out; his memorial shall not depart away, and his name shall live from generation to generation. Nations shall shew forth his wisdom, and the congregation shall declare his praise. If he die, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it.[83]

As a result of Ezra's indefatigable zeal for the study of the law, Judah became "the people of one book," and all Jews devoted themselves to learning the law in written form. From this time the scribes were the true leaders of religious life, and to become a "son of the law who searches the law of God day and night" was the supreme ambition set before every Jewish youth. Henceforth piety and a knowledge of the law were synonymous; and legalism that spent itself in the performance of petty details dwarfed the further growth of Jewish genius. Religion was no longer a communion with God, but a meticulous performance of the infinite requirements of the law.

Under the new conditions the creative ability of the Jews took a different turn. The pursuit of legal knowledge became a veritable passion, but it grew more and more formal and blighting in character. The ideal of learning was that of memoriter reproduction with absolute precision. Whatever creative thinking took place was entirely along legalistic lines and not of new insight into ethical or religious truth. Prophetic zeal for righteousness was chilled by the icy analysis and casuistry of the legalistic mind. More and more refinement of the laws into meticulous details exhausted the thought and energy of the scribal leaders. The letter was emphasized but the spirit smothered in an infinite multitude of exacting obligations.

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[83] *Ecclesiasticus* 38: 24–39; 11.

The rise of the synagogue and elementary education. No mention of a school, as such, is anywhere found in the Old Testament. The Hebrew language, however, was rich in words that have to do with instruction; at least thirty-four root words imply the idea of teaching, and the words *teach* and *teacher* were frequently used. As early as the monarchy private tutors were employed for the children of the princely families.[84] It is believed David placed Solomon under the charge of Nathan, the prophet.[85] For other classes of the people, education remained in the hands of the parent. Isaiah speaks of teachers, but nothing much can be inferred from his statement.[86]

During the Babylonian exile, the Jews were cut off from the old ceremonial worship to which they had grown accustomed since the abandonment of the various shrines in favor of the temple at Jerusalem. Under the strange circumstances of a foreign environment, they made use of the synagogue.[87]

The synagogue arose during the exile as a place for instruction,[88] meditation and prayer. Gradually, however, it became the center for the exposition of the law in connection with the services on the Sabbath and weekdays; such exposition became more and more important because of the increasing emphasis upon a knowledge of the law. The priests and the scribes offered free instruction in the synagogues, at first perhaps, for youth and adults only. Soon teaching the law to children must have appeared a necessity. The increase in urban life and a greater leisure were contributory factors in the rise of the synagogue. The fact that the synagogue exercised a large measure of civil authority gave it added importance and enhanced its function of teaching the law.

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[84] 2 *Samuel* 12: 25. Cf. 2 *Kings* 10: 1 seq.; I *Chronicles* 27: 32; 2 *Kings* 12: 2.

[85] *Numbers* 11: 12; *Isaiah* 49: 23.

[86] *Isaiah* 30: 20.

[87] The precise origin of the synagogue is unknown. It may have existed in a form from earlier times. In any case the exile apparently gave it a genuine *raison d'être.*

[88] Kennedy in his article on Education in the *Dictionary of the Bible* contradicts the view that the synagogue was a place of worship. He writes:

> The synagogue, it is important to remember, was not originally a place of worship but a place of religious instruction.

Schürer is equally emphatic on this matter:

> It is necessary first of all to remark, that the *main object* of these Sabbath day assemblages in the synagogue was not public worship in its stricter sense, i.e., not devotion, but religious instruction in the law.—*A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Division* II, Vol. II, P. 54. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.

Henry Preserved Smith assumes a middle position:

> The synagogues were primarily Sabbath schools. But they also became places of worship, because the congregation united in prayer before the lesson, and in thanksgiving after it.—*Old Testament History*, p. 434. New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

The synagogue services were held on the Sabbath and also on two weekdays to accommodate people from the country. A portion of the law was read in Hebrew, and was then translated and explained. In this way all the law was covered every three years. A passage from the prophets was also read. These services had a profound effect upon the thought of the Jew, much as church services have upon Christian communities. Whether they were regarded as worship or instruction is of minor importance.

The exact origin of the Jewish elementary school separate from parental instruction in the home is likewise uncertain. There can, however, be no question that "the house of the book," as the school was called, grew up in vital connection with the synagogue. Dr. Swift is undoubtedly correct when he says,

> The synagogue was the earliest, the most widespread and the most enduring of all the educational institutions after the exile. It was the first institution to offer systematic instruction to both sexes. It was the parent of the scribe college and the elementary school. Out of it arose the movement which resulted in universal education. Under its influence and that of the scribes the Jews became students of the Law.[89]

One may surmise with some assurance that the Jewish elementary school arose because of several circumstances that became crucial after the return to Judea. 1. Most fundamental of all, it became evident that the family was inadequate as the instrument for preserving the national culture, the worship of Yahweh. Mixed marriages and heathen practices debauched the worship of Yahweh and disclosed the great failure of the family to perform efficiently its duty of instruction. 2. Contact with Babylonian culture convinced Jewish leaders of the necessity of schools and learning. 3. Furthermore, the increase of general knowledge and culture, the expansion of Hebrew literature, and the need of writing for commercial life created a demand for an institution to instruct the young in these primary arts. 4. The need for reading and writing was infinitely increased by the demand for training in the written law. The conviction now arose that their great national calamities were visited upon Israel because they had failed to obey the law of God. In order to restore prosperity the law must be known and kept by every Jew. The family was not in a position to perform these new tasks of teaching reading and the law, though it still retained in large measure its ancient functions, the training in practical religion, morals, and vocational life.[90]

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[89] Swift, Fletcher H., *Education in Ancient Israel*, pp. 90–91. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919.

It is impossible to state when and where literary instruction originated. As early as the beginning of the third century B.C., there were "scribes of the temple,"[91] who unquestionably engaged in teaching. It is recorded that Joseph, the tax-gatherer of Jerusalem, around 220 B.C. sent his sons to "those that had the best reputation for instructing youth."[92] It is probable that sheltered places by the gates of the city and favorable nooks along the broad streets were used as schools.[93] Private instructors may also have used their own houses for their pupils. In the book of *Ecclesiasticus* we read,

> If thou seest a man of understanding, get thee betimes unto him, and let thy foot wear the steps of his door.[94]

The first actual mention of a school is found in this interesting extra-Biblical work. In speaking of wisdom and learning it said,

> Draw near unto me, ye unlearned, and dwell in the *house of learning*. . . . Put your neck under the yoke, and let thy soul receive instruction.[95]

This would place the school in the second century B.C. It is probable, however, it was much earlier. A second mention of a school is found where reference is made of Herod going to school.[96]

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[90] *Proverbs* 1: 7–8; 5; 12; 13.

[91] Antiquities of the Jews. Book XII, Chapter III, § 3. *The Works of Flavius Josephus.* Translated by William Whiston.

[92] *Ibid.*, XII, I, 6.

[93] *Proverbs* 1: 20–21.

[94] *Ecclesiasticus* 6: 36.

[95] *Ecclesiasticus* 51: 23–26.

Ezra, as has been seen, secured the recognition by authorities of the supreme importance of organized religious instruction. According to Wellhausen, from this time,

> The Bible became the spelling book, the community a school, religion an affair of teaching and learning. Piety and education were inseparable; whoever could not read was no true Jew. We may say that in this way were created the beginnings of popular education. In what way this took place is, it is true, wrapped in mystery; in the synagogue men did not learn to write and read, and the scribes were not elementary teachers.[97]

Tradition credits important educational reforms to Simon ben Shetach about 75 B.C. He was the brother of Queen Salome who encouraged his efforts. The only record of his work is found in the Palestinian Talmud written several centuries later. It attributes three reforms to ben Shetach, among them a decree "that people should send their children to school." From the indefinite character of this all-too-brief statement no real conclusion can be drawn, but that schools of elementary instruction and also of more advanced learning existed at this time is unquestionable.

From the meager evidence at hand it is safe to accept that synagogues existed from the time of the return of the Jews from captivity in the fifth century B.C. Before the destruction of Jerusalem in 69 A.D., according to one tradition, there were 480 synagogues in the city, another places the number at 394; Schürer and other accurate authorities give these numbers no credence. That the number of synagogues in Jerusalem was large may readily be accepted. Each of these synagogues provided instruction in the law. Synagogues and schools were established in every town wherever a number of Jewish families lived.

Joshua ben Gamala. The best authorities are agreed that Rabbi Joshua ben Gamala in his decree of 64 A.D. made education compulsory for young boys. The passage of the Talmud giving this information is of great significance:

> Verily the name of that man is to be blessed, to wit Joshua ben Gamala, for but for him the Torah would have been forgotten from Israel. For

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[96] Josephus, *Op. cit.*, Book XV, Chap. V, § 5.

[97] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 159. Quoted by Kennedy, *Op. cit.*

> at first if a child had a father, his father taught him, and if he had no father, he did not learn at all. By what (verse of the Scripture) did they guide themselves? By the verse, *And ye shall teach them to your children,* laying the emphasis on the word *"ye"*. They then made an ordinance that teachers of children should be appointed in Jerusalem. By what verse did they guide themselves? By the verse, *For from Zion shall the Torah go forth.*[98] Even so, however, if a child had a father, the father would take him up to Jerusalem and have him taught there, and if not, he would not go up to learn there. They therefore ordained that teachers should be appointed in each prefecture, and that boys should enter school at the age of sixteen or seventeen (They did so), and if the teacher punished them they used to rebel and leave the school. At length Joshua b. Gamala came and ordained that teachers of young children should be appointed in each district and each town, and the children should enter school at the age of six or seven.[99]

Judging from this meager testimony schools were set up first in Jerusalem for the children from the entire country. The failure of this plan led to experimentation with a system of district academies for youths of sixteen or seventeen. This, too, failed.[100] Gamala required elementary schools to be established everywhere throughout Palestine, and made attendance compulsory.

Conception of child nature and the process of education. The Jews shared the general oriental conceptions of the process of education. The Wisdom Literature, especially, sets forth their crude pedagogy. They believed the child is naturally willful, foolish and wild, if not positively bad. He needs discipline just as animals need taming. As a wild horse needs training, so the boy needs the lash. The writer in *Ecclesiasticus* expressed this view:

> An horse not broken becometh headstrong: and a child left to himself will be wilful.[101]
>
> Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.[102]
>
> A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the fool's back.[103]
>
> It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.[104]

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[98] *Isaiah* 2 : 3.

[99] Epstein, Rabbi Dr. I., *The Babylonian Talmud,* Vol. III, pp. 105–106. London : The Soncino Press, 1935.

[100] Many authorities ascribe these experiments in extending education to all boys to Simon ben Shetach.

[101] *Ecclesiasticus* 30 : 8.

[102] *Proverbs* 22 : 15.

[103] *Proverbs* 26 : 3.

[104] *Lamentations* 3 : 27.

These statements remind one of the conception of the Egyptian sage.[105] With such a view of the nature of the child, education was naturally conceived as a rigorous discipline.

To the ancient Jew the process of education was that of moral and religious training. It began in a spiritual experience, the right attitude toward Yahweh. There is no more striking educational slogan in all the history of education than the declaration, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." This fear is also the beginning of knowledge, of instruction, of right conduct, and of happiness. Passages of scripture referring to "the fear of the Lord" are very numerous.

> The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom.[106]
>
> The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.[107]
>
> The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.[108]
>
> Fear God and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man.[109]
>
> All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him forever. The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing. The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth joy, and gladness, and a long life. To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. To fear the Lord is fulness of wisdom, and filleth men with her fruits. The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, making peace and perfect health to flourish. The fear of the Lord driveth away sins. The fear of the Lord is wisdom and instruction.[110]

By "the fear of the Lord" these writers meant reverence for what is highest and best. It is a social attitude toward what is superior. The supreme importance of this idea lies in the fact that this emotion is the beginning of all sound judgments of the value of conduct or of things. It is, therefore, the beginning of the higher human life.

The Jewish father had a natural feeling of tenderness toward his son, but the duty of instructing and training him required an aloof and forbidding attitude. The reserve and severity of the Puritan parent sprang from the same cause. The danger of friendliness of parent to child is expressed in *Ecclesiasticus*.

> He that maketh too much of his son shall bind up his wounds; and his bowels will be troubled at every cry. . . . Cocker thy child, and he

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[105] *See* pages 86–87 of this text.
[106] *Job* 28 : 28.
[107] *Psalms* 111 : 10; *Cf. Proverbs* 9 : 10.
[108] *Proverbs* 1 : 7.
[109] *Ecclesiastes* 12 : 13.
[110] *Ecclesiasticus*, I *passim*.

shall make thee afraid; play with him, and he will bring thee heaviness. Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him, and lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end. Give him not liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies.[111]

Preschool training. Hebrew education began early in life. Isaiah suggested it should begin when the child is weaned.[112] Philo, centuries later, stated, "They are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling clothes . . . to recognize one God as the father and Creator of the world." [113] As soon as he could lisp, he was taught to say the Shema,[114] which began, "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone." This was followed by the teaching of the recitation of certain prayers, selected proverbs, and the chanting of certain Psalms. Before regular school instruction began at six years of age, the child was made acquainted with some of the Scripture. He had also taken part in the ritual of the feasts, and had learned to touch his fingers to the Mesusah on the outside door frame and reverently kiss it every time he went out and came in. It is probable that many children were taught by parents or others to read before going to school.

Elementary schooling. All authorities agree that the elementary school, called Beth-sepher (house of the book) was either in the synagogue itself or in an adjoining room. In these elementary schools boys from six to ten years of age were taught by a scribe assisted by the hazzan, or by the hazzan himself. This official was the attendant of the synagogue. The textbook was the Pentateuch, beginning with the creation story. The chief task, however, was the memorizing of the Levitical and Deuteronomic law. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught. Arithmetic was necessary in calculating the tithe and in transacting business. Some knowledge of chronology would also be generally necessary for calculating the Sabbath and the time of the annual feasts.

Advanced instruction. It was absolutely essential for every Jew to have an accurate knowledge of the law that he might be able to obey it in most minute detail. "This people who knoweth not the law are cursed."[115] The scribes believed that the ignorant man could not possibly be good or pious. This fanatical devotion to their legalistic religious system necessitated: first, extreme precision in learning the law to insure its correct interpretation and adaptation to the varying circumstances of life; second, the preparation of men who could teach with authority.

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[111] *Ecclesiasticus* 30 : 7–11.

[112] *Isaiah* 28 : 9. [113] Adeney, W. F., Article: "Teacher," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.* [114] Shema (*i.e.* "hear") is the name given to the Hebrew creed as found in the following passages: *Deuteronomy* 6 : 4–9; 11: 13–21; *Numbers* 15 : 37–41.

Having learned the basic law in the elementary school, the boy passed to the Beth-hammidrash, *i.e.,* house of the Midrash. He attended this school from ten to fifteen years of age, if he could afford to remain that long. In this school he learned the oral law, that is, the Midrash, which was supposed to have come down from Moses just as did the written law. Built upon the written law, it was much more detailed.

One of the most important events in the life of the young Jew occurred at twelve or thirteen, when, in an appropriate ceremony his father renounced further responsibility for his conduct, and he became "a son of the law." Henceforth he must obey the law on his own responsibility. The visit of Jesus and his disputing with the doctors of the law as described by Luke[116] was evidently in connection with this ceremony when he was made a "son of the law."

After the age of fifteen, the youth of the wealthier class and those who desired to become scribes were given still further instruction in the commentaries on the law. Individual scribes gathered about them earnest young men who eagerly sought a thorough mastery of its intricacies.[117] The most celebrated of these teachers was Hillel, who belonged to the generation before Jesus. A contemporary of Hillel, almost equally famous, was Shammai. Another scribe, Gamaliel, grandson of Hillel, was noted as the instructor of young Saul of Tarsus. The fact that Paul states that he was "*brought up* in this city *at the feet* of Gamaliel"[118] would suggest that Paul began in the earlier period of his life, between ten and fifteen, to learn the Mishnah.

In order to understand the educational situation, it is essential to remember that the Pentateuch, forming the foundation of Jewish life, was written in Hebrew, which was no longer a living tongue. Only the learned could read this language, and no written translations were permitted to be used in the synagogue. A portion of the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew had to be read at every service, and the reader was required to translate the passage into the vernacular. As a rule, only those scribes who were school masters were prepared to perform this service.

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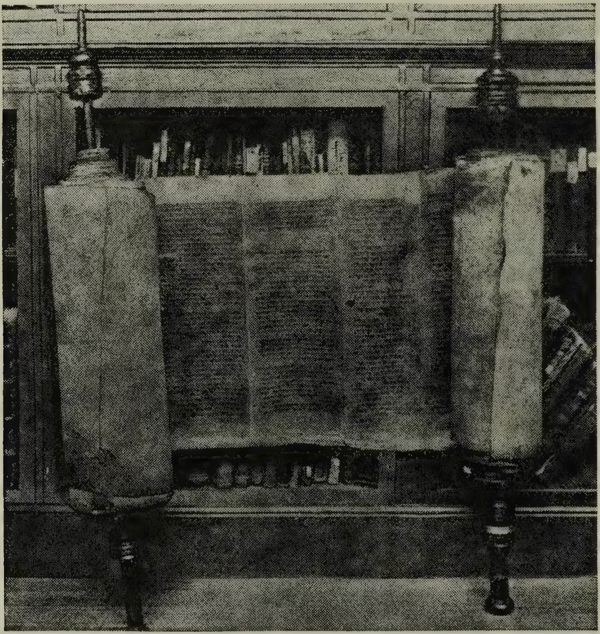
[115] *John* 7 : 49.
[116] *Luke* 2 : 46.
[117] Compare Josephus, *Antiquities* XVII, vi : 2; *Wars,* I, xxxiii : 2.
[118] *Acts* 22 : 3.

Jerusalem was naturally the chief center of higher instruction. However schools devoted to higher learning were to be found in every good-sized town. The New Testament tells of the "doctors of the law who were come out of every town of Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem."[119] In these schools were trained the scribes and pharisees who became "the real teachers of the people, over whose religious beliefs they exercised complete sway."



Scroll of the Law.—*From "The Jewish Encyclopedia," Jewish Theological Seminary of America.*

The curriculum. Knowledge of the law formed the only instruction of the schools from the time of Ezra onward.

The fact most essentially conclusive for the religious life of the Jewish people during the period under consideration is that the law, which regulated not only the priestly service but the whole life of the people

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[119] *Luke* 5 : 17.

> in their religious, moral and social relations, was acknowledged as given by God Himself. Its every requirement was a requirement of God from His people, its most scrupulous observance was therefore a religious duty, nay the supreme and in truth the sole religious duty. The whole piety of the Israelite consisted in obeying with fear and trembling, with all the zeal of an anxious conscience, the law given him by God in all its particulars. Hence the specific character of Israelitish piety during this period depended on the acknowledgment of this dignity of the law.[120]

The learning of a legal code was not unique with Israel; many other ancient peoples required their older boys to memorize their codes. For Israel, however, the situation was quite different. First, the laws and religion were identical to a greater extent than among other people. Second, the laws of Yahweh were binding upon every soul; girls as well as boys were obliged to know them.

From early childhood the laws were assiduously drilled into every Jewish child. According to Josephus, to train the young to keep the law and to keep it as a personal duty became the chief business of life:

> Our principal care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life, to observe the laws that have been given us, and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered to us.[121]

Josephus boasted that the Jew knew his laws better than other people knew theirs:

> For our people, if anybody do but ask them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, and of our having them, as it were, engraven on our souls.[122]

So thoroughly did the Jews learn their laws that many of them could repeat the whole of the Old Testament without the slightest error. Many knew the oral law equally well.

Trade training. In addition to the laws, the child learned some sacred music, and when he came to the age of eighteen, if he had not already done so, he learned a trade, and entered the active duties of life. It was an imperative rule among the Jews, a command set down in the Talmud, that every Jewish boy, regardless of his wealth or position, should acquire skill in some trade. Said the Talmud, "As it is your duty to teach your son the law, teach him a trade." Also, "He who does not have his son taught a trade prepares him to be a robber." Long experience had taught them that idleness is the cause of sin, and also that wealth may fly away and reduce one to the need of earning a livelihood. All the great Rabbis and Christian leaders practiced some craft. Jesus was a carpenter and Paul a maker of tents.

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[120] Schürer, Emil, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Division II, Vol. I, p. 306. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.

[121] *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, Translated by William Whiston, p. 765. London: Ward, Lock & Company; *On the Antiquity of the Jews against Apion*, Book I, 12; Cf. Book II, 26.

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 792, or Book II, 19.

Methods of instruction. During the older times an appeal was made to the child's senses and activities as he took part in the family religious ceremonies. These gave him an opportunity to have his inquisitiveness aroused and his questions answered. At a later period, when the living prophets were delivering their deathless messages to all who would listen, religious life was still formative and creative. After the exile the attitude was entirely changed, and the letter, not the spirit, of the law became the all-absorbing object of instruction.

1. *No variation allowed.* There was a finality about the law and divine commandments of the Lord that absolutely excluded variation. Truth became canonical and fixed, as it was set down in the Torah and elaborated by the scribes. This sense of completeness and perfection was present from early times. Even Moses was punished severely because he smote the rock with his rod rather than spake to it as he was commanded.[123] After the law was written and especially after the canon was determined, it was deemed sacred. No variation was permitted as the following passages show:

> What thing soever I command you, observe to do it; thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.—*Deuteronomy* 12: 32.
>
> Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law . . . ; turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest.—*Joshua* 1: 7.
>
> Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.—*Deuteronomy* 4: 2.
>
> Every word of God is pure. . . . Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.—*Proverbs* 30: 5–6.

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[123] *Numbers* 20: 8–12.

2. *The memoriter method.* To stamp the unchangeable expression of the Scripture upon the memory was the teacher's ideal. Everlasting, unvarying repetition was the only method practiced. So deeply were the impressions made by repetition that Philo could truthfully say of his people, "They bear the image of the law in their souls." Thoroughness and accuracy in the reproduction of the law were the scholar's greatest virtues. The method of instruction is fully described by Schürer as follows:

> The instruction consists of an indefatigable continuous exercise of the memory. For the object being that the pupils should remember with accuracy the entire matter with its thousands upon thousands of minutiae, and the oral law being never committed to writing, the instruction could not be confined to a single statement. The teacher was obliged to repeat his matter again and again with his pupil. Hence in Rabbinic diction "to repeat" means exactly the same as "to teach." This repetition was not however performed by the teacher merely delivering his matter. The whole proceeding was, on the contrary, disputational. The teacher brought before his pupils several legal questions for their decision and let them answer them or answered them himself. The pupils were also allowed to propose questions to the teacher.[124]

Since all knowledge of the law was strictly traditional, a pupil had only two duties. One was to keep everything faithfully in memory. "He who forgets a tenet of his instruction in the law, to him the Scripture imputes the wilful forfeiture of his life." The second duty was never to teach anything otherwise than it had been delivered to him. Even in expression he must confine himself to the words of his teacher: "Everyone is bound to teach with the expressions of his teacher." It was the highest praise of a pupil to be "like a well lined with lime, which loses not one drop." [125]

With this exacting ideal before them, the teachers naturally studied how they could assist the memorizing of the curriculum. Various mnemonic devices were employed. Furthermore, they came to understand that there are individual differences in the ability of children to memorize. Four types of pupils are classified by the Mishna:

1. A sponge that absorbs everything. 2. A funnel that takes all in at one end, and lets it out at the other end. 3. A sieve that

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[124] Schürer, Emil, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Division II, Vol. I, p. 324. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1891. Compare *Luke* II, 46.

[125] Schürer, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 325.

lets the wine pass through but keeps the lees. 4. A winnow that removes the coarse meal but keeps the fine.

3. *Combining theory and practice.* It is now generally recognized that education consists of two great elements, the training of the child in moral habits, and his intellectual instruction. At its best, education combines these two so as to unify the school and life. It was the contention of Josephus that the Jews in the moral training of their children united practical exercises and instruction to a greater extent than other peoples. For this reason, he claimed, the Jews not only knew their laws but likewise obeyed them. In his *Defense of the Jews against Apion* he wrote:

> There are two ways of coming at any sort of learning and moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction of words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and choosing one of these ways of instruction . . . neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cretans teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians, and almost all the other Grecians, made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.
>
> But for our legislator (Moses), he very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the learning of the law to proceed without the exercises for practice.[126]

While Josephus was in the main correct, it must be pointed out that there was no liberalizing instruction offered to the young Jews. They learned the law by heart and were trained in its practices more meticulously than any other people; yet they remained ignorant of the liberal arts that have made for the progress of civilization. Moreover, in their practice they adhered to an outer conformity but failed to see the deeper obligations of the ethical life.

4. *Punishment and reproof.* In order to secure proper conduct and diligence in study, the Jews freely resorted to the use of the rod. Passages recommending corporal punishment are numerous. Only a few need be quoted here:

> He that spareth his rod hateth his son. But he that loveth him chasteneth him diligently.[127]

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[126] Josephus, *Against Apion*, **II : 17.**

[127] *Proverbs* **13 : 24.**

> Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare his crying.[128]
>
> Withhold not correction from the child, for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die.[129]
>
> The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame.[130]

Similar advice was given in *Ecclesiasticus* as follows:

> He that loveth his son causeth him oft to feel the rod, that he may have joy of him in the end. He that chastiseth his son shall have joy in him, and shall rejoice of him among his acquaintance. Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart. Chastise thy son, and hold him to labour, lest his lewd behavior be an offense unto thee.[131]

Where the rod failed, the final resort was the death of the child.

> If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him, will not harken unto them . . . all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die.[132]

The death sentence, let it be noted, did not lie in the power of the father as it did in Rome, where the *patria potestas* gave the parent absolute power over the life of the child.

Freely as they advised a resort to the rod, there was a feeling that admonition and reproof was a sounder policy. The *Proverbs* declared: "A reproof entered more into a wise man than an hundred stripes into the fool." [133]

From these Scriptures it is clear that the Jews accepted the universal theory that punishment was necessary because of the inborn foolishness or depravity of the young. The term "to bind" or "to tame" came to signify to discipline, reprove, or chasten.

Greek influence. During the centuries following the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, Greek civilization influenced all the Asiatic peoples tremendously. Even the Jews, always aloof, were profoundly affected. Judeans who belonged to the ruling families and others who wished to curry political favor or secure profit, or who had a sincere interest in artistic culture, formed a Hellenistic party and adopted many Greek customs. During the period of the Maccabees, Jason, the high priest, prevailed upon the king to make Jerusalem into a Greek city.

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[128] *Proverbs* 19: 18.
[129] *Proverbs* 24: 13.
[130] *Proverbs* 29: 15.
[131] *Ecclesiasticus* 30: 1–13.
[132] *Deuteronomy* 21: 18–21.
[133] *Proverbs* 17: 10. *Cf.* 22: 6.

> He built gladly a place of exercise . . . and brought the chief young men under his subjection, and made them wear a hat. Now such was the height of Greek fashions and increase of heathenish manners, . . . that the priests had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise, after the game of Discus called them forth.[134]

The high priest located the gymnasium northeast of the Temple, where the naked athletes could almost be seen from its sacred courts. All this was deeply shocking to the Hebrew sensibilities. In addition to facilities for young men, an *ephebeion* for boys was included. Young Jews were trained to compete with Greeks in the Olympian Games. As a result of their activities,

> The horizon of the Judeans, . . . widened as they came into contact with the Greeks. Their tastes became more refined, their dwellings more beautiful, and they began to introduce the art of painting.[135]

In Jerusalem Greek religious cults were adopted—among them the orgiastic revelries of Dionysus, and donations were made to the sacrifice of Hercules. In imitation of Greek customs dissolute singers and dancers were introduced into the temple.

According to *The Jewish Encyclopedia*:

> The Hellenic influence pervaded everything, and even in the very strongholds of Judaism, it modified the organization of the state, the laws, and public affairs, art, science, and industry, affecting even the ordinary things of life and the common associations of the people.[136]

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[134] 2 *Maccabees* 4 : 12–14. Compare I *Maccabees* 1 : 14 ; *Josephus;* Graetz, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 439–446. Ashamed of their marks of circumcision, these Jews resorted to surgery to disguise the fact.

[135] Graetz, Professor H., *History of the Jews*, Vol. I, p. 427. Philadelphia : The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1891.

[136] *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Article : "Hellenism," New York : Copyright by Funk & Wagnalls Company.

The effort to hellenize the Jews led to skepticism in doctrine, licentiousness and debauchery in conduct, and was desperately opposed by the more conservative, pietistic party. In the end it increased the gulf that separated orthodox Jews from other peoples. The rising bitterness of the puritanic sect was dramatically represented in the prophecy by Zachariah uttered at this time.

> When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece.[137]

They expected Yahweh to fight the battle against the tide of Greek corruption by using Judah as a bow and Ephraim as the arrow.

The most far-reaching influence exerted by Greek civilization was the general spread of the Greek language. Its beauty, flexibility, and expressiveness captivated Jewish scholars, and many of them adopted it as their own common tongue. The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, known as the *Septuagint,* was completed about 150 B.C. Although accomplished by Jews of Alexandria, it was highly regarded elsewhere and considered an inspired work.

> Even the prejudiced Palestinian teachers accepted and praised the beauty of the Greek language. They permitted girls to study it, and declared it to be the only language into which the Torah might be translated.[138]

Education of girls. It is an outstanding fact that from earliest times woman was more highly respected among the Israelites than among other peoples. Sex life, although not always controlled, was purer, more normal, and decently ordered in that its natural purpose in begetting children was uppermost rather than voluptuous pleasure. Many women of the highest intelligence and virtue grace the pages of Scripture. The ideal of womanhood is described in detail in the *Proverbs,*[139] which features the fact that the mother of King Lemuel was his teacher.

In ancient Israel there was no discrimination against women. They were included, along with men and children, in the popular assemblies when the Mosaic law was read. They took part in the singing in the temple worship. Women were gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and individual women became notable for particular acts of heroism and devotion.

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[137] *Zachariah* 9: 13.

[138] *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* Article: "Hellenism."

[139] Chapter 31.

After the return from exile, women were not so fully on an equality with men. The debased attitude of gentile neighbors now influenced the Jew. Women and girls attended the synagogue services and were not excluded from the worship services of the temple, but aside from that, the education for girls remained domestic. Many of them, especially in families of the higher class, learned to read and write. They were not taught in the elementary synagogue schools, nor were they required at puberty to undergo initiation as were the boys when they became "sons of the law."

Importance of instruction and the teacher. The Jews held all teaching in greatest reverence, particularly elementary instruction, which was universally despised by other peoples. Teaching was to them a sacred office; for as God, the first teacher, gave the law to Israel, so the teacher gives it to the children. The Talmud inquired, "What does God do in the fourth hour?" "He teaches little children," is the reply. A famous rabbi declared, "The world is only saved by the breath of school children." A city in which there was no school was a forbidden place of abode for a Jewish family.

Not only instruction but also the teacher was exalted. "Respect your teacher as you would God," was a common admonition to the young. A Talmud ruling decreed, "The teacher precedes the father; the wise man, the king." If parent and teacher are both in need or in prison, the teacher is the first to be helped or released from prison. As spiritual father, the teacher has prior claim over the natural father. If one's father and teacher are bearing burdens, one must help the teacher first. The rabbis took the highest rank everywhere.

Education in the Talmud. The Talmud, consisting of the oral law and the commentaries, is a rich mine of information in regard to Jewish ideas of education. The writing of this work did not begin until the second century A.D. Unquestionably many of the statements made in regard to education are applicable to the former centuries, but inferences regarding the past must be accepted with the greatest caution.

Jewish education continued to flourish and Jewish scholars played an important part in the culture of all later centuries. Celebrated Jewish scholars were always among the leaders in all the great movements for the development of culture and knowledge in Medieval Europe. It is, however, not necessary to follow their educational work further.

Summary. Hebrew education is unlike any other whatsoever in that it made God the beginning. It began, therefore, by teaching the child the most general and universal, and not the particular. It began with the social, and not the individual; with the personal and ethical, and not with things. It began with the abstract and unseen, and not with the seen and the concrete; with obedience to law and reverence for God, and not in the acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. Truth was deduced from this divine, original principle, and not learned by induction. Jewish education was spiritual, and therefore it stood in direct contradiction to the empirical and naturalistic systems of other peoples. The fact that it has outlasted every other system whatsoever makes it the most successful educational experiment ever staged in the history of civilization.

During the patriarchal period and down through the time of the Judges, the legalistic and the ethical religious elements were fairly well balanced. During the period of the monarchy and the prophets, the ethical-religious element was dominant and the legalistic recessive. In post-exilic times legalism was in complete ascendency. No people, or even any group of people, have been so completely obsessed by the purely legal phases of culture. The number of laws was almost infinite and covered every aspect of life and action in most minute details. He who did not know the law was accursed.

> Nothing was left to free personality, everything was placed under the bondage of the letter. The Israelite, zealous for the law, was obliged at every impulse and moment to ask himself, what is commanded? At every step, at the work of his calling, at prayer, at meals, at home and abroad, from early morning till late in the evening, from youth to old age, the deadening formula followed him. . . . Life was a continual torment to the earnest man, who felt at every moment that he was in danger of transgressing the law.[140]

Yet one must agree with the statement of the German educational historian, Dittes: "If ever a people has demonstrated the power of education, it is the Hebrew people."[141]

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[140] Schürer, Emil, *A History of the Jewish People at the Time of Jesus Christ,* Second Division, Vol. II, p. 125. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.

[141] Leipziger, H. M., *The Education of the Jews,* p. 187. New York: T. Laurie, 1890.

If the Jews of our day do not show higher intellectual capacity, better memories, and legalistic ability on the average than other peoples, one must not conclude that education is not important in racial improvement, but that other factors have entered in to destroy its salutary effects.[142] In any case Jewish culture has been the greatest ethical and religious educator of all the world.

> He religionized everything finally into an ethical monotheism and preserved it immortally in a Book and, with his pedagogical instinct, made his holy God the world's Educator. Thus, the Hebrew, his God, his religion and his Book stand together as the Biblical contribution to the learning and the pedagogy of the human race.[143]

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[142] For intelligence tests of Jews see Pintner, Rudolph, *Intelligence Testing,* pp. 452–455. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1936.

[143] Simon, Abram, *Jewish Education in the Biblical Era,* p. 13. Philadelphia: The Jewish Chautauqua Society, 1912.

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4

Early Greek Character and Culture

Significance of the Greeks. With the Greeks we share a spiritual kinship that we feel for no other ancient people; with them we are almost completely at home. By sheer native intelligence and dauntless courage they became the pioneers in personal liberty and thus made possible the finest products of human genius. To them we trace the beginning of creative activity and those logical methods of thinking that have made for genuine intellectual progress. Their literature, philosophy, and art have been the inspiration for every great revival of human intelligence down to modern times.

> To Greece, we owe *the love of Science, the love of Art, the love of Freedom;* not Science alone, Art alone, or Freedom alone, but these vitally correlated with one another and brought into organic union. And in this union we recognize the distinctive features of the West. The Greek genius is the European genius in its first and brightest bloom. From a vivifying contact with the Greek spirit Europe derived that new and mighty impulse which we call progress.[1]

In a word, one may justly say that the Greeks gave the race higher culture and enlightenment.

The education of the Greeks has special significance for us. The history of their culture and forms of training unfolded like a laboratory experiment reduced to a miniature scale for convenience of observation. The simple origin, the sudden and remarkable growth, the universal acceptance, and ultimate decline of their literature and learning stand forth with striking clearness. It is especially noteworthy that Greek culture and education were of purely humanistic origin. All the varied forms of art in which their genius reveled had their beginnings in the simple and spontaneous activities of gifted childhood. The circumstances that stimulated the development of poetry, architecture, sculpture, painting, history, oratory, and even philosophic inquiry—all had their root in the natural unfolding of Greek civic and religious life. Their education was the simple outgrowth of the unfolding activities of Greek art and thought. The study of no other period of cultural history will so abundantly reward the student of educational history and philosophy.

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[1] Butcher, Samuel Henry, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 40. London: The Macmillan Co., 1916.

1. *The Greek race.* Who were the Greeks, and where did they come from? To these questions, strange to say, the most exhaustive research has failed to furnish a clear-cut answer. Apparently they were not one people, but a mixture of at least two principal components. The first was a native stock that had long inhabited the Northeastern shores of the Mediterranean. Its members were dark-haired and had great artistic ability. The second was a light-haired, blue-eyed people who came from the steppes of western Asia. These were highly athletic and military. The Greeks, therefore, were of Aryan stock, and allied by race with the Indo-Europeans, the Persians, and also with the Germanic peoples that spread over Northwestern Europe.

2. *The Hellenic habitat.* It is now universally recognized that the facts of geography shed light on the understanding of history. In the case of the ancient Greeks, a knowledge of the peculiarities of their land and climate is absolutely indispensable. The tribes of Greece occupied the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, and the numerous islands adjacent thereto.[2] The terrain is varied by lofty mountains, rocky islands, innumerable arms of the sea forming long peninsulas, and a few plains fit for human occupation. No spot in ancient Greece, it is said, was over forty miles from the sea. How different was Greece from the vast river valleys which cradled the older civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia! These great river civilizations were of necessity coherent and homogeneous; for without natural frontiers serious internal differences could not long be tolerated. Because of its numerous natural barriers

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[2] It is important to remember that in addition to the central location, Greek colonization occupied a vastly larger arena extending from the Black Sea on the East to Sicily and Marseilles on the West and far south into Egypt.

separating the various tribes, the Greek habitat made for isolation, differentiation, and defense. These geographical peculiarities favored the existence of many small and independent city-states. Mountains and the sea formed natural barriers; and this encouraged individual action. The sea, too, incited the desire for adventure, and led to the development of commerce and colonization.

By navigation the Greeks were quite early brought into intimate contact with the culture of Egypt, Phoenicia, and the progressive cities of Asia Minor. But at the same time they were sheltered from any influences that tended to submerge or stereotype their burgeoning civic and cultural life. Thus the Greek habitat made at once for stability and change, discipline and versatility, domesticity and travel.

3. *The climate.* Another factor that greatly aided the development of Greek civilization was the climate. The equitable temperature favored a superabundance of physical vigor. The summers were long and warm; because of the sea, however, the climate was not enervating as in the countries to the east and south. The winters were sufficiently cold to preserve much of the original virility of the race. The climate was moderately dry, and the atmosphere, crystalline in its clearness for longer periods of time than in any other Mediterranean land with the exception of Egypt. There were very few days throughout the year in which the sun did not shine. These favorable conditions of climate made possible vigorous life in the open air, without which the Greek genius would probably have remained quiescent.

4. *Vocation, labor, and leisure.* The soil of the valleys was rich, but that of the plains was less fertile. For a long time agriculture was the only occupation of the aristocratic and ruling class; it was the one form of labor never sneered at in all Greek literature. Fishing, manufacturing, tanning, and commerce were the other chief sources of profit; and constant industry was necessary to insure a livelihood. Fortunately, however, while on the one hand nature did not provide the luxury and ease that enervate and destroy morale, on the other, the struggle for existence did not consume the time and exhaust the energies of the people. The majority of the citizens possessed a moderate degree of wealth, and enjoyed the security of an independent middle class.

The Greeks generally had no craving for amassing wealth, and, although rivalry was a basic factor of their nature, they did not make wealth the measure of superiority. Their homes were usually unpretentious, but the buildings of the city were wonderful. They contented themselves with a certain dignified simplicity and ease of living. Yet it must be acknowledged that in their conception of the good life, as even Aristotle asserts, only the man of independent means could be really happy. It was not that they thought the mere possession of this world's goods could insure happiness, but rather that the leisure necessary for the highest satisfaction is possible only for the man who is free from the grinding drudgery of toiling for a livelihood.

The Greek economic and social order takes on deep significance in view of the fact that the higher intellectual and aesthetic life of man developed for the first time in their small city-states. In the period of greatest creative accomplishment, it is necessary to observe, the leaders were not obliged to toil for the necessities of life. In Athens there were at least three or four slaves for every family, and in Corinth twice as many; in other cities the number was likewise ample. Having little interest in the increase of wealth, they were able to direct their leisure to artistic endeavors and to the more profound problems of human existence. It is of the greatest importance to note that it was not economic need nor yet industrial situations that caused the emergence of the higher intelligence of the Greeks. Leisure for reflection and the increased complexity of human relations were the basic circumstances that made for the intellectual advancement of mankind.[3]

5. *Restless travelers.* Any analysis of the fundamental qualities of Greek character must feature their restlessness. For a long time before they settled down upon the shores of the Mediterranean, the tribes were migratory. Apparently the old restlessness persisted and expressed itself in an insatiable eagerness for travel. This spirit was incarnate in Odysseus, one of the heroes celebrated in the great epics of Homer. Tradition claims that Lycurgus visited Crete, Egypt, Ionia, and also other lands before he formulated the Spartan system of regimentation. Interest in visiting other peoples and lands was prominent in historic times. Men like Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, to mention but a few, traveled widely among other peoples. Furthermore, the attraction of the Greek games and of the great

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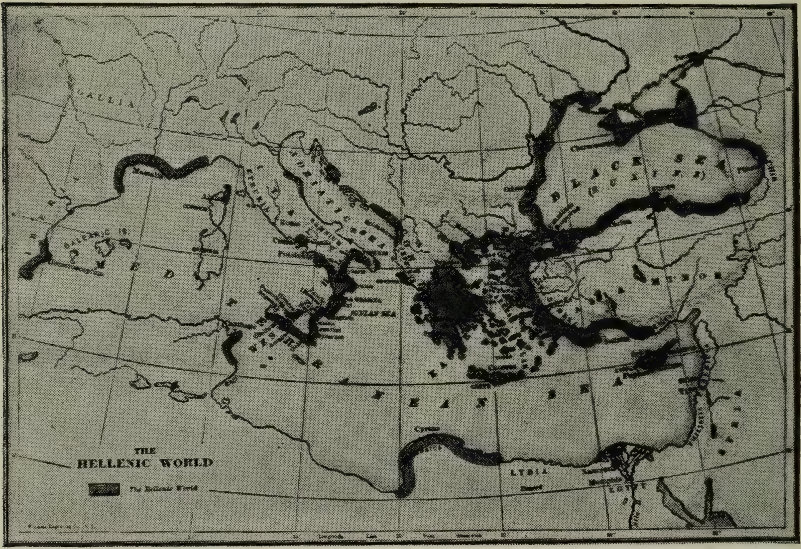
[3] For further discussion see page 234.

religious shrines led to a vast amount of travel by all of the Greeks. Finally, history assures us that a stream of travelers was constantly passing between the cities of the Asiatic coast and the European mainland.

Contact with peoples of different customs and institutions has always a stimulating effect upon the mentality of men, for it encourages observation and accuracy of knowledge. It leads to reflection upon human institutions and modes of living; and thus makes for open-mindedness. Comparative observation is the foundation of all critical judgment in human affairs. Democritus boasted of his travels and their effects upon his culture:



The Hellenic World.—*From Robinson, J. H., "Short History of Greece," Huxley House.*

> I am the most traveled of all my contemporaries; I have extended my field of inquiry wider than any one else; I have seen more countries and climes, and have heard more speeches of learned men.[4]

The Greeks were the first people to examine human life and conduct in a critical way.

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[4] Gomperz, Theodore, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. I, p. 318. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

6. *Love of sport and physical activity.* The most striking fact about the Greeks was their exuberance of spirit, and their abounding joy in physical activity for its own sake. They were the world's first and greatest sportsmen. Incidentally, it may be stated, their consumption of oxygen must have been prodigious. The first glimpse of these people in the Homeric poems fully establishes their passionate devotion to sport. When Alcinous desired to honor his guest, the celebrated traveler, Odysseus, in the most approved style, he arranged a great athletic display. When Achilles wished to pay the highest honor to the spirit of his departed friend, Patroclus, he arranged a festival of athletic games. This connection of sport with funeral honors is difficult for our age to understand, but it accorded well with the Greek feeling of the eternal fitness of things.

Three important facts stand forth with regard to the original character of sport among the Greeks. First, their physical contests were purely spontaneous. Writing of Homeric sports, E. Norman Gardiner declares:

> They are spontaneous as the play of the child, the natural outlet of vigorous youth. There is no organized training, no organized competition, and sport never usurps the place of work.[5]

Out of this spontaneous play developed the celebrated Greek games and also their system of formal gymnastics. It was not, however, until some centuries after Homer's day that the Olympian and other games were instituted. Moreover, the formal gymnastic training for boys and young men which grew out of this early love of physical contests was not organized until the sixth century B.C.

The second peculiarity of Homeric sports lay in the fact that only mature men engaged in the contests. And still stranger, these boyish contests were the sports of kings and the aristocracy; menials and even the middle class were not permitted to participate. Agamemnon, supreme commander of the Greeks in the Trojan War, Achilles, the chief hero of Homer's great epic, and Nestor, Odysseus, and others of the highest station were the contestants in such events. In the Greek mind, sports were directly connected with military skill, and in Greece, as in primitive society everywhere, leadership still rested in large measure upon physical prowess.

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[5] Gardiner, E. Norman, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 25. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910.

The third and most astonishing fact is that for the Greeks these physical contests held profound religious significance. The discussion of the nature of Greek religion will be taken up later, but it is necessary to explain in advance the peculiar religious character of their physical exuberance. The celebrated Olympian and other Hellenic games originated as funeral festivals in honor of their great heroes. Later they became associated with the Olympian deities. The temple of Zeus, in whose honor the games were performed, was the chief structure at Olympia. The Pythian contests were conducted to honor Apollo, god of music and other arts. All games were celebrated at the holiest shrines of Panhellenic religion. The origin and religious character of the games account for their unifying significance for the Greek peoples. While many forces were operating to produce mutual antagonism and separation among their numerous tribes, religion and athletics were the most integrating forces. A truce of Zeus put an end to strife throughout the scattered Hellenic peoples when these great contests were held. Only men of pure Greek blood were permitted to participate in these sacred sports; for in athletics, the tribal life was resurgent. It is a most noteworthy fact that the Olympian festival marked the beginning of chronology for the entire Greek world.

By accident more than design, present-day America has come, especially in college circles, to celebrate its one national religious festival, Thanksgiving Day, by intercollegiate football games. But no one claims any special religious significance for that part of the day's activities. With the Greeks, however, the spontaneous outpouring of youthful energies was a living sacrifice to the gods.

> For the best was offered up in commemoration of the heroes who founded the state and in celebration of the immortal gods, under whose protection the state endured; the best that the herds of the field produced or that the ingenious mind of man created in the arts of speech and song. Why should not also the most precious of all goods, which the state enjoyed, be dedicated to the gods, the manly strength of its citizens and the youthful power of the growing generation! The contests were an offering of thanksgiving, and the gods, as Plato pointed out, were friends of gymnastics. There was no homage that demanded such laborious perseverance through so many years, so much expenditure of strength and time, so much deprivation and pain. But the Greeks

> never sought the joys of life in slothful pleasure: they had a lively feeling, which everyone should know from his own experience, that free and strenuous exercise of all the muscles of the body in the open air and sunshine, stimulates every healthy individual and fills him with inner exuberance.[6]

The Greeks did not divorce mind and muscle. They gladly dedicated their bodily strength and grace to the honor and service of the gods. They honored Zeus and Apollo with races and wrestling, the action and beauty of trained bodies. The gods gave their blessing by enhancing that beauty and grace and filling them with divine euphoria. This exaltation of spirit resulting from gymnastic exercises and the deep respiration that went with the activity imparted a feeling akin to divine happiness.

How the love of spontaneous physical sports and contest developed into formal gymnastics, as the best means of physical education, will appear later. But it is important to understand here that physical activity of the most exuberant type was a native interest and one of the most prominent of all Greek characteristics. From their extraordinary love of sports one might surmise that the Greeks excelled others in size, but such was not the case.

> In stature they were rather below than above the average of ancient peoples. They had not the height of the barbarians or the muscular development of the Assyrians and Romans. It was rather in symmetrical activity than in massiveness or gigantic proportions that they surpassed the other races of their times. In beauty of body they were peerless. In agility and nervous vigor they were the finest specimens of men that the world produced. . . . He was more *alive* in his physical being, more highly developed, more complete in his nervous structure, than any other man of antiquity. . . . No other people, indeed, were ever gifted with so great personal beauty; . . . and no others ever so much adored the gift.[7]

It was in versatility and control of physical movements that the Greeks excelled and not in strength or size.

The Greek games. The five great Panhellenic contests were the Olympian from which other events were dated, the Isthmian, the Nemean, the Pythian, and the Panathenaean. These celebrated contests of the Hellenes were the most wonderful outpourings of racial enthusiasm and energy the world has ever known, and they influenced Greek education and civilization in many ways.

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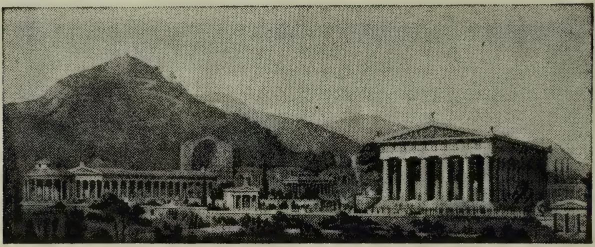
[6] Quoted from Curtius, E., *Olympia*, Berlin, 1852, by Dr. Lorenz Grasberger. *Die leibliche Erziehung bei den Griechen und Römern.* Vol. I, p. 189. Würzburg: Stahle'schen Buch- und Kunsthandlung. 1864.

[7] Ridpath, John Clark, *History of the World*, Vol. I, p. 459. Cincinnati: Ridpath Historical Society, Inc., 1936.

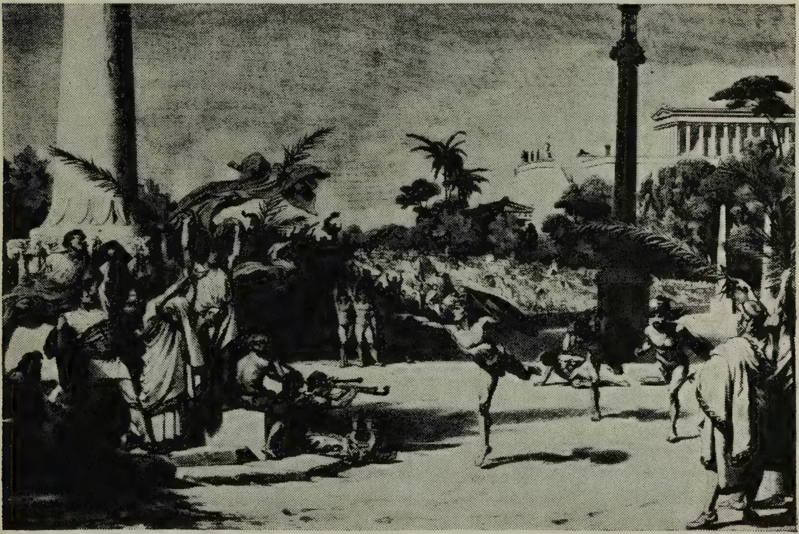


Olympia Restoration by R. Bohn.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

The Olympian games, the most celebrated of all, were conducted every four years at Olympia in western Greece. Thither men flocked from every part of the Greek world; from Marseilles on the West to the Black Sea on the East; and from Thrace on the North to Egypt on the South. Some came on foot, some on horses or in chariots, and others by boat. Some came to be seen, but all to see and hear. All classes of society were represented: peasants, fishermen, poets, historians, artists, philosophers, orators, and statesmen. Women, however, were absolutely excluded. Official embassies from all the states were present with magnificent equipages. Every city was proud of its contestants and strained for victory. States at war were bound by most solemn oath to observe the sacred truce during the contest. Sacrifices were offered to Olympian Zeus and other deities; numerous banquets including an official dinner for the victors were held; and the greatest event of all was the crowning of the victors with wreaths of wild olive.

Of Olympian contests, the short foot-race was the oldest and most important. Other running events, throwing the spear, wrestling, and boxing were featured. Horse racing and chariot racing were introduced about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Olympia had no musical or literary contests as such in its best days.

The Isthmian games were the most popular of all Greek games. They were celebrated at Corinth, the great commercial metropolis, during the second and fourth year of each Olympiad. These games were held in special honor of Poseidon, god of the sea. In addition to athletic, equestrian, and musical contests, probably boating events were scheduled. Since these games were more local in range, there were fewer contestants, and more attention was given to competition among boys.

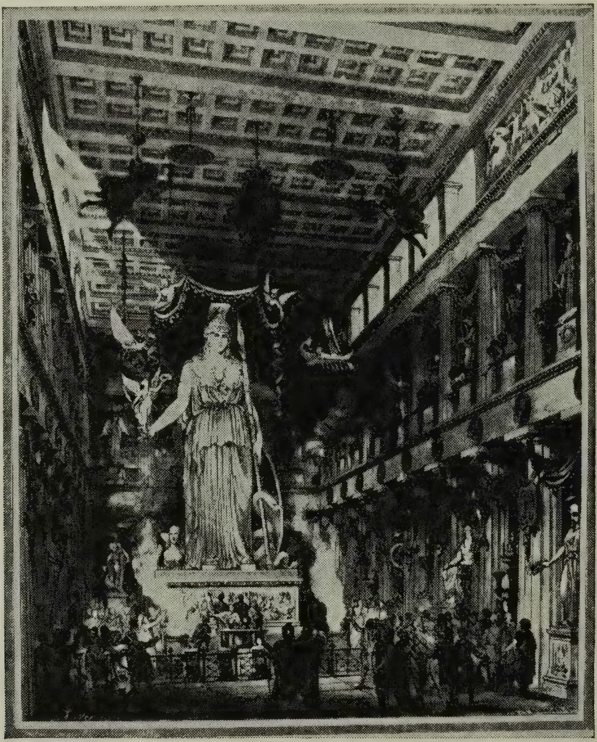


Foot Race.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

The Pythian games celebrated near Delphi every four years were second in importance only to the Olympian. While physical contests were the same as at Olympia, musical competitions always held the first place. The chief event was the singing of the Hymn to Apollo in whose honor the games were held. Singing, flute playing, lyre playing accompanied by song, dramatic and poetical competitions, and perhaps, painting contests were conducted.

Of the Nemean games little is known. They were conducted every two years in honor of Zeus. The contests were almost entirely athletic, though some musical events may have been accorded a place.

The Panathenaic games were celebrated at Athens at the beginning of every fourth year with hilarious gaiety in honor of Pallas Athena, the protecting divinity of the city. These commemorated the union of the tribes of Attica and were celebrated with the greatest pomp and ceremony. The entire population of the state, young and old, afoot or otherwise, crowded into Athens. These were the most costly of all Greek games. Among the contests were boat races, torch races, horse races, chariot races, dances in full armor, leaping into and out of chariots, throwing the javelin from horseback, singing, flute and lyre playing, dancing, beauty contests, reciting epic poetry by the rhapsodists, and oratorical displays. The most important event was the great procession in which the entire population of Athens on foot, on horseback, or in chariots bore the sacred robe or mantle embroidered in gold to the Goddess in the Parthenon.



Interior of the Parthenon.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

Prizes and honors. The prize for the winners in all the contests was not any material reward. A garland was placed upon the head of the victor in an appropriate ceremony. At Olympia it was of wild olive, at Corinth of pine; and similar garlands were bestowed for the other games. A banquet in honor of the winner was held, and he took part in the sacrifice. But the real reward was the adulation of his fellow townsmen. A triumphal procession attended him to his native city. The city wall was torn down for his entrance, in token of the fact that a city that produced such men needed no wall. A public statue was erected to the hero in many cases, and poets, such as Pindar, celebrated the winners in songs that still survive.

7. *Rivalry in Greek life.* All healthy lads and men are motivated by an instinct of rivalry. With the Greeks rivalry was the master passion, the mainspring of all activities. Educators used it as a fine art to spur the boys to put forth every effort to beat their competitors. Throughout life Greek men were at all times competing with one another or watching others in a struggle.

An overweening spirit of rivalry was inborn in the Greeks as Hesiod early testified:

> When he that hath no business looketh on him that is rich, he hasteth to plough and to plant and to array his house; and neighbor vieth with neighbor hasting to be rich; good is this strife of men. So potter with potter contendeth; the hewer of wood with the hewer of wood; the beggar is jealous of the beggar, the minstrel jealous of the minstrel.[8]

As a matter of fact, the European Greeks were not stimulated so much by practical problems, but they were ever alert to excel a rival in gymnastics or in the products of art or of thought.

Rivalry was not confined to individuals, for tribes and cities entered wildly into competition. Agon (ἀγών), "Competition," was regarded as a deity. Contests of every kind were organized to feed the spirit of emulation. As in recent America there have been contests among women, so in Greece there were beauty contests among the men and boys, as well as among the women. There were competitions in drinking and in staying awake. "Strangest of all," states Gardiner,[9] "was a competition in kissing, which took place at the Dioclea at Megara."

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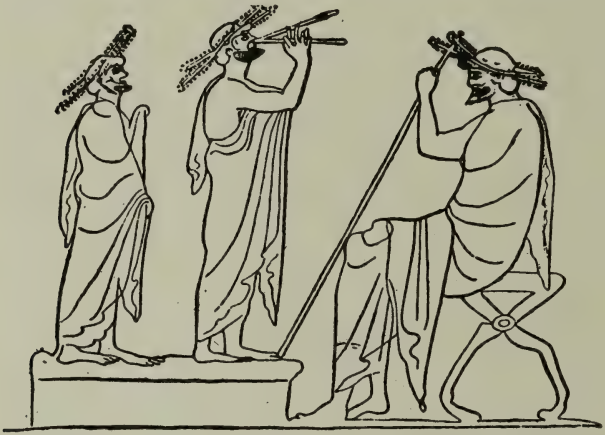
[8] From Hesiod, *Works and Days.* Quoted by Lavell, C. F., *A Biography of the Greek People,* p. 41. Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

[9] Gardiner, E. Norman, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals,* p. 3. London : The Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1910.

As already indicated, contests were by no means confined to physical feats. There were contests in music, poetry, drama, and recitation. Some of the greatest dramatists of Greece produced their plays at the great games, historians read their histories, and orators contested in speech. The Greeks loved to argue as much as they loved to run or wrestle.

This spirit of rivalry was the chief cause of the excellence attained by the Greeks in every line of endeavor. To the spur of rivalry more than any other factor, were due the products of Greek literature, art, and science. It left them no rest, but goaded them to develop to perfection all their capacities of thought and action. Long before the dawn of known history, the rhapsodists contended with one another in the palaces of princes, at the graves of heroes, before the temples of the gods, and in the market places of the cities. The emulation of the Greek tribes developed music and song, and out of this combination developed all types of poetry. The festival of Dionysus, celebrated in the spring of the year, staged important contests along with its riotous orgies. The people, as described by Gulick,



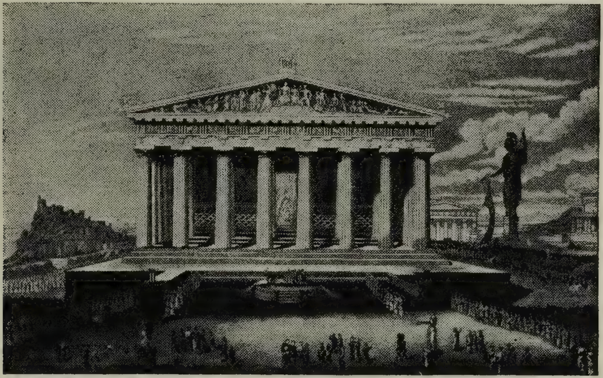
MUSICAL CONTEST. Singer, double flute accompanist and judge.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

> . . . were treated to an imposing review of their great literary achievements, given in the order in which the several kinds of literary expression, epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, had originated. There were contests among the rhapsodists, who recited epic poetry; contests between choruses, consisting of fifty men or boys from each tribe, spe-

> cially trained to render lyrics composed in honor of Dionysus and other gods. . . . Then came contests between the comic poets, and last, between the poets of tragedy.[10]

Since citizens were paid out of the state treasury to witness these events, even the poorest could attend.

8. *Hellenic sensitiveness.* Closely allied with their exuberant activity in the open air was the extraordinary acuteness of their senses. Their eyes, ears, and other sense organs were more keenly discerning than those of any other people. Where others received one impression, the Greeks received many. Their vision was more highly discriminating in regard to line, color, and form. It has been discovered that the lines of their grandest buildings were so ingeniously curved that they presented the appearance of being straight when in reality they were not. In the fluting of the columns of the Parthenon each single groove is cut more deeply at the extremities than in the middle of the column. The lines of the base and roof are likewise curved. This artifice was necessary because to their discriminating vision a straight line appeared curved. This phenomenon was due to the fact that the eyeball, when one is surveying an object, cannot move in a direct line because of the location of the muscles; it must, rather, move in an oblique direction. Similarly, in the discrimination of



PARTHENON, FRONT VIEW.—*From Miller, M. M., "The Classics: Greek and Latin."*

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[10] Gulick, Charles Burton, *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, pp. 275–276. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1902.

color, Greek vision was exceptionally delicate. Greek ears were so sensitive that their musical scale was not confined to tones and semitones as is ours, but included quarter tones also. Their auditory acuteness showed itself especially in the development of their language, which was the most flexible and expressive known to man. In the use of descriptive adjectives it was superior to all others. The Greek love of oratory and beauty of expression was the result of their keenness of hearing.

This extreme sensitiveness of the Greeks was the basis of their remarkable development in art, literature, and science, which attained the highest standards of excellence. It led them to abhor all excess and nonessential elements, whether in sculpture, architecture, language, or life. Only that which was well balanced met their exacting approval. In the execution of their creative works they employed many artifices which remain unperceived by our duller senses until they are discovered by the most meticulous study. This is true of the stone and clay used in fashioning Greek temples and vases, and also of the words and rhythms which make up Greek odes, dramas, and orations.

Unquestionably the extraordinary intelligence of the Greeks was definitely related to the acuteness of their senses. This produced deeper mental impressions which, in turn, formed the basis of exact memory, accurate reproduction, and delicate appreciation. On this also was based their ability to compare, discriminate, abstract, and reason. As has already been pointed out, they developed remarkable skill in reproducing their impressions. Their poetry, as shown in Homer and Hesiod, is amazing in its picturesque and accurate delineations. Similarly works on medicine and history are graphic in the description of diseases and of events. A most profound appreciation of the native ability of the Greeks comes from reflection upon the wonderful richness, flexibility, and descriptive power of their language.

9. *The secret of Greek genius and education.* The secret of Greek genius is to be found in the perfect coordination of their psychological and physical natures. In primitive life impression is immediately followed by expression, and expression in movement and in vocalization were inseparably associated; that is to say, action was normally accompanied by some corresponding use of the vocal organs in chanting, shouting, or talking. The same law of expression is found in all normal children. For the Greeks every perception, whether of eye or ear, set in vibration

a chord of sympathetic emotion, and every emotion found its immediate expression in an appropriate reaction. They were children of nature who knew little of the many inhibitions and inherited restraints that have thwarted full expression or led to specialized reaction in later ages.

Among the Greeks, furthermore, movement and vocalization were accompanied by the tone and rhythm of a musical instrument. But what is still more important in their case was the fact that physical movement, vocalization, and musical tone became firmly associated with poetic ideas. For the Greeks, to think was also to act, and to act in dramatic accord with the thought. They did not engage in music, dancing, and poetry as diverse and separate activities, but as one complete, all-round mode of expression. This unity of movement, vocalization, poetic thought, and tone has been well described by G. Lowes Dickinson:

> What they called "music," . . . was an intimate union of melody, verse, and dance, so that the particular emotional meaning of the rhythm and tune employed was brought out into perfect lucidity by the accompanying words and gestures. . . . The emotional character conveyed to the mind by the words and to the ear by the tune, was further explained to the eye by gesture, pose, and beat of foot; the combination of the three modes of expression forming thus in the Greek sense a single "imitative" art. The dance as well as the melody came thus to have a definite ethical significance.[11]

Excellent examples of this threefold expression of the emotions are to be found in Homer. This manner of expression showed itself particularly in the worship of the gods.

> And all day long with song and dance they were propitiating the god. Singing a beautiful paean, the youths of the Achaeans; hymning the far-worker! [12]

The most varied and important of all their combined songs and dances were those in honor of the gods.

It must be noted that this same law of musical expression held for the practical activities of daily life. Men and women sang as they worked. An example was the bringing in of the vintage:

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[11] Dickinson, G. Lowes, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

[12] Clark, Frank Lowery, *A Study of the Iliad in Translation*, p. 31. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. *Iliad* I, 472–3.

> And youths and maidens in child-like glee
> Were bearing the honey-sweet fruit in baskets.
> And in their midst a youth was playing charmingly
> Upon a clear-sounding phorminx, and was singing the beautiful Linos-song
> With delicate voice; and they, beating time simultaneously,
> Followed with song and shout and skipping feet.[13]

They sang as they sowed the seed, reaped the harvest, and ground the corn; as they worked at the loom and the spinning wheel; as they milked the cows, and herded the sheep. There were songs for swimming, for mourning at funeral services, for marriage feasts, and for dinner parties. The joy of movement, song, and tone was universal.[14]

Where modern practice has usually kept each form of expression separate, the Greeks synchronized them. When they declared music or dancing to be the most important element of life, they were not thinking of music alone, or dancing alone, but as one aspect of a conjoined expression. Plutarch, four hundred years later, declared:

> Poetry and dancing have much in common, especially in the song in which is the most lively representation imaginable, dancing, doing it by gesture, and poesy by words.[15]

Melody and rhythm attended their gymnastic exercises. They marched into battle to the accompaniment of music and song. Even oratory was a "sort of musical science, differing from vocal and instrumental music in degree, not in kind. Their oratory involved melody, rhythm, variety, and appropriateness."[16] Rhapsodizing, chanting poetry, singing a song, dancing, performing a drama, giving a choral display, and delivering an oration were but varied forms of the same thing. Which one it happened to be depended merely on the aspect to be emphasized; action, vocalization, rhythm, and melody were always present.

Following the practices of the primitive Greeks and later that of the poets, the professional rhapsodists recited poetry and accompanied the recital with music and dramatic or mimetic movements.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 242; *Iliad*, XVIII, 567–572.
[14] Compare *Ibid.*, p. 244; *Iliad*, XVIII, 590–605.
[15] Plutarch, *Symposium*, IX, 15.
[16] Roberts, W. Rhys, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus. On Literary Composition*, p. 125. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910.

> We know that the declamation of the rhapsodists was theatrical and sensational, effects being sought after by gesture and inflection of the voice.[17]

With this key, one is better prepared to understand the mystery of Greek genius and their use of music, dancing, gymnastics, the chorus, poetry, and reading in education. Freedom and naturalness of emotional expression led to perfect development of their native powers. Rhythm guided, united, and controlled all their activities. The significance of this subject will be further emphasized in studying the teaching of music and dancing.

10. *Intelligence.* Inquisitiveness, desire for clearness of ideas, freedom from prejudices, readiness in adopting the new, passion for the dissimilar, open-mindedness, the comparative attitude of mind—all these characteristics which attend intelligence of a higher order were present in unusual measure in the Greeks. Never has lived a people which has had greater curiosity to hear and learn. In the realm of thought they exhibited the same fearlessness and abandon that they did in battle. Plato puts into the mouth of one of his interlocutors the statement, "Let us follow the argument whithersoever it may lead." This absence of intellectual prejudice always remained a prime trait of the Greek mind, especially of the Athenians. In later centuries it developed into a passion for novelty, and they became mere curiosity-seekers, who "spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing." [18]

> The same love of clearness and perfection that animated their singers and athletes led them, when they began reasoning about it, to a conviction that to every mystery there was a key, to every tangle a clue, to every enterprise an essential thing to be done, to every confusion an arrangement that would make it unconfused, to every problem of speculation or action a rational procedure—*techne,* art—that would eliminate the chance of error.[19]

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[17] Jevons, Frank Byron, *A History of Greek Literature,* p. 51; second edition, London: Griffin and Company, 1889.

[18] *Acts* 17 : 21.

[19] Lavell, C. F., *A Biography of the Greek People.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934; p. 117.

It is a fact of the profoundest significance that among the Greeks there emerged for the first time the higher intellectual life of our race. They began that search for knowledge for its own sake which has lifted the Western world far above the slumbering civilizations of antiquity. Mastered by an insatiable curiosity, they traveled far and wide, listened with deep interest to wandering minstrels and storytellers, and they spent hours in earnest discussion. Strangest of all is the fact that this was pure, intellectual curiosity. They had no ulterior motives; utility as such did not interest them. They transcended the empirical level of thought and pursued knowledge for its purely logical significance and the thrill it gave them. The cause of this remarkable eagerness for pure knowledge forms one of the most interesting chapters of psychological and cultural history. It has, furthermore, especial significance in that it reveals a profound principle of mental evolution.

It might be that the highest mental life of man could have emerged under other circumstances than those of fifth-century Greece; but the fact remains that it never did, howsoever we may try to account for it. Moreover, after many centuries of darkness, modern intelligence received its quickening spark from the smoldering embers of the fire, first lighted by the Greeks.

The basic cause of the remarkable intelligence of the Greek people is an interesting subject for speculation. Probably no one reason can be assigned for it. Their keen discrimination of impression, their mental readiness in observing similarities between disparate fields of experience, their emancipation from the practical side of life, together with a preoccupation with social interests, were the most probable causes that led to the higher level of intelligence. Moreover, their language played a large part in their intellectual development. From early times it exhibited a wonderful richness and flexibility. Its descriptive adjectives, complex declensions of nouns, and elaborate conjugations of verbs, and fine difference in tenses, all indicate an unconscious appreciation of the logical relations of thought never equaled by any other people. It must be remembered that the language of a people is a product of their energizing spirit and it develops in harmony with their intelligence.

11. *Love of beauty.* The Greek appreciation and expression of beauty and fitness has continued to be a wonder to mankind. This aesthetic sense was a native capacity and not the result of any training; nor yet was it borrowed from others. Probably

all Greek peoples shared in this gift, though it was the Athenians who gave it fullest expression, and who reached the highest standard of artistic excellence. Even before the dawn of history the inhabitants of Attica were fashioning pottery that was the delight of the world. In symmetry of form, in rhythm of decoration it was superior; it found its way far and wide through the channel of commerce. For the Greeks the beautiful and good (καλοκαγαθία) formed but a single word and idea. They possessed an instinct that guided them in adopting the most economic use of means for the attainment of an end. This led them to discard every unessential element, every excrescence. Keenness of vision and of hearing sharpened their discrimination, while rhythm of movements in fashioning objects gave them mastery of proportion and symmetry.

12. *Art and idealism.* The Greek mind was captivated by the order they beheld in the outer world, an order that testified to some inner principle that could explain it. Leucippus expressed the belief in the universal reign of such a principle, when he declared: "Nothing happens without a cause, but everything with a cause and by necessity."[20]

It has already been pointed out that the Greeks were of all men most artistic. But in order to appreciate the deeper implication of this aspect of their nature it must be more fully explained. As was generally the case among youthful peoples, the making of utensils began with the molding of clay vessels. The Greeks were peculiarly gifted in fabricating vases and other household utensils. But, even at an early date, there was a marked difference between their products and those of other peoples; they were not satisfied with mere utility, but must achieve beauty as well. In design, in ornamentation and coloring the Greek products were vastly superior. As time went forward and craftsmanship broadened into products of infinite variety, the same tendencies were everywhere in evidence; beauty always matched utility. Although the craftsmanship of the Greeks began in designing and ornamenting things made of clay, it was soon extended to work in wood, marble, and metals such as gold, silver, copper, and brass. From the fashioning of utensils, weapons, furniture, and ornaments, the Greeks advanced to architecture, which was associated with sculpture and painting. Religion and gymnastics were, however, the most potent influence in the development of these arts. The great buildings were temples dedicated to the worship of the gods. Moreover, it was the close observation of the effects of mind upon muscle in their gymnastic exercises that made Greek sculpture so superior.

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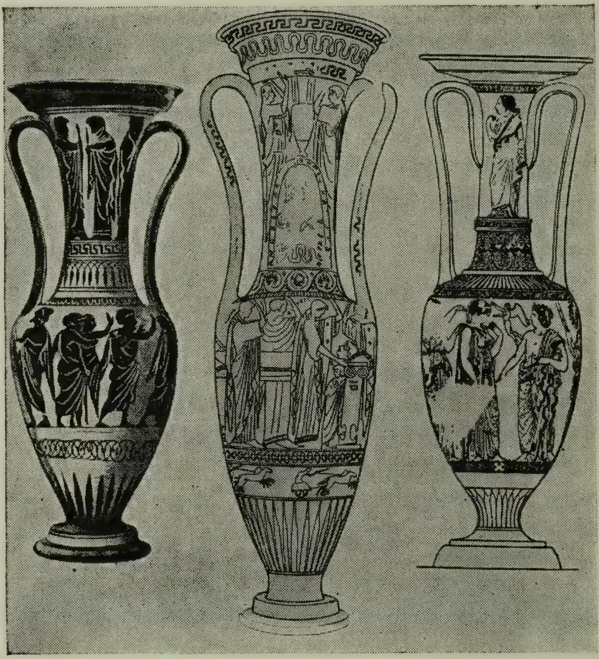
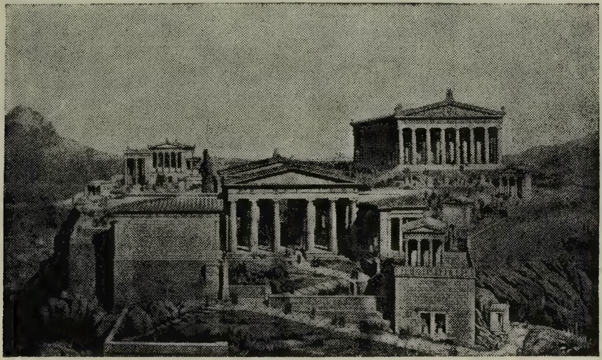
[20] Quoted by Gomperz, Theodore, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. I, p. 317.

Important as was the evolution of art in Greek life from the standpoint of aesthetics, its philosophic significance was even greater. Art was made possible by reason of the sharply discriminating sensibilities of the Greeks, a psychological factor fundamental at once for both aesthetics and high intelligence. Another essential factor was versatility of movement. This aptness was exhibited in many forms, but especially in dancing. Moreover, the Greeks possessed a lively creative imagination that was ever visualizing new forms and ends which must be realized in beauty.



ATHENIAN VASES.—*From Baumeister, A., "Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums," Oldenbourg.*

Their artistic sense caused the consciousness of the Greeks to become teleological. Thought was ever spontaneously projecting new ends to be realized, and, what was of greatest significance, to be realized in beautiful forms. Art was not divorced from life, but was everywhere inherent in it. From fashioning articles of utility the Greeks proceeded to the production of objects of ideal value in sculpture and painting. Moreover, in their art they did not seek to imitate nature but to realize the perfection of the object. This experience of visualizing ends that are beautiful or perfect is the very essence of idealism. Greek ideals were not merely abstract conceptions, but objects that fit the ends to be served and, at the same time, are perfect in their beauty. The Greeks were not idealists because of their power of clear, cool intellectuality but rather because of their capacity to visualize objects perfect for the purpose they were to serve and at the same time beautiful and satisfying in form and color.



Restoration of the Acropolis, after Bohn.—*From the University Prints.*

This creative genius, which prompted the Greeks to project new ends to be realized by their restless energies, at the same time taught them to choose the appropriate and economic means for the attainment of these ends. There their sense of proportion came into play. But even more important than this artistic gift, the relation of the conceived end to the means and final product fixed in the Greek consciousness an architectonic principle. Wherever they saw order or beauty in nature or the apparent adaptation of means to end, they attributed these to the operation of mind upon matter. This teleological view they applied generally to the universe. The beauty and adaptation of nature were evidences of the operation of the divine mind. The creation of matter was never a problem for the Greeks. They assumed that, just as the potter assumes clay and the sculptor assumes the marble. Matter is eternal, given; but the objects to be realized and the choice of means in realizing it are products of mind. This experience became fully dominant in their thinking and produced finally the idealism of Plato and the teleological philosophy of Aristotle. No factor of Greek nature was more powerful in the evolution of their remarkable intelligence than this artistic activity.

The range of their artistic productivity is most amazing. No major field of art escaped their versatile talents. In architecture they built the masterpieces of all time: the Parthenon that stood on the Acropolis at Athens has never been excelled for beauty of structure. Nor did it remain alone; they erected temples, gymnasiums, and theaters everywhere.

In sculpture, painting, and drawing, they were of all men the greatest masters. Greek gymnastics made possible the most direct observation of the human form in its inner connection with the mind. Every slightest movement of muscle in relation to changing emotions was visible to the discriminating eye. Without Greek gymnastics their sculpture would in all probability not have been superior to the Egyptian. Their paintings have not survived the decay of time, but remarkable stories of their realistic achievements have descended to later generations. One such story related that Zeuxis, for a certain contest, painted a bunch of grapes so perfectly that birds tried to eat them. Confident of his triumph, Zeuxis called upon his rival, Parrhasius, to draw aside the curtain and show his painting. But Parrhasius' painting was the curtain which was so perfect that even Zeuxis thought it real.

It was, however, in language and the dramatic arts that the Greeks discovered new realms for the expression of beauty. They excelled both in poetry and prose. All forms of poetry were created, the lyric, the epic, and, in dramatic poetry, the comedy and tragedy. In prose literature they produced the philosophic, descriptive, didactic, and historical types. Oratory was brought to the highest perfection under circumstances that were most conducive to its artistic development. To the Greek, eloquence was the union of truth with strength and elegance of expression. Greater than these plastic or literary arts was the production of Greek dramatization. Their extraordinary ability to express in action the inner emotions and feelings of the soul made the Greeks the greatest of artists in this field. Here again gymnastics and dancing, associated with a natural method of teaching poetry by rhythmic movements, preserved and cultivated the natural dramatic expressiveness of childhood.

The power of Greek literature has made it the inspiration of every great period of literary expression. What the Bible has done for the spiritual life of men, Greek literature and art have done for the literature, art, architecture, and sculpture of all later ages.

13. *Initiative and creativity.* The Greeks possessed a high degree of spontaneity and creativity. There was a strong basic tendency toward imitativeness and they did borrow much in music, art, architecture, and science from older races. But whether it was some form of conduct or of skill in any technical performance, they imitated it with discrimination, quickly mastered the technique and made it the vehicle for the expression of their own ideas. They were too highly versatile to have permanent satisfaction in conventionality. They surveyed technique from the higher ground of a calm and balanced judgment, and selected what was most suitable for their needs. Their intense spirit of emulation never allowed them to rest until they had surpassed all other men. Moreover, their passion for novelty and for producing something new was irresistible.

The creativity of the Greek was a result of a superabundant energy that forced him to be always busy at something. He threw himself into the world that spread before him, traveling, fighting, conquering and expanding, colonizing, and at the same time executing reform at home. He was a legislator, an administrator, a juror; yet he was never too busy to wrangle over some intellectual or political problem, take daily exercise in the gymnasium, and watch the young men. His superabundant energy overflowed into new channels of accomplishment at every turn. Plato described Greek literary creativity as a madness.

> The madness of those who are possessed by the Muses: which enters into a delicate and virgin soul; and there inspiring frenzy, awakens lyrical and all other numbers; with these adorning the myriad actions of ancient heroes for the instruction of posterity. But he who having no touch of the Muses' madness in his soul, comes to the door and thinks that he will get into the temple by the help of art—he, I say, and his poetry are not admitted; the sane man is nowhere at all when he enters into rivalry with the madman.[21]

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[21] Plato, *Phaedrus*, § 245a. Translated by Jowett.

Unfortunately this creative genius of the Greeks did not continue long after its inflorescence in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It faded out and left them ultimately as conventional and plodding as any other race of men.

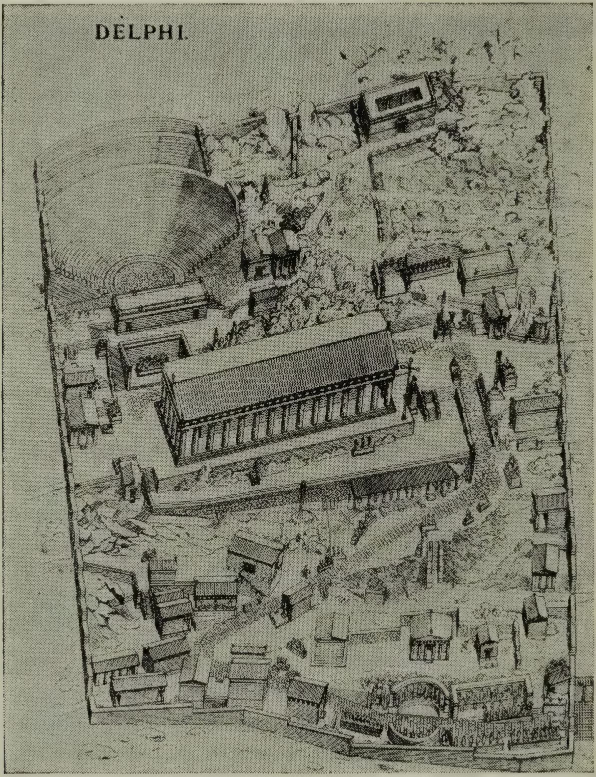
14. *Greek religion.* The religion of the Greeks was a reflection of their activities and a revelation of their deepest aspirations. It entered so fully into all they did and thought that to understand their gods is to know the inner springs of their thought and action. Religion naturally was the basis of the education of the young. It produced the poetry which nourished imagination, formed character, and was utilized in teaching, reading, and music. It is, therefore, quite impossible to explain the development of Greek character and education apart from their religious life.

All religion had its origin in the primitive feeling known as animism. A few years ago G. Stanley Hall in an investigation of the contents of children's minds on entering school found that the children of Boston thought that thunder was caused by God rolling barrels about, or running coal into a bin up in the sky. Lightning was attributed to God striking matches suddenly. Young children generally believe that everything is alive and capable of feeling as they are themselves. This animistic tendency, especially among primitive peoples, was particularly active among the Greeks because of their extreme sensitivity and vivid imagination. They saw about them a world teeming with wonderful events, saw the varied species of animals, the luxurious growth and decay of vegetable forms, the mysterious sky with sun, moon, stars, clouds, storms, thunder, and lightning, the sea with its changing moods. Then too, and still more fascinating, were all kinds of people who were moved by mysterious forces to do sudden and remarkable things. To understand all these, the primitive Hellenic mind took the easiest path of apperception. In their daily lives they saw that everything was brought about by living agencies. So, they naturally concluded, the same was the case everywhere. All the mysterious events in nature were performed by living beings similar to man but vastly more effective. Greek imagination peopled the earth with exalted beings who were the causes of all things; these beings were gods, goddesses, nymphs, nereids, muses, and other living spirits.

Greek deities were vivid, flashing personalities with superhuman powers. They were not subject to the restriction of space, time, and power that limit humans; they were "the immortals" who had no fear of death. They darted about the earth in the performance of their purposes with the speed of light. They appeared to men and interfered in human affairs. The Greeks of primitive times could not imagine the world as the result of mere mechanical processes. They thought of it only as the product of volitional energy ordered and directed by beings like themselves. The gods had will power and intelligence above those of man, yet they were capricious, and had their moods and whims quite like mortals. Moreover, they were moved by strange likes and dislikes for individual men and women.

Just as the conception of Yahweh, God of the Hebrews, was apprehended as some remote patriarch who ruled and guided tribal affairs and wrought victory over the enemies of his people, so the Greek pantheon was visualized as a royal family or an entire tribe of superior beings who lived on Mount Olympus. Each of its members was charged with the control, if not also with the performance, of some operation of nature, and assisted in the conduct and fortune of man. Success or failure of a man's affairs in the course of peace or war depended upon the favor or anger of some deity. The gods were as intimately related to men as men are to one another. Men prayed and sacrificed to the gods and goddesses to obtain their divine approval and help.

Zeus was the father of the gods and the supreme power among them. He was envisaged as the shining heaven, and the source of all order. He dispensed good and ill among men and guided the events of history. It was Zeus who originated the anger of Achilles, the beauty of Paris, the power of Ajax, the wisdom as well as the exploits of Odysseus, and the fall of Troy. Poseidon, who controlled the sea and partook of its dark and changeful moods, was the sender of tempests. He was subject to spells of great anger. Apollo had many functions, according to Greek mythology. He represented mental activity and figured as the god of agriculture or vegetation. Valleys and groves were under his protection and the laurel tree was sacred to him. He ruled the seasons and protected cattle. His relation to man was important for he was the god of youth, "rearer of boys," and patron of gymnastic games. Representing the vigor of youth, Apollo was the paragon of beauty. Along with Zeus, he was worshiped in the gymnastic contests, especially in Olympian games of which he was supposed to be the first victor. Through the contests he came to be connected with war, and in some respects was superior to Ares, god of the raging battle. Another function of Apollo was that of prophecy, for which the chief center was at Delphi. Finally, Apollo was the originator of music and poetry; he was therefore the patron deity of things intellectual.



Delphi, View by C. Schuster.—*From Luckenbach, H., "Kunst und Geschichte," Oldenbourg.*

Athena was the mythical spirit of wisdom, the guiding and protective divinity of the city of Athens. Hephaestus controlled fire and was the special protector of smiths. Dionysus, who came into especial popularity at a later period, was the god of nature and of wine. His worship was marked by riotous orgies and drunkenness, but also by great literary contests. Demeter made the grain sprout and matured the harvests. Aphrodite was the goddess of love. Hestia, goddess of hearth and home, was one of the twelve Olympians. As the personification of family unity, she was worshiped in the home, where her fire was always kept burning. Each city-state also, as a symbol of its unity, had a common hearth where public officials conducted the worship of Hestia. Similarly all Greeks united in her worship at Olympia and Delphi in token of the common bond that tied the Greek peoples together.

In addition to the twelve Olympian deities there were innumerable others. They presided over agricultural activities such as sowing grain and ripening corn, over the flocks and herds, and also over trades and handicrafts, hunting, fishing, fertility, marriage, childbirth, the healing art, and many other activities.

The gods and goddesses had especial charge of human affairs. They favored or disliked individuals and played favorites in a most capricious manner. Strange as it may seem to a modern mind, they were thought to have love affairs with mortals, and at times to have been parents of mortal children. For example, Achilles, the great hero of the Trojan War, was the son of Thetis, goddess of the shining sea, and of King Peleus.

These gods of Greece were not nature deities as such. In historic times the Greeks no longer worshiped the sun, though Zeus was the god of the shining sky; Artemis was not the moon, and Poseidon was not the sea. Statues of the gods and goddesses adorned the shrines and temples. Furthermore, each city and home had its images of the deities or immortals, but the Greeks did not worship these figures as idols. They worshiped only living, energizing personalities, which might be represented by material symbols, but they were in fact idealizations of the creative imagination, the personified powers of nature and of man.

The headquarters of the Greek gods was Mount Olympus, the loftiest point in northern Greece. Here Zeus had his station, and with the other gods and goddesses lived, feasting, carousing, and governing the affairs of the world. But numerous special shrines throughout Greece supplied opportunity for local worship. In addition, each city had its own protecting deity or divinity, and particular spirits had their own habitat. Delphi was the home of one of the most celebrated shrines, where oracular wisdom was dispensed to those who sought the advice of the god. Eleusis was the center of the worship of Demeter and of the performance of the Eleusisian mysteries that were supposed to reveal the life beyond the grave.

The morals of the Greek gods. The gods of Homeric mythology were subject to all the powerful emotions and stormy passions of the human soul. The moral practices of the entire Olympian company, from Zeus down, were scarcely on the level with those of primitive tribes of men. The gods were all subject to fits of great anger for one another and for men. Poseidon hated Odysseus with great fury. They were quarrelsome, arbitrary, capricious, drunken, and debauched. They were sulky, jealous, and dishonest. They lied, deceived, stole, and even condescended to downright intrigue and treachery to obtain their ends.

Sexually they were fickle, licentious, and unfaithful. Even Zeus had amours with goddesses other than Hera, his wife. Most of the deities are represented as having affairs with mortals; only one had no illegitimate children.

As to temperament they were jolly, convivial, and knew no sadness—a gay and happy crew. Moreover, they were honored by happiness and pleasure and not by suppression and pain. The German poet Schiller has rightly portrayed this as translated by Patterson:

> Your gay religion knows no sadness;
> They banished each austere emotion;
> What bosom could but throb with gladness,
> When gladness was the best devotion?
> Whate'er was sacred then was fair;
> No pleasure feared the eye of God
> Where roamed the blushing Muses, where
> The Graces still abode.[22]

Public worship took the form of great spectacular festivals with elaborate processions, and tumultuous rejoicing. Theatrical as well as gymnastic performances were religious events.

Compared with the Hebrew, Greek religion was morally debased. None of the gods had the slightest congruity with the high principles of the ten commandments; they were not moral beings as the Hebrew tradition understands morality. There was no deep sense of the sacredness of contract. Nor in Greece was there anything to compare with the moral and religious training of the Hebrew home. Institutional training was civic rather than domestic. The Greeks lacked both an authoritative statement of moral law and a divine personality to motivate obedience to that law. Their sense of justice was not highly acute, and the idea of retribution or punishment for sin and guilt was entirely absent. Their offenses were not felt as the breaking of a divine law or as a lack of harmony with God, but only as "poor shots," that is, as failures to hit the mark. No moral stigma was attached to such errors, for the errors were due merely to a lack of finesse or skill or of clear judgment.

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[22] Mr. J. Brown Patterson, quoted by Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, Second Edition, p. 204. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1900.

The Greek gods were an idealization or personification of the powers of man, his wisdom, skill, will, memory, love, and other aspects of his complex nature.

> Whatever was palpable in men it made ideal in the divinity. Accordingly we find the fulness and richness of human nature in the Gods—the Hellenic worship was in truth the worship of humanity. To the Hellenic conception everything beautiful was holy; everything pleasant to man was acceptable to the gods.[23]

In one point only did Greek religion approach the Hebrew; respect for parents was a cardinal virtue in both. Injustice and unkindness to parents and even to elders were acts of impiety, for which divine punishment must be expected.

The influence of Greek religion. Religion played a large part in the daily activities of this highly gifted people and had an important role in developing their wonderful civilization. Every enterprise "began with the gods." Domestic life was a round of sacrifices and religious services. Almost every room had its deity. Every trade and craft sought the protection of some special god. It is, nevertheless, a question as to just what effect religion in Greece had upon their moral lives. To ask whether it made them purer, truer, and more genuine is to apply to the Greeks conceptions of moral influence that did not interest them. In these lines the influence of their religion was neither powerful nor persistent. But to ask whether it made them more courageous, physically and mentally alert, independent, and appreciative of beauty is to evoke a resounding affirmative. What the influence of Greek religion was can now be more clearly understood. The Greeks were deeply religious and lived daily in the sight of their gods. Moreover, religion formed an aspect of every part of the education of children from birth to maturity. The effects of religion upon Greek life may be summarized as follows:

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

(1) The Greek religion never had a hereditary and organized priesthood. In certain respects this was a decided advantage. A priestly hierarchy, strongly entrenched, invariably makes for ritualism of worship and uniformity of creedal doctrines. Formalism and fixed orthodoxy tend to halt not only religious but also ethical and intellectual progress. In the absence of a dominating priestly class, Greek religion, art, literature, and philosophy were free to evolve naturally.

(2) For the Hebrew mind the moral and personal standard of life was embodied in the ten commandments, which were so inherently bound up with their consciousness of God that they were considered divinely inspired. The sense of justice was deep-seated. Fear of the Lord, that is, respect for the high and perfect, was the mainspring for all intellectual and moral life. The Greeks had nothing corresponding to all this. To them the cardinal or fundamental wickedness was *hubris* (ὕβϱις), that is, an arrogance or insolence of spirit that oversteps the bounds that the gods have established. Contentment with what the gods send is the source of happiness.[24] Overbearing, haughty conduct or braggadocio draws forth the hatred of the gods and of men and always results in punishment. Pride, therefore, was to the Greeks the unpardonable sin. As Lavell most aptly states,

> The thing to be kept in mind about the gods was not their justice but their jealousy.[25]

That the gods were jealous was the common notion among the Greeks. This bitter envy was evoked by all excess, conceit, or insolence on the part of man. The gods caused Persia to be overthrown because it was great and powerful and they were jealous of it. Herodotus stated the matter in this way:

> You see how divine lightning strikes very great animals and God does not permit them to exhibit themselves proudly, while small ones do not excite his wrath; and thunderbolts always strike large buildings and tall trees; for God loves to bring to naught anything that is excessive . . . nor does he permit any but himself to think proud thoughts.[26]

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[24] Above gods and men alike was the rule of fate. The good or evil that befalls men, that is their lot in life and is divinely appointed. Neither man nor gods can ward off punishment; and death is inevitable when a man's time has come.

[25] Lavell, C. F., *Biography of the Greek People*, p. 119. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

[26] Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 259. New York: American Book Company, 1910.

As with large objects so it was with human individuals. The gods as well as men hated the proud and haughty.

Directly opposite to this spirit of pride and arrogance is the sense of modesty or shame (αἰδώς). It exhibits itself in a deep respect for elders, for parents, and for whatever is most seemly and becoming. It approaches a sense of humility or inferiority in relation to anything superior. It is defined by Aristotle "as a kind of fear of dishonor, and produces an effect similar to that produced by fear of danger." This modesty and reverence for the aged and whatever is superior was the Greek substitute for the "fear of the Lord." On its positive side it is a desire for honor or social approval, and as such inspires the athlete and the soldier to brave and noble action. It marks off the well-bred, retiring gentleman, and the true sportsman, from the swaggering bully and the arrogant egotist.[27]

(3) Education in Greece was always religious. Worship of the gods formed part of the daily regimen of the home, and of civic life. When the child was old enough to read, he learned to recite the hymns of the lyric poets and the epics of Homer. Music, too, was religious, and physical training was a form of worship. The schools, the palaestrae, and gymnasiums were under the protecting care of the deities. Busts embellished the corridors and classrooms. Prayers and hymns in honor of the gods were part of the daily exercises of the schools, and every page of their reading contained direct references to the gods. Youths were marched in bands to the temples and took part in processionals and festivals in honor of the gods of the city.

(4) Greek religion stimulated imagination and idealization of human qualities. The gods, as portrayed by Homer and other poets, were the embodiment of all the grace, beauty, and strength that the Greeks so ardently desired. These live personalizations gave wings to imagination and idealization. It is readily seen that such a religion would nourish aesthetic and intellectual culture. Its full power was exhibited in the development of art. Sculpture, painting, architecture, and other means of expressing beauty flourished abundantly under its benign influence.

(5) The Greek religion was also favorable to the highest physical development. Gymnastic contests and games were a form of worship. The world has never known a more perfect develop-

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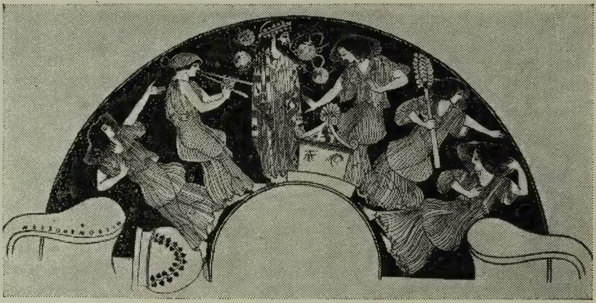
[27] For a full analysis of shame see Griffin, A. D., *Aristotle's Psychology of Conduct*, pp. 84–91. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1931.

ment of the human body, nor a more harmonious organization of all the elements of human personality.

(6) The great weakness of the Greek religion lay in its lack of mysticism. It was predominantly aesthetic and realistic. It failed to find an ideal of infinite spiritual perfection. The Eleusinian mysteries offered insufficient power to harmonize the human spirit with the deeper nature of the universe and to unify mankind in a bond of spiritual brotherhood.

Later religious developments. So far this description of Greek religion has been confined to the gods of the Homeric mythology. It was this that formed the religious ideas and practices down to the period of greatest genius. After the fifth century B.C. striking changes took place which can barely be mentioned here. State religious worship grew in pomp and formality with elaborate processionals and festivals. This was all outward show. The development of ethical insight reflected upon the loose morality of the Homeric pantheon. Philosophic criticism led to skepticism and radical living. But there were developments in other directions as well. There was especially a growing desire for a religion that would satisfy the deeper cravings of the soul. The Eleusinian mysteries, the Dionysian orgies, and the Orphic mysteries were the new developments that sought to satisfy the desire for purification, the experience of intoxication that lifts one above oneself, and the explanation of the mystery of death and the life beyond. An arresting description of the Dionysian orgies is given by Fairbanks.



DIONYSIAC SCENE.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

> Groups of his worshippers, mainly women, found their way at night with torches into wild glens on the mountains; the music of drums and cym-

> bals and flutes stirred sensitive spirits till their whirling dances and wild summons to the god induced a religious frenzy; serpents were fondled. The young of wild animals were now suckled by human mothers, now torn in pieces and eaten raw. . . . What was the purpose of these wild practices, ending in dizziness and exhaustion? . . . The identification of the worshippers and the god. The wilder the frenzy, the more the worshipper felt himself free from the restraints of the body and the restraints of the world. The goal of religion, the oneness of the man himself (the soul) with the divine being, was here realized in its crudest form.[28]

In so far as these great changes bear upon the evolution of Greek education, they will be discussed later.

15. *Individual and institutional interrelations.* The human being is subject to the action of two sets of forces, one set making for the individualizing of thought, feeling, and action, the other set of forces leading to their unification in institutional life. The Greeks present a most interesting and informative opportunity for the study of the action and results of these forces. As everyone knows, it was in Greece that individualism first emerged from the conventionality of mass life. A social phenomenon so important demands the thorough investigation of the circumstances of its birth and the relationship of the individual to society. It involves many new problems. These have to do with the relation of the individual to the state, the Greek susceptibility to discipline and regimentation, his passion for individual liberty, the relation of state to family life, and the problem of Hellenic unity. These aspects of Greek nature will repay a close inspection.

a. *The relation of the individual to the state.* Strange as it may be, on the one hand, the Greeks furnished the world the supreme example of state regimentation, and, on the other, the supreme example of pure democracy. The Greek citizen thought of the state in a very different way from the modern man, much more intimately and definitely. First, it must be pointed out, the Greek state was always small. The terrain favored small and separate political units. The state had to be small in order that each citizen could participate directly in all civic affairs. They had no idea of representative government, far less of a federation of states under one government. To be a citizen, therefore, implied much more to the Greek than it implies to the modern man. He engaged directly in all the activities of civil and military life, serving as a soldier, judge, member of the assembly, and as an official in the various functions of the state government and of the tribe.

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[28] Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 241. New York: American Book Co., 1910.

Such "direct personal service" involved much of the time of the individual. But it involved even more: namely, the complete subordination of individual interests and will to those of the state. The Greek did not look upon this as an invasion of his natural rights. On the contrary it was his life, the road to honor and glory. Patriotic feeling was the center about which Greek character was formed. Virtue was not a matter of personal morality, but signified civic efficiency. To fulfill well the duties of citizenship was the chief essential of Greek morality.

The Greek cities were totalitarian states; they claimed full authority over the entire life of individuals. They watched over the civic and religious welfare of every citizen and had especial concern for conformity to public interest. Marriage was a duty to the state and a matter of religion and patriotism. Education was looked upon as the first and supreme function of the state, for on the training of youth depended its own strength and perpetuity. At this point, however, the ideals of Greek states were sharply divergent. One group, following the example of Sparta, subjected every male citizen to strict regimentation from seven years of age onward. The other group, with Athens as leader, relied on a modified regimentation to preserve unity and to perpetuate the state. The force of law, reverence for the gods, obedience to parents, respect for the old, and instruction in music were artfully combined with the love of freedom to produce the self-governing citizen dedicated to the welfare of the city. The Athenians were masters in effecting a symmetrical personality by combining in right proportion freedom and discipline, public duty and private interests.

Sparta subordinated the citizen to the soldier; Athens, on the other hand, subordinated the soldier to the citizen. It did this in the interest of a deep-seated love of individual liberty. The Greek capacity for enduring discipline or regimentation was a primitive trait. Many Greek states passed through a stage of rigorous militarism, as have most other peoples in whole or in part. Sparta remains as the world's ideal of a totalitarian state in which the interests of the individual and of the family were completely sacrificed for the benefit of the state. Sparta is the greatest example of the Greek capacity for subjection to discipline.

History has always honored the Greeks because they saved European civilization from Oriental despotism by their heroic resistance against Persian aggression. It should be noted, however, that they knew little at that time of the modern conception of personal liberty. They resisted Persia in order that Greek city-states might be free to follow their own civic ideals of life. Spartans, who had less individual freedom than any other civilized people in history, were just as hostile to Persia as were the Athenians. The love of regimentation and the love of liberty were both indigenous in the Greek nature.

b. *The function of the family.* The place of the family and its function varied in different Greek states. As a social agency, the family is generally a differentiating factor. In Sparta, on the one hand, it was not trusted nor allowed to function normally. In Athens, on the other, family life was permitted to have full charge of the youth. It formed one of the chief factors in the high development of Athenian culture.

c. *Unifying and dividing factors.* Civilization is that form of society in which private or individual interests and the welfare of the whole are definitely harmonized. Individuals in primitive and savage societies act together, but they are not allowed any freedom of action. In civilized society the training of children for participation in institutional life is one of the most important aspects of education. It is, therefore, enlightening to analyze Greek culture in order to see the elements that made for unity, and also those that made for individualization. Factors in Greek civilization making for social and national unification were:

(1) A common language. The Greek language was divided into many dialects, but there was a common understanding. The differences were probably not greater than are found among the dialects of some of the great nations today.

(2) A common literature. All Greeks were united spiritually by reading Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* Hesiod's *Works and Days,* lyric hymns, and other poetry. The rhapsodists circulated everywhere, singing their lays and playing their instruments. Poetry and music made for common emotions and ideals of life.

(3) The Greek religion. The Olympian deities were worshiped by all Greek peoples. Before the dawn of history various temples and shrines had become sacred for all.

(4) The great games in honor of the gods. These were probably the most respected and strongest bond of all. Only men and youths of Greek blood were eligible to participate in the Olympian contests. The same was true of the Isthmian and the Nemean games. Isocrates, who was the chief advocate of the unity of all Greeks, recognized the value of the games in this connection:

> The men who founded these festival assemblies deserve our praise. By them we are enabled to make truce with each other and interrupt existing enmities and then foregather together in one center. Thereafter we join in common prayer and sacrifices and recall that we are all the same kindred. In the future we are more kindly disposed to each other, and renew old guest friendships and form new ones, and that sojourn is of value to competitors and non-competitors alike.[29]

At these contests a common Hellenism triumphed over the separatist spirit.

(5) The Spartan system of education. This was the most perfect means for producing unity of feeling and action. Music, military drill, worship, and common dormitory life were utilized to produce a Spartan *esprit de corps*. But this primitive communism did not spread, nor was Sparta able to organize and perpetuate imperial power.

d. *Factors making for individualization.* Among the factors fostering individuality were the following:

(1) The geographical terrain, as has already been seen,[30] was a powerful circumstance in dividing the Greeks into small and independent communities.

(2) Their unusual initiative and spontaneity was another factor making for individualization. A superabundance of energy when allied, as in the case of the Greeks, with a facile imagination and intelligence encourages individuality.

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[29] Jebb, R. C., *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*, p. 43. London: Macmillan and Co., 1876.

[30] See p. 161 of this text.

(3) Self-interest or individualism grew out of Athenian civic and cultural life. The breakdown of patriotism or state loyalty was a prime cause of the downfall of the Greek civilization; and, strange to say, this loss of patriotism was caused by the emphasis on individualization by Athenian education. The family in Athens controlled the education of the child, and family influence has always been recognized as an individualizing force. Moreover, the objective of education in Athens was the development of the powers of the individual. Selfish interest dominated their conduct. Lavell has most aptly stated the condition in Athens at its best.

> One feels that to the average Greek he himself came first, his party second, his city third, and after his city—nothing.[31]

The Greeks generally were not internationally minded; they could not see beyond their city's walls. Treachery was a universal trait.

(4) The character of their gymnastic contests led to an exaggeration of the individual ego. They knew nothing of games in which team work or cooperation was a feature. Each man contested with his own skill and intelligence against all others. Teamwork in which the individual is subordinated to the group was entirely unknown to Greek gymnastics.

(5) The intellectual basis of life also acted as a divisive force. By its very nature human intelligence leads to individual discriminations and to differences of opinion. Intelligence does not make for unanimity of view, but for diversity.

(6) Local worship makes for division as much as worship of common gods at common shrines made for unity. Moreover, the breakdown of the old theology led to differences of theological and ethical views. Man the individual became the measure of all things.

Culture and education in Homeric times. The Homeric poems, compiled about the ninth century B.C., picture social conditions at that time or possibly earlier. There was no systematic education and no mention of schools as such. The only reference to teaching was the tutoring of the youthful Achilles by Phoenix who reminds him as follows:

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[31] Lavell, C. F., *A Biography of the Greek People*, p. 188.

> To thee did the old knight Peleus send me the day he sent thee to Agamemnon forth from Phthia, a stripling yet unskilled in equal war and in debate wherein men were pre-eminent. Therefore sent he me to teach thee all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds.[32]

"A speaker of words and a doer of deeds," that is to say, an orator and a soldier! What comprised this training one can only guess. There would be training in handling weapons, in attack and defense, in physical exercise, and in song, dance, and the art of healing. The council of the chieftains and the camp marauding expeditions completed the education in valor and wisdom. It was a naturalistic education such as any boy would love.

Later developments. The Aeolian Greeks showed the first signs of awakening genius, and this took place in the field of poetry and music. It was then the rhapsodists became familiar figures throughout the Greek tribes. The island of Lesbos took the lead in the development of poetry. Here arose Terpander, Arion, Alcaeus, Pittacus; and here, also, the greatest of women poets "burning Sappho loved and sung." Hesiod was an Aeolian, and Pindar also; he, however, declined to use the native dialect.

What inspired this outburst of music and song among the Aeolians is not known. It did not last long, and what caused it to decline is uncertain. Nevertheless, before this development ceased it incited the Dorians, who produced several lyric poets of real merit. About the same time, that is, the eighth century B.C., the Greeks learned to write, receiving their alphabet from the Phoenicians. By 600 B.C. the art was widely diffused, and schools for teaching writing arose before 500 B.C. A school with 120 boys collapsed at Chios at that date[33] and all but one were killed. About the same time, if we can trust the record, Charondas in Sicily issued a decree requiring the state to pay the tuition of needy boys so that all would be taught letters. By 450 B.C. papyrus was used for writing purposes; henceforth to be unable to read and write was a disgrace for a free citizen. By 400 B.C. there was a regular reading public in the Greek civilization.

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[32] *The Iliad of Homer.* Done into English Prose by Lang, Leaf, and Myers, p. 174. Revised Edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1911.

[33] Herodotus, *History*, Book VI, 27.

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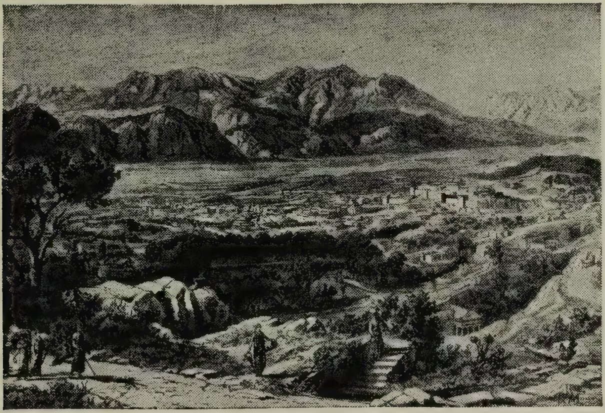
5

Spartan Training

I. SPARTAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

Two types of Greek life. Greek education divides into two main types: that of the Doric training, and that of the Ionic. Sparta was the leading representative of the one, Athens of the other. Both grew out of the fundamental Hellenic spirit and character, but Sparta presents a rather distorted cultivation of the basic Greek nature. It offers a striking example of how the restrictive conditions under which they chose to live dwarfed the higher development of a gifted race. Strangely enough, however, the Spartan training has always possessed a fascination for a certain type of educational theorist out of all proportion to its intrinsic merits.

The city of Sparta. About the eighth century B.C., a Dorian tribe came down from the north, pushed through the narrow gorge where the Eurotas River flows into Laconia, and conquered the original inhabitants. The territory was a fertile plain about eighteen miles in length and four or five in breadth. It was isolated by natural barriers from the rest of Greece; on the west and north were the rugged mountains of Taygetus, eight thousand feet high; on the east was another series of hills, and to the south was the sea. The Spartans established headquarters on the right bank of the river in a series of small villages which were never more than military barracks. With the exception of several public structures, their buildings were mean. A common market place on which stood the senate house, the office of the ephors and the temple of Artemis Orthia, the *Choros* where the youth danced in honor of Apollo, and the *Dromos* and *Plantanistas,* where they exercised, gave some degree of unity to the city. Until later centuries the city was never walled. Lycurgus is reported to have replied when the walling of the city was suggested, "That city is well fortified which has a wall of men instead of a wall of brick." Thucydides, the celebrated Greek historian, made the following remarkable prophecy:



SPARTA.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

> Suppose the city of Sparta to be laid waste and only the temples and the foundations of their buildings be left, distant ages would be unwilling to believe that their power was at all equal to their fame. . . . (Their city is not regularly built and it has no splendid temples or other edifices; it rather resembles a straggling village). Whereas, if this same fate befell Athens, its ruins will strike the eye, and we should infer their power to have been twice as great as it really is.[1]

How true this prophecy was may be judged from the fact that archeologists have found unusual difficulty in discovering the actual location of the city of Sparta. But as for Athens, her ruins still testify to her ancient magnificence.

Spartan society and government. The Spartans refused to amalgamate with the older inhabitants of the territory which they had conquered—therein lies the explanation of their peculiar society, history, and education. A ceaseless struggle to maintain their ascendancy over these other peoples ensued; a struggle which hindered the Spartans from becoming anything more than a standing army, forever on the offensive.

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[1] *Thucydides*, I, 10.

Even in its most flourishing age, it is usually estimated, there were never more than nine or ten thousand Spartan families, while the other inhabitants were vastly more numerous. The *Perioeci,* former masters of Laconia, were Greeks in blood, and for that reason were permitted to exercise a small degree of freedom, and to retain their lands. They tilled the soil, engaged in commerce, supplied troops in time of war, and paid taxes to the state, although they did not enjoy any rights of citizenship. They numbered about one hundred and twenty thousand. Their lot in life was far happier than that of their conquerors. They were peaceable and gave the Spartans little trouble. A third group, the helots, on the other hand, were a constant menace to their overlords, who treated them with inhuman cruelty. The helots were serfs, bound to the soil, which they were obliged to till. Only the most scanty subsistence was allowed them, and their lives were constantly menaced by their Spartan overlords. Their numbers have been estimated at approximately two hundred and fifty thousand.

Only Spartans were allowed to share in the affairs of government, and among themselves well-nigh absolute democracy prevailed. Although they always had two kings, no Spartan citizen assumed to have power or superiority over his fellow. The one invariable prerequisite for citizenship was the Spartan training; apart from this, neither birth nor wealth was considered of any real importance. In later centuries when outsiders were permitted to be educated in Sparta,[2] citizenship was sometimes granted to foreigners and even to helots who had received Spartan training and demonstrated the Spartan virtues in conspicuous measure. On the other hand, however, no Spartan was permitted to be educated in a foreign state.

The government of Sparta was purposely ordered so as to prevent the attention of the citizen from being centered upon any but public interests. He was free from the cares of earning a livelihood, being supported from a hereditary allotment of land, which was tilled by helots. He was not permitted to follow a vocation or trade, nor could he engage in commerce. Lycurgus prohibited the coinage of money except of iron which was a poor medium of exchange; according to Xenophon, he forbade the Spartans "to have anything to do with the concerns of money making." As a matter of fact, they were taught to despise wealth, and the very possession of gold or silver was punished.

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[2] See Freeman, Kenneth J., *Schools of Hellas,* pp. 15–16. London: Macmillan and Co., 1908.

Relieved of the duty of self-support, the Spartan had ample time for his twin vocations, the art of war, and the training of soldier-citizens. When not engaged in fighting, he spent his days in gymnastic exercises, hunting, military maneuvers, public affairs, and the training of the youth. What scanty leisure time was left he passed in the clubs, where no official business could be introduced. Spartans lived in the most rigorous simplicity, and every tendency toward laxity or even change of habits was summarily checked. In demeanor they were taciturn, grave, and conservative. As Drury says, "Sparta was a garrison planted in the midst of enemies, and its laws and habits were those of a garrison."

Family functions under the Spartan system. Lycurgus, the founder of the Spartan regime, had, according to Plutarch, a profound distrust of the family and restricted its influences along every line. To curb luxury and extravagance, "the house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only"; the furniture also had to be primitive in its simplicity. In order to restrain sexual indulgence and gluttony, men were not allowed to stay at home.

> When Lycurgus first came to deal with the question, the Spartans, like the rest of the Hellenes, used to mess privately at home. Tracing more than half the current misdemeanors to this custom, he was determined to drag his people out of holes and corners into broad daylight and so he invented the public mess-room.[3]

Family interests make for the accumulation of wealth and lead to inequalities among citizens; for this reason also, money-making and exchange of commodities were forbidden. Family life emphasizes self-interest, weakens the common bond, and endangers the safety of the group. For these reasons, the freedom and functions of the family were reduced to a minimum, and every man was father and schoolmaster to every Spartan boy.

The state and education. Education was the supreme concern of the Spartan state; their constitution reads more like a description of a military academy than of a government. The life and interest of the individual were absolutely subservient to the public welfare. Every detail of conduct was scrupulously regulated; what little there was of private and domestic life was employed as a means for the preservation of the state. Public authorities decided whether marriages should be sanctioned or forbidden, and the children were the property of the state, not of the parents.

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[3] Dakyns, H. G., *The Works of Xenophon*, Vol. II, p. 305. London and New York: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

The Spartan system was designed to perpetuate the state as an institution, and not to develop the capacities of man as man. They did not educate for social life, but only for war. They aimed to develop only the qualities of the hardy soldier and submissive citizen. Courage, endurance, respect for elders, subjection to the state, loyalty to existing conditions, a sense of solidarity, and implicit obedience to authority were implanted with the utmost rigor. Their aim did not reach beyond that of a primitive military tribe. The finer sentiments of civilized life were purposely extirpated; domestic affection, parental feelings, mercy, sympathy, and generosity were not sanctioned, even in their women. Similarly all the gentler arts of higher civilization were rejected.

The state provided for the complete control of the training of the children by a system known as the "Spartan agoge" (ἀγωγή). The Ephors or chief rulers had general authority over education. Every year a special officer, the *paidonomus* (παιδονόμος), was chosen from the highest magistrates to supervise the training of the young. His authority was absolute. Under this superintendent were assistants, called *bidioi,* and also a number of official "whip-bearers" who always accompanied him, whose duty was to administer punishment. No professional class of schoolmasters or trainers was allowed. The Spartans never permitted the boys the least freedom; every waking moment they were under the strictest surveillance by their elders. Xenophon declared "that under no circumstances whatever are the boys of Sparta destitute of some one to rule them." In case an officer, or an older man, was not present, the leader of the band had command of the boys. Moreover, they were never permitted to come under the influence of slaves or of foreigners. The youth saw in every adult man a strict master, bound by public duty to supervise his conduct and to administer punishment whenever it was necessary. The state appointed a young man over twenty to act as commander and trainer for each company of the boys.

The rigorous regimen to which Spartan youths were subjected was, according to tradition, the work of Lycurgus and was accepted as the foundation of the Spartan state. He unified the various elements of the state and introduced the strict military organization and system of training that so quickly made the Spartan *hoplite* the best soldier in Greece. He taught the Spartans to practice that severity of living that has made them famous in the annals of history. Because of its moral power, he popularized the Homeric poetry, and instituted an elaborate and rigorous system of education designed to subordinate the individual to the state, and assure the perpetuity of the new form of government. Education "he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the lawgiver."

II. SPARTAN EDUCATION

Infant training. Spartan training, or *agoge,* began at birth. The newborn infant received a bath in wine on the theory that such a bath would kill the feeble, but invigorate the healthy. As children were the property of the state, the infant was immediately carried to the public council chamber, where the elders of the tribe decided whether it was worthy of being reared. Delicate and deformed children were exposed in one of the chasms of Mount Taygetus to die or perchance to be rescued by one of the helots or the *Perioeci.* This custom of exposing children was in reality a system of artificial selection and had the effect of perpetuating the hardy Spartan type of manhood and womanhood.

The healthy infant was left in charge of the mother, who was in reality merely a state nurse. Young children were not bound in swaddling clothes (a common practice elsewhere), in order that they might be perfectly free in the use of their limbs. The Spartan women were widely reputed for their skill in nursing, and especially for preventing infants from crying and expressing anger and fear. From earliest infancy they were taught to endure hunger and pain without complaint. As soon as the boy passed beyond infancy he was taken by his father to the men's club houses where he played on the floor and had an opportunity to observe the simple, rigorous life, and to hear the terse and dignified conversation of the men.

Organization of elementary education. When seven years of age, the boys were handed over to the paidonomus who henceforth supervised their training until they emerged into full citizenship at thirty years of age. But each citizen had to supply the provisions for his son.[4] The paidonomus placed the boys in state boarding schools where they lived a common life, sharing in sports and discipline. They were divided into bands or companies, *ilai* (ἴλαι), of sixty-four to the group. The bravest and most prudent of the group was chosen as captain or "herd leader," and the entire company was placed in charge of an *eiren* (εἴϱην), a young man just above twenty years of age. The boys of each herd or class had their exercises, games, and meals together. They also shared the same sleeping quarters. The object of this group training and of the common dormitory was to implant in the boys the feeling of equality, comradeship, and *esprit de corps.*

They were frequently and carefully inspected. Older citizens kept vigilant eyes upon them. Aelian informs us of the periodic inspection by the ephors:

> It was written in the law that every ten days the youth stripped naked should pass in public review before the ephors. Now if they were solid and vigorous, resembling the works of the sculptor and the engraver, as a result of the gymnastic exercises, praise was accorded them; but if their physique displayed any flabbiness or flaccidity, with fat beginning to appear in rolls because of laziness, then were they beaten and punished. The ephors were concerned also to inspect their equipment in detail, lest any part of it fall short of the proper orderliness.[5]

How early in Spartan history such inspections were instituted is not known for certain. The above statement was written after a decline and revival of Spartan training in the second century B.C.

Training to endure hardship. Every effort was made to inure the boys to hardships and to prepare them to endure the severities of the soldier's life. On entering the state dormitory, the boys had to sleep on beds of reeds which they plucked with their own hands from the banks of the Eurotas River. They slept without blankets, both summer and winter. When the age of thirteen years was reached, training became more rigorous.

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[4] Freeman and others claim the boy lost his opportunity of training and also his citizenship in case his parent did not supply his scanty fare. Forbes, Clarence A., *Greek Physical Education* (p. 19), disputes this view.

[5] Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, Book xiv, 7. Quoted by Forbes, Clarence A., *Greek Physical Education*, p. 33. New York: The Century Co., 1929.

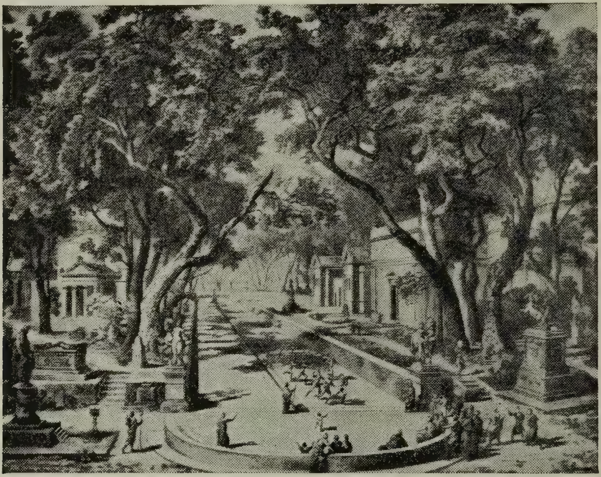
They wore but a simple tunic throughout the year, and always went barefooted. Their hair was clipped short so as to harden their heads to bear the heat of the summer sun and the cold of winter. Their food was always scant; this was to teach them to bear hunger, and to encourage resourcefulness in foraging for themselves. Furthermore, the Spartans had the notion that too much food stunted growth.

It is commonly stated that the Spartan boys were encouraged to steal; this is, however, too simple an interpretation of the situation. A number of articles were declared common property for the citizens, and for the boys to help themselves to these was not considered a misdemeanor. Moreover, a regular system of fagging was in vogue. The iren required the boys to get wood, vegetables, and other things for him. After twelve years of age, they were frequently turned out into the country to forage for a whole day. Such resourcefulness helped to prepare them for the life of the soldier. But to be caught in taking anything was a terrible disgrace, and brought rigorous punishment for being awkward and careless. Plutarch relates the story of the boy who had stolen a fox, hid it under his garment, and "suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws" rather than be caught.

Hunting. Foraging expeditions were intended to prepare them for hunting, which was most highly regarded as a form of training. By this means the youth gained a direct knowledge of the geography of the country, and at the same time developed hardihood and personal bravery under danger. Xenophon, imbued with the Spartan point of view, considered hunting an excellent preparation for war.

Flogging. Another means for developing endurance was flogging. We have seen that official floggers were appointed by the state; but every grown man was bound to administer such punishment when he caught the boys transgressing any of the regulations. Furthermore, an annual flogging contest, which probably originated in early times as a substitute for human sacrifice, took place in honor of the goddess Artemis Orthia. So severe was the flogging that it was not uncommon for some of the contestants in this marathon of endurance to expire under the ordeal, and that without a groan. In spite of the terrible suffering, there was never any lack of candidates, though the competition was entirely voluntary. For a youth to be weak or cowardly was to bring upon himself a social obloquy far worse in the eyes of a Spartan than many deaths. The one who endured more than his competitors was honored as the "altar-conqueror."

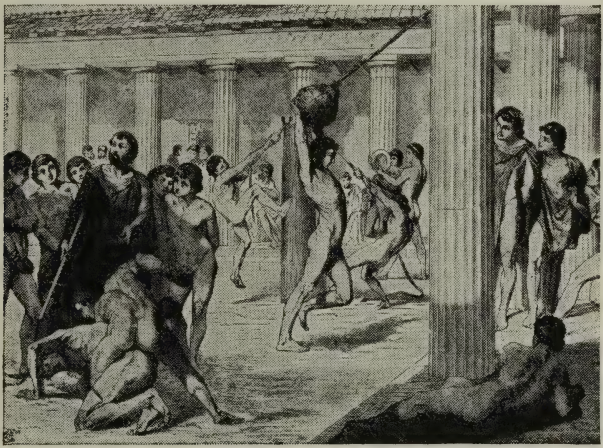
Fighting. Fighting was a common occupation for all ages in Sparta. Organized fights and sham battles were engaged in by the men. The boys were often provoked to fight by older men to test their qualities and develop pluck. Boxing and the *pancratium*—a form of fight in which any means, however horrible, might be used to overcome the antagonist—were forbidden; at times, nevertheless, they were practiced.



THE DROMOS IN SPARTA.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

Gymnastic training. The Dorians were the first of the Greeks to engage in systematic training in gymnastics, and for a long time they carried off the victories in the Olympian games. Almost down to the fifth century B.C., the Spartans led all other Greeks in gymnastics. Their conspicuous success in sport and in war presented to the other Greeks the first object lesson on the value of systematic physical education. But when the others began to imitate them, Spartan supremacy was quickly lost. In their physical culture, the Spartans aimed at neither health nor manly beauty, nor yet all-sided development; their sole purpose was military efficiency. They condemned professionalism in athletics and never employed special trainers. Acrobatic dexterity, unless it was serviceable for military purposes, was frowned upon. Running, leaping, throwing the discus and the javelin, archery, and wrestling were the most common exercises; boxing and the pancratium less common. Swimming was universal, for a daily plunge in the Eurotas was the only bath in which the Spartans indulged.

Their gymnastic exercises were so graded that injurious strain might be avoided. The boys began with running and leaping to strengthen the muscles of the legs. Ball-playing was introduced to develop the arms. By degrees, the exercises were increased in difficulty. Among the older youth, military evolutions, hurling the spear, and wrestling were the favorite exercises.



Spartan Gymnastics.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

In wrestling, the Spartans excelled, although they had no specialists to train them.

All these forms of training were exacting and more or less painful. They formed one long apprenticeship in patience, sobriety, and endurance of suffering. Severe as was the training of the Spartan youth, it would be hasty to judge that they would have preferred an easier lot. On the contrary, these very severities appealed strongly to the instincts of boy nature. Emulation and a high sense of honor incited spirit and enthusiasm in enduring hardships. Their whole training was something in the nature of the modern Boy Scout training, only it was far more extreme. Aristotle labeled the entire system as brutalizing.

The dance and chorus. Throughout Greece, music, poetry, and the dance played an important role, and Sparta was no exception to the rule. By these means, the inner thoughts and moods of the Greek spirit were expressed in the most plastic manner. Naturally the Spartans utilized these forms of expression only as they contributed to the training of the soldier-citizen, but they never rose to an appreciation of the higher level of any one of these arts. Dancing, as well as every other form of movement, was accompanied by music. Instruction in how to dance was given in song. The dances most popular were those serviceable in preparing for warfare; in fact, it may rightly be claimed that military maneuvers took the form of a dance. The celebrated pyrrhic dance in heavy armor was especially favored because of its value for military training. Plato tells us that this dance "represented the cautious movements necessary for avoiding blows and assaults of the enemy, as well as all movements suited to attack, *e.g.*, springing to the side, drawing back, bending down to the earth, and springing up again." There were many other dances, and in several of them, the boys and girls engaged at the same time; however, their dances were entirely different from our modern social dancing. In the dance called the *String of Beads,* a boy did "the step and posture of young manhood, and those which later he will use in war"; a maiden follows, showing woman's work. This is repeated like beads on a string.

Music. It is necessary in thinking of music to remember that the Hellenic conception of music was essentially different from ours. Their scale was different, being broader in range. Of harmony they knew nothing, for all their music was confined to simple melodies. But the greatest distinction between the two conceptions was found in the fact that, for them, musical tone was inseparable from words: not instrumental music, but chanting or singing of solemn, soul-stirring paeans formed their only idea of the musical art. With this in mind, it may be said that music was one of the chief instruments of the Spartan state for the moral and social education of the soldier-citizen. The Spartans shared the Hellenic sensitiveness and responsiveness to rhythmic tone. Their music was definitely chosen for its moral effect upon their emotional nature, and was, in consequence, guarded with extraordinary conservatism.

In the Skias or Council Chamber still hung in Pausanias' time the eleven-stringed lyre which Timotheos had brought to Sparta only to have it broken; and the nine-stringed lyre of Phrunis met the same fate. Having once accepted the seven-stringed lyre from Terpander, the Spartans never permitted it to be changed.[6]

The ephors directed that only the solemn Doric scale should be used, for it alone could arouse courage, obedience, respect for law, and self-control. They believed that a change in the modes of music would alter the moral underpinning of the state and constitution. Speaking of Dorian music, Grote says,

> The marked ethical effects, produced by the Dorian and the Phrygian modes in ancient times, are facts perfectly well-attested, however difficult they may be to explain upon any general theory of music.[7]

To the shrill notes of the flute, the Spartans advanced stolidly into battle chanting Castor's march that "made them feel that the god was with them."

The young men were taught to recite the laws of the state to music, and to sing the grave and dignified chants in the old Doric style. This was considered to be most manly, stern, and edifying. The purpose was to inspire in the hearts of the young the moral sentiments of the Spartan life: fortitude and patriotism, courage and discipline, a noble pride, contempt of cowardly and servile ways, a lofty sense of the seriousness of existence, and a longing for sacrificial action.

Intellectual education. The lack of intellectual training was the dark side of Spartan culture. Spartans had no interest in letters and taught neither reading nor writing. Happily, these primary arts were not wholly forbidden, and some learned them privately. It is quite certain, however, that very few of the citizens were ever able to read. The bare elements of mental arithmetic were acquired, but even for this they had little use. Of the great themes of human thought—history, geography, astronomy—we hear nothing. The drama was never admitted at Sparta, but the chorus in which all citizens took part retained its place in their customs.

Rhetoric, studied so fervently in other parts of the Greek world, was frowned upon at Sparta; young men who perchance learned it when abroad were punished by the ephors when they returned home. Spartan objection to rhetoric was not due to lack of taste for eloquent expression, but to an inherent dislike of loquacity and oratorical display as a sort of intemperance. Strength, beauty, and musical quality were the essentials of Hellenic eloquence, and against these there was no objection. In fact, the Spartans took great care to train the children to sententious and pithy speech, and their "Laconic brevity" will be famous for all time. Plutarch states that they were exercised in sharp repartee, "seasoned with wit." Their extreme brevity did not indicate so much a lack of thought, as it did evince that deep reflection which comes from insight into essentials and the summarizing of details. Here we have another example of the fact that the Spartans, too, were endowed with the Hellenic genius. The extreme poverty of their intellectual life was partially relieved by their attention to poetry. Every youth had to learn to chant the laws, war songs, and ballads. Homer was honored above all other authors and recited by rote. Memoriter learning was considered the best, and was assigned as a strong reason for neglecting letters, lest the written word should lead to weakening of the memory.

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[6] Freeman, Kenneth J., *Schools of Hellas*, p. 12.

[7] Grote, George, *History of Greece in Twelve Volumes*, Everyman's Library, Vol. III, p. 197. London and New York: E. P. Dutton & Company (no date).

Higher military education. On attaining young manhood, the training became more severe, and new aspects were added. Military drill and maneuvers were required of the youth over eighteen. Hunting was a regular part of their program as was also the so-called "secret service." Bands of youth were sent into the districts of Laconia for lengthy periods of time, where they were required to forage for themselves, to sleep on the ground, and to practice actual warfare. It is claimed on good authority that they made sudden attacks from ambush against the helots whom they slaughtered without mercy.[8] The object of this revolting practice of wholesale assassination was to accustom the youth to blood-shedding. War was declared annually against the helots so that there might be legal justification for their infamous conduct.

Girls and women. In their attitude toward woman the Spartans retained the ancient respect of the Homeric age; she was the equal and assistant of man, and not his inferior. The women were not restricted in their liberty of conduct, but spoke freely in the presence of men. The influence they exerted upon the boys and men was particularly marked; their censure being keenly dreaded and their praise and commendation eagerly prized. In no way were they like the women of the sister city of Athens. Just as the soldier-citizen was the ideal for the men, the mother of a warrior was the ideal for the women. To fit the women to bear healthy and vigorous offspring was the prime purpose which Lycurgus had in view in planning their education. It was likewise essential to eradicate any spirit of tenderness and any weakness or fear for the loss of sons or husband in battle.

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[8] This practice was known as the *Cryptia* (Κρυπτεία).

The girls lived at home, otherwise their training was much the same as that of the boys. They wore a similar garment, a little longer, but split at the sides to the hip. They lived in the open air, taking their exercises in their own athletic fields. Like the boys, they were divided into groups and classes, which were similarly supervised. They were inured to hardships of all kinds and were obliged to engage in contests of strength and speed. Among their gymnastic exercises were running, swimming, throwing the discus, hurling the javelin or spear, wrestling, and ball-playing. Dancing was a favorite sport, and the chorus offered an interesting addition to their education. They marched in processions at the festivals, and danced and sang in the presence of the young men, praising the brave and deriding the coward. In certain exercises they danced alongside the boys. The girls associated freely with the boys and young men without let or hindrance, and with no thought of immodesty. They were even allowed to observe the boys in their gymnastic exercises, and sometimes wrestled with them. After marriage women wore a veil, and physical exercises were no longer required.

Spartan Girl Runner.—*From Bulle, H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

The effect of this rigorous discipline is one of the most interesting facts of pedagogical history. Physically, the Spartan women were the most splendid products of Greek culture. An

Athenian woman is represented as saying to a Spartan, "How lovely thou art, how blooming thy skin, how round thy flesh, what a chest; thou mightest strangle a bull." All antiquity bears witness to their splendid and healthy physiques. As housekeepers, however, they were not famed. Owing to the regimentation of the men, the Spartan women had no incentive for elaborate housekeeping. They did not spin, weave, or make garments—of old considered the peculiar tasks of women. Lycurgus relieved them of these labors, which he thought could be performed just as well by slaves. Styles of dress were severely plain and unchangeable. The women were lacking in feminine tenderness and gentleness; in fact, they were open to the charge of being masculine. There are plenty of evidences that maternal affection was destroyed. To quote a modern writer,

> All have heard of the heroic women of Sparta who offered thanks to the gods in the temples when their husbands and sons had fallen gloriously in battle for their country. One such mother slew her son with her own hand, because he turned back like a coward from the battle; another, Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, delivered to her son his shield with the words, "either with this or upon it." [9]

"It is very short," said the young soldier to his mother, showing his sword. "Go one step nearer," was her reply.

Did the extreme liberty of the Spartan girls and their scanty garb tend to immodesty or worse evils? The testimony of antiquity is not altogether harmonious. Euripides, Plato, and Aristotle agree that they were bold, shameless, immodest, and mannish. Judged by the standards of other races, their strictures may be largely true. But on the other hand, it is beyond doubt that Sparta was morally superior to any other Greek city; there was no prostitution, adultery was practically unknown, and even jealousy was extremely rare. Yet if we are to accept the verdict of recent authority,

> The partial or complete nudity of youths and maidens at their exercises proved demoralizing, and led to unchastity between the sexes.[10]

Moral culture. The entire range of Spartan education was a moral and civic training, or, as Plutarch states, "an exercise in obedience." But there were a number of particular features influencing the development of ideals and habits for right conduct, which must be clearly understood for a full interpretation of the system. The Spartan music, particularly the heroic songs, was calculated to impress the youth with the proper appreciation of noble manhood and a desire to emulate the glorious achievements of the heroes of old. One Spartan song has been preserved as follows:

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[9] Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, p. 246.

[10] Forbes, Clarence A., *Greek Physical Education*, p. 42. New York: The Century Co., 1929.

Old Men: We were warriors of old.
Men: As we are. Who doubts? Behold.
Boys: Some day we shall be more bold.[11]

Their stories, too, had the same heroic and ascetic character, and were chosen with scrupulous care. Moreover a systematic effort to teach morals was made in the drilling of the boys by the iren. When supper was over, Plutarch tells us, the iren was accustomed to order some one of the boys to sing a song in praise of manly virtue and war, or he would put questions to some of the boys which required an immediate and, at the same time, judicious response, such as "Who is the best man in the city?" or "What conduct deserves the highest honor?" "What do you think of this or that action?" A concise reason had to be given. If not satisfactory, the iren punished the boy by biting his thumbs.

Inspiration. As with many primitive races, it was customary among the Spartans for each older man to choose some boy or youth upon whom he should exercise a pecularily exalted influence. The man was called the "inspirer" and the boy was termed "hearer." It was a disgrace for the lad if he was not considered worthy to be chosen by some man, and an adult who had no protégé was reprehensible for the neglect of an important civic duty. The inspirer, or lover, became responsible to the state for the conduct of his foster-child, and Plutarch informs us that in one instance a man was fined because the boy cried out in a cowardly way during a fight. While in other cities this foster-father relation degenerated into a most shameless abomination, in Sparta it retained its honorable purpose and purity; the intimate relation between the two had far-reaching effects in engendering in the young a spirit of noble aspiration, heroism, and reverence. The men made a habit of watching their favorites in their exercises to note their strength and agility.

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[11] Stobart, J. C., *The Glory that Was Greece*, p. 92. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1911. Courtesy D. Appleton-Century Company.

Respect for age was a most distinctive mark of Spartan youth. The relation of the young to the adult was under all circumstances one of extraordinary obedience and deference. "Only in Sparta is it a pleasure to grow old," cried a stranger on observing the reverential attitude of the youth toward age.

Success of Spartan education. The Spartan system was remarkably successful so far as its immediate aim was concerned. The citizens were for centuries obedient, frugal and self-denying. "Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good," is the testimony of Plutarch. "They were possessed with a thirst for honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country." Xenophon had placed his two sons in Sparta for their education. Doubtless he had an exaggerated view of the value of such training. He drew from experience the following description of the modesty of the Spartan youth as imposed by the rules of Lycurgus:

> In the very streets they were to keep their two hands within the folds of the cloak; they were to walk in silence and without turning their heads to gaze, now here, now there, but rather to keep their eyes fixed upon the ground before them . . . You might sooner expect a stone image to find voice than one of those Spartan youths; to divert the eyes of some bronze statue were less difficult. And as to quiet bearing, no bride ever stepped in bridal bower with more natural modesty. Note them when they have reached the public table. The plainest answer to the question asked—that is all you need expect to hear from their lips.[12]

The highest ideal of unflinching valor, uncomplaining endurance of pain and hardship, unfaltering devotion to the survival of the whole, have come from Spartan life.

Long after all other Greek communities had lost their independence, and their institutions and ideals had crumbled, the Spartans enjoyed a relative measure of autonomy, and their system of education continued with much of the old spirit. For many years, they maintained their unity of spirit amid the disintegrating influences of the age of individualism. But periods of great degeneration alternated with periods of strenuous efforts to reinstate the ancient discipline.[13]

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[12] Dakyns, H. G., *The Works of Xenophon*, Vol. II, pp. 302–303. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

[13] A good discussion of the frequent declines and reinstatement of the Spartan training can be found in Clarence A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education*, pp. 32–43.

Judged from the standpoint of human welfare, the Spartan's education was a dismal failure. His morality was civic and had all the limitations of institutional life. As Laurie says,

> So long as the Spartan remained at home, he was all that Lycurgus could have desired him to be—grave, severe, brave, self-controlled, self-sacrificing, long-enduring, full of respect for his elders, full of devotedness to the state. But take the Spartan away from the arbitrary system under which he lived, and we are told that he was lax and licentious and a prey (curiously enough) to that very vice of avarice against which so many precautions had been taken.[14]

When through her military power Sparta became mistress of Greece, she was wholly incapable of leadership and progress. She saw in her power only a splendid opportunity to seize and plunder other states, for that was the only form of life she knew. In time of peace she could not lead, for she had nowhere to go, no high goal to reach. Spartan education produced not a single artist, not a philosopher, not a dramatist, in fact not a single man of genius, nor indeed any outstanding contribution to higher civilization. Sparta was the ideal realization of primitive communism, and of the effective education of the military state. Aristotle described the futility of all such military civilizations:

> Most of these military states are safe only when they are at war, but fall when they have acquired their empire; like unused iron they lose their edge in time of peace. And for this the legislator is to blame, because he never taught them how to lead the life of peace.[15]

Narrow-minded, bigoted, conservative to the point of stupidity, tight-lipped, the Spartans were the classical example of a totalitarian state combined with the unqualified military spirit. They flourished in time of war, but rusted out in time of peace.

Secret of the Spartan system. The inner secret of the Spartan education is not difficult to find. It consisted primarily in their remarkable *esprit de corps,* a social phenomenon for which Sparta is the everlasting symbol.

> Not gymnastics, not the more obvious and direct training of the individual fighter, but the subordination of the individual to the state, was

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[14] Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education,* p. 247, Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900.

[15] Aristotle, *Politics,* VII, 13, 15. Benjamin Jowett, Translator, *The Works of Aristotle,* Vol. X. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925.

> the secret of Sparta's long supremacy and lasting fame. . . . Each citizen was so identified with the state, saw so little antagonism between his own will and the "general will," that there was no consciousness of any repression of the individual. Patriotism was a second nature, even a passion, rather than a duty.[16]

Spartans were exclusive, narrow, and arrogant. Their system was the resurgence of the primitive; all the more interesting because it synchronized with the birth of the higher civilization with which it stood in direct contradiction.

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[16] Lavell, C. F., *A Biography of the Greek People,* p. 50. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

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Greek Democracy and Education

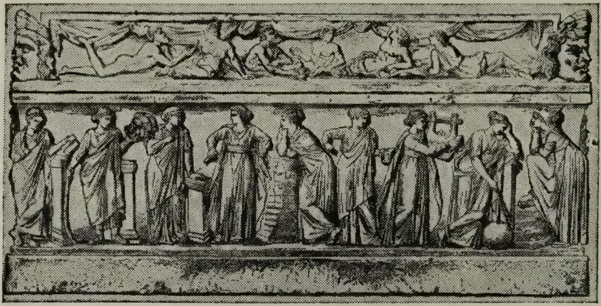
I. ATHENS AND THE ATHENIANS

Athens. Up to the time of the Persian Wars, there was nothing about Athens to excite special attention, although the Athenians were the most gifted of the Hellenes. Then the awakening of Athens began. The leadership of the Greeks fell into her hands, and with leadership came wealth and power. Likewise, as she fell heir to the culture and learning of the Ionian cities of the Asiatic coast, she soon became the intellectual and cultural as well as the political capital of the world.

The city of Athens, four miles from the sea, was built about the Acropolis, a hill some 512 feet high, 1000 feet long, but not quite so broad. Accessible from only one side, this elevated peak offered an unexcelled means of defense. The city was connected by a high wall with its harbor, known as the Piraeus. Like the other Greek city-states, Athens was surrounded by a plain that furnished the people with food. Attica was one of the largest portions of Greece; it was a triangular peninsula about twenty-five by forty miles in longest measurements. The land was owned by the old aristocratic families, who tilled the soil themselves. Later these families established their homes in the city, and slaves cultivated their farms. The total population of free citizens varied from 90,000 in earlier times to about 125,000 in the days of Athenian glory. In addition to these, there were 60,000 to 70,000 adult slaves, not counting those who were younger. As many Athenians were too poor to own even one slave, the middle class and richer families must have had from four to six slaves each. Many of the slaves had been taken as prisoners of war or had been purchased from other people. They served as domestics, common laborers, artisans, factory workers, and farm hands. The state itself owned many slaves who worked the public mines.

Many foreigners engaged in commerce or in manufacturing were permitted to settle in Athens or, more especially, in the Piraeus. There were some 45,000 of these so-called "Metics." The old Athenian aristocracy despised all vocations except farming. Therefore, it came to pass that slaves and Metics supported the state; the citizens directed it.

Government. In the older days, Athens was ruled by the landed aristocracy, but after the Persian Wars, democracy became the established order. The citizens gave their attention solely to conducting the affairs of state, and to war. There was civil equality among them, and they filled most offices by lot. The government was, therefore, not a representative democracy as we practice democracy today. But it was a direct democracy in that every citizen took part on an equal footing in the conduct of government, a circumstance that contributed greatly to the stimulation of social intelligence. In addition to attending public assembly, every citizen served on the jury, acted as a judge, and fought as a soldier. Moreover, he could hold any of the various offices from the most petty to the most exalted. Consequently, he had to be free from obligations at all times in order that he might give his undivided attention to the affairs of state.



THE NINE MUSES.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

Character of the Athenians. The best of the Greeks, the Athenians possessed in highest measure all those qualities which have made Greece immortal. In general they were imitative, inventive, versatile, enterprising, adventurous, extremely artistic, volatile, and always self-confident. The following passages furnish an excellent description of the Athenian character:

> What a remarkable phenomenon is the Athenian, that creature of impulse, all gushing with nature and vivacity, sudden and quick; with wits as clear as his own pure air, and temperament not less light than the soil . . . They are studious, as by intuition, of arts that polish life, inventors rare; combining simplicity and beauty as no nation ever combined them before or since, and unfolding the most delicate bloom of aesthetic culture almost before their alphabet was complete. A people who, in the words of an ingenious writer, conceived all that was beautiful in art and profound in philosophy; who became the instructress of all liberal sciences and arts; the teacher alike of her own times and posterity.[1]
>
> What the pupil is to the eye, that is Athens to Hellas. But its people are volatile and fickle; . . . now moved to tears by the tragic end of an Oedipus, or the woes of the unhappy Trojan women, now hastening from thence to entangle the house of a fellow-citizen in a web of malicious trickery, and plunge it into ruin and despair; a spoiled child, full of vanity and humours; . . . with the name of freedom forever in its mouth, yet threatening every careless word that may not please the people's humour with death or banishment. And then again its character presents a most amiable union of the grave and gay. Blithe and gladsome is the life of the Athenian, who is ever contented, provided he has something to wrangle about or laugh at. He is equally capable of appreciating the grandest creations of the tragic stage, and the most farcical caricatures of comedy; he enjoys alike the society of the most staid philosopher, and of the flightiest *hetaera.* Penurious he is at home, and mean at the table of the money-changers, but most lavish when he wishes to cut a grand figure in *coregia,* or pass for an admirer of *vertu.*[2]

Compared with Spartans. All of the Greeks had much the same intellectual capabilities, but they developed their capacities in entirely different ways. The Spartans and Cretans took the conservative path, while other states were more democratic and progressive. The Athenians were the most dashing and creative of them all. The perpetual charm and significance of Athens are well expressed by Dickinson:

> To pass from Sparta to Athens, is to pass from a barracks to a playing-field. All the beauty, all the grace, all the joy of Greece; all that chains the desire of mankind, with a yearning that is never stilled, to that one golden moment in the past, whose fair and balanced interplay

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[1] *Charicles*, translated from the German of Professor Becker by Rev. Frederick Metcalfe. Translator's Preface, pp. viii–ix. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1866.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

> of perfect flesh and soul no later gains of thought can compensate, centres about that bright and stately city of romance, the home of Pericles and all the arts, whence from generation to generation has streamed upon ages less illustrious an influence at once the sanest and the most inspired of all that have shaped the secular history of the world.[3]

The capacity of the Athenians and Spartans was contrasted by two of the greatest contemporaries, Thucydides the historian, and Pericles the statesman. Thucydides put in the mouth of a Corinthian representative to the Spartans the following estimate of the Athenians in an effort to dissuade them from going to war:

> You have never considered what manner of men are these Athenians with whom you will have to fight, and how utterly unlike yourselves. They are revolutionary, equally quick in the conception and in the execution of every new plan; while you are conservative—careful only to keep what you have, originating nothing, and not acting even when action is most urgent. They run risks which prudence would condemn; and in the midst of misfortune they are full of hope. Whereas it is your nature, though strong, to act feebly; when your plans are most prudent, to distrust them; and when calamities come upon you, to think that you will never be delivered from them. They are impetuous, and you are dilatory; they are always abroad, and you are always at home. For they hope to gain something by leaving their homes; but you are afraid that any new enterprise may imperil what you have already. . . . Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men; their true self is their mind, which is most truly their own when employed in her service. When they do not carry out an intention which they have formed, they seem to have sustained a personal bereavement; when an enterprise succeeds, they have gained a mere installment of what is to come; but if they fail, they at once conceive new hopes and so fill up the void. With them alone to hope is to have, for they lose not a moment in the execution of an idea. . . . To do their duty is their only holiday, and they deem the quiet of inaction to be as disagreeable as the most tiresome business. If a man should say to them, in a word, that they were born neither to have peace themselves nor to allow peace to other men, he would simply speak the truth.[4]

In his celebrated funeral oration, Pericles compared the Athenians with the Spartans.

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[3] Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The Greek View of Life*, pp. 111–112. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927.

[4] *The History of Thucydides*, translated by Benjamin Jowett, Book I, 70 Vol. I, pp. 47–48. London: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1900. (Oxford University Press.) By permission of the Jowett Trustees and the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

> Our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret, if revealed to any enemy, might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . . If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? . . . Other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas.[5]

Weaknesses. Gifted with remarkable genius as were no other people, the Athenians had, nevertheless, their weaknesses. Bold, speculative inquirers, passionately fond of personal liberty, true democrats, they had all the faults of the artistic, and ardent temperament. Laurie, a modern writer, declares they

> were light-minded and frivolous, easily swayed hither and thither, vain, of a shallow, because merely aesthetic, morality; talkative, untruthful, scheming, and pleasure-loving, with a strong tendency to licentiousness. Brilliant comrades, I should say they were doubtful friends.[6]

The Athenians were vain, shallow, and temperamental, and incapable of a deep sense of obligation to any supreme moral law. They were deficient in reverence and loyalty and were given on all occasions to accusing each other in the courts of violations of law. Finally, they were rhetorical, dramatic, talkative, wrangling, outstanding representatives of the sunny pagan spirit, "the adolescence of the race," according to Hegel. A searching light is shed on the weakness of the Athenian nature by the sarcastic remark of Cyrus the Persian, when he defined a Greek market as "a place set apart for people to go and cheat each other on oath."

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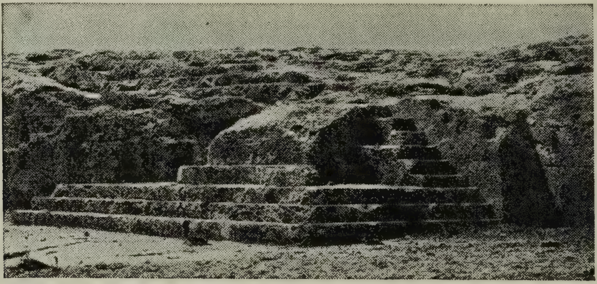
[5] *Ibid.*, II, 39–41, pp. 128–130.

[6] Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, p. 217. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1895.

II. ATHENIAN EDUCATION

The history of Athenian education. It is proposed to present in this and the following chapters a general account of the rise, disintegration, and reorganization of education in connection with the evolution of Athenian learning and culture. No other epoch of educational history is so wonderfully enlightening. The first period embraced the old Athenian training, that of the men who triumphed at Marathon and Salamis, and who produced the age of Pericles. Within two generations more men of genius were active in Athens than can be found anywhere else in the same length of time in the history of the human race. Among these men were Phidias, the greatest sculptor of all the ages, Socrates, who brought down philosophy from heaven, Parmenides and Plato, supreme idealists, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, the greatest of tragic poets, Aristophanes, the writer of comedies, Pericles, the Greek statesman, and Isocrates, the must successful teacher of oratory. The question may well be asked: What were the conditions that produced such men? In the second period, after this era of exalted creativity, there followed great changes in Athenian culture and education, and finally, in the third period Greek culture spread throughout the known world. Macaulay most concretely described the educational atmosphere of the city of Athens at its best:



THE PNYX AND BEMA.—*From Gulick, C. B., "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," D. Appleton-Century.*

> Let us, for a moment, transport ourselves in thought to that glorious city. Let us imagine that we are entering its gates, in the time of its power and glory. A crowd is assembled round a portico. All are gazing with delight at the entablature; for Phidias is putting up the frieze. We turn into another street; a rhapsodist is reciting there;

men, women, children are thronging round him: the tears are running down their cheeks: their eyes are fixed: their very breath is still: for he is telling how Priam fell at the feet of Achilles, and kissed those hands—the terrible—murderous—which had slain so many of his sons. We enter the public place; there is a ring of youths, all leaning forward, with sparkling eyes, and gestures of expectation. Socrates is pitted against the famous atheist from Ionia, and has just brought him to a contradiction in terms. But we are interrupted. The herald is crying, "Room for the Prytanes." The general assembly is to meet. The people are swarming in on every side. Proclamation is made, "who wishes to speak." There is a shout and a clapping of hands; Pericles is mounting the stand. Then for a play of Sophocles; and away to sup with Aspasia. I know of no modern university which has so excellent a system of education.[7]

A. *The Athenian State and Education*

Education in Sparta and Athens contrasted. The relation of the state to education in Sparta was just the opposite of that in Athens. In Sparta, the individual was absolutely sacrificed to the state, and his training was entirely under public auspices. The Spartans developed to the utmost extreme the original capacity of the Hellenic nature for discipline and regimentation. The Athenians, on the other hand, shared the same native talent but chose to develop to the other extreme the capacity for rich and varied individual expression. Athens was the first state in the world's history where all human capacities were allowed to develop freely. There freedom of speech was born, and eloquence found its home. Few people have been so free from the blight of prejudices, so open-minded and ready to judge of every cause on its merits.

The difference of the two systems can be first seen in their relation to the newborn infant. In Sparta the ephors decided whether the child should live and be reared. In Athens that right was exercised by the father. In Sparta the children belonged to the state, and the boys were educated entirely by the state. In Athens education remained a family prerogative.

State provision for education in Athens.

(1) The only public buildings provided by Athens that were used for education were the three gymnasiums, the temples, and the theaters. Teachers of music, literature, and elementary gymnastics had to secure their own accommodations. The gymnasia

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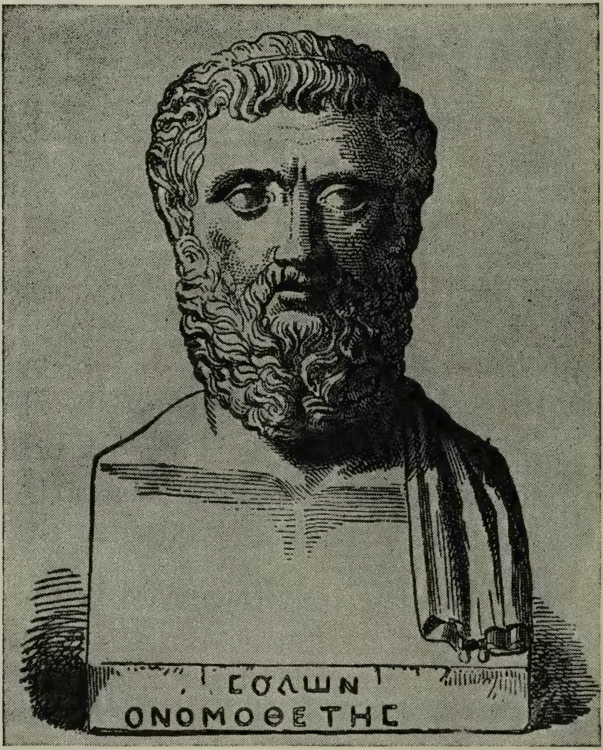
[7] Quoted by Shorey, Paul, in *What Plato Said*, p. 4. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933.

were not closed to boys, but physical training was usually taken in private palaestra.

(2) The Athenian Areopagus was the official body which exercised a perfunctory supervision over all civic affairs and, likewise, over the education of the young. But it exercised little influence so far as actual educational practices were concerned.



Solon.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

(3) It was the custom in Athens from the time of Solon for the state to pay the tuition for boys whose fathers had died fighting for the city. When they reached manhood, the city also provided them with a full equipment of armor and presented it at a special public ceremony.

(4) The following regulations or laws in regard to the conducting of the schools and the training of the young were ascribed to Solon.

> The teachers of the boys shall open the schoolrooms not earlier than sunrise, and they shall close them before sunset. No person who is older than the boys shall be permitted to enter the room while they are there, unless he be a son of the teacher, a brother, or a daughter's husband. If any one enter in violation of this prohibition, he shall be punished with death. The superintendent of the gymnasium shall under no conditions allow any one who has reached the age of manhood to enter the contests of Hermes together with the boys. A gymnasiarch who does permit this and fails to keep such a person out of the gymnasium, shall be liable to the penalties prescribed for the seduction of free-born youths. Every choregos who is appointed by the people shall be more than forty years of age.[8]

It will be seen that these laws have to do mainly with the maintenance of moral conditions.

(5) In addition to these laws, there were several other regulations attributed to Solon, though there is little probability that he was their author. One required that every boy should be taught his letters and swimming. Moreover, Plato is substantial authority for believing that parents were commanded by law to provide an elementary education in music and gymnastic for their sons. Socrates puts this question to Crito:

> Were not the laws, which have charge of education, right in commanding your father to train you in music and gymnastic?[9]

Another law "prescribed what children are to be admitted as pupils, and their age of admission." Unfortunately the details of this provision have not come down to us. A public official was appointed to supervise all education, and pedagogues were required to attend schoolboys at all times.[10]

Law with regard to vocational training was likewise ascribed to Solon: it directed that every father must see that his son was taught some vocation. If he did not do so, the son was relieved by law from supporting him in his old age.[11] The precise application of this law is not clearly understood. A further law regulated the size of the schools "to keep them from swelling to such proportions as to hinder unduly the *paidotribes* and music teachers from giving each individual the proper oversight and instruction."[12]

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[8] Adams, Charles Darwin, English Translation of *The Speeches of Aeschines*, p. 13, New York, 1919. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[9] Plato, *Crito*, 59; Freeman, Kenneth J., *Schools of Hellas*, p. 57.

[10] Adams, Charles Darwin, *Op. cit.*, p. 11; Walden, John W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, pp. 60–61.

[11] Freeman, Kenneth J., *Op. cit.*, pp. 45–46.

Other than these general regulations, there is no evidence that the Athenian state participated in any way in the education of the boy from the cradle to the grave. It has hitherto been almost universally assumed that the city of Athens made military education compulsory for the young men from eighteen to twenty years of age. Authorities now declare that this idea is untrue.[13]

B. *The Athenian Educational Ideal*

The Athenian educational aim. In the early period, the Athenians had a very definite and clear-cut educational objective. It was not conceived in an abstract form, nor yet apart from the inner nature of youth. They aimed to produce a young man who would be charming in person and graceful in manners, a beautiful soul in a beautiful body, though as yet they scarcely distinguished the soul from the body. To them the beautiful and the good were identical, an idea they expressed by the single word *kalokagathia* (καλοκἀγαθία).[14] This ideal of manhood embraced external and internal beauty, physical and mental harmony. Their complete ideal may be analyzed into the four distinct aspects of personality that composed the Athenian conception of the gentleman-citizen.

(1) First, the Athenian youth must be beautiful in figure, graceful in movement, and refined in behavior. Men fell in love, not so much with women, as with beautiful young men. The deepest desires of the Greek, as expressed by Plato, were, "First, health, second, personal beauty, then wealth honestly come by," according to Pindar.

> A young man should be young and tall and handsome, and have those natural gifts which attract friends, help him to win races at Olympia, put him in a position to enjoy the good things of life and make him, in a word, a success.[15]

Through their system of physical training they aimed to produce beautiful figure, artistic posture, whether standing or seated,

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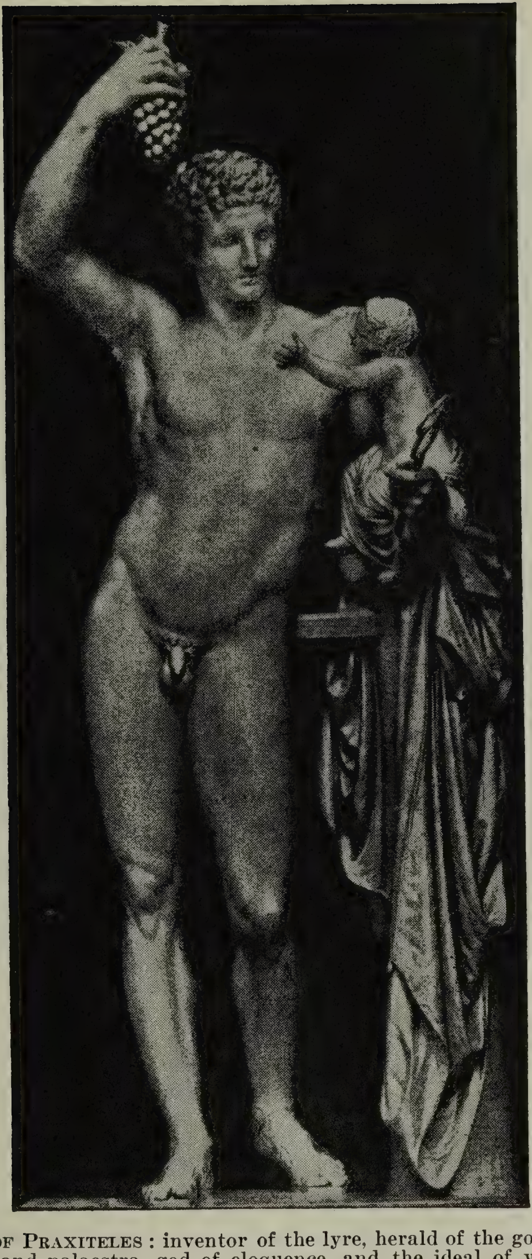
[12] Forbes, *Op. cit.*, p. 75. The school at Astypalaea numbered about sixty boys. The citharist, Stratonicos, when asked how many pupils he had, said, "Twelve counting the gods." In his room were the figures of the nine Muses and Apollo. He had, therefore, only two pupils. (*See* Metcalfe, Frederick, *Charicles*, p. 230. New York: D. Appleton, 1866.

[13] The education of the Epheboi is discussed later.

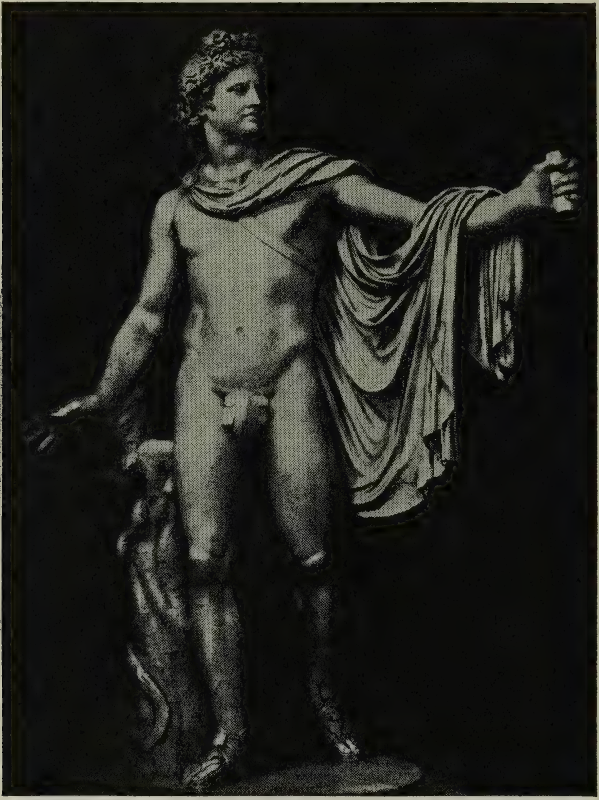
[14] *Kalos* (καλὸς), beautiful, and (καὶ), *agathos* (ἀγαθός) good.

[15] Livingstone, R. W., *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us*, p. 141, Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915.



Hermes of Praxiteles : inventor of the lyre, herald of the gods, patron of the schools and palaestra, god of eloquence, and the ideal of youth.—*From Bulle, H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

and graceful movement. In walking the streets, on entering a room where older men are seated, and in every activity and relation, behavior must be refined and appropriate. The highly sensitive Athenians were offended by every act that was inartistic, clumsy, or awkward. The boy or youth remained much of the time in a statuesque position. If seated, he must not cross his legs, for such a posture was fitting only for slaves. When walking in the streets, one hand must be kept hidden under his mantle. By many such rules the youth was habituated to well-ordered[16] behavior (εὐκοσμία).



Apollo Belvedere.—*From Bulle H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

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[16] εὕ, *well*, and κόσμος, *order.*

(2) Another aspect of the Athenian ideal was that of balance. Their artistic instincts and good judgment led them to avoid all excess. Their gods were jealous of everything out of proportion, every one-sidedness, every form of undue superiority. Consequently, the human personality must be harmonious and without exaggeration of any part or characteristic. Every form of specialization and professionalism was to be scrupulously avoided. In the classical period, the professional athlete and the professional musician were despised. The victor in gymnastics at Olympia must be an all-round man who won in at least three of the contests of the *pentathlon.* On one occasion young Alexander the Great was rebuked by his father because he played the cithara too skillfully. "You play like a professional," said the father. The Greeks could not tolerate such one-sidedness.

This sense of balance applied to the mind and general conduct. The Athenians strove for sane-mindedness, which they termed *sophrosyne* (σωφϱοσύνη).[17] This term meant soundness of mind, moderation, and good judgment. It involved the sense of balance or prudence that produced self-control, temperance, chastity, and sobriety. The Athenians (as opposed to Spartans) endeavored to avoid the exaggeration of physical training that brutalized the Dorians, and the exclusive literary and aesthetic cultivation that enervated the Ionians in Asia Minor. With an unerring sense of symmetry in human personality they chose the golden mean, a sane mind in an all-round body. "Nothing to excess" was a common proverb.

(3) The youth must be educated for positive service to the state. He became a good citizen in so far as he had excellence or virtue (*arete,* ἀϱετή), that is, in so far as he functioned efficiently in war and in peace. To be a good soldier he must possess courage, endurance, strength, spirit, determination, fortitude, pluck, energy, and self-control, or temperance. To be a good citizen in time of peace, he must possess other virtues such as justice, manliness, dignity, wisdom in judging proposed policies, and submissiveness to the laws. He must look upon his duties to the state as the highest interest of life. Pericles declared:

> We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs not as a harmless, but as a useless character.[18]

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[17] σῶς, *sound* or *sane,* and φϱήν, *mind.*

[18] Jowett, Benjamin, Translator, *op. cit.,* II, 40. Vol. I, p. 129. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1900. (Oxford University Press).

Plato states the objective of education with great clarity:

> Education in virtue from youth upwards . . . . makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship, and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey.[19]

Training for civic efficiency was the chief aim of the Athenian citizens, and the first attempt at education for democracy.

(4) Next to civic efficiency, good manners and morals were the chief end of Athenian training. These included reverence for the gods, respect for parents, politeness, and good form. The Greeks lacked our sense of personal morals; for them civic service, prudence, and good manners took the place of ethical principles.

Harmonious development. Athenian education sought to mold the boy into an integrated whole through a cultivation of all aspects of his nature. To be a perfect man involved the exercise of all human functions, family life, politics, war, and physical, moral, intellectual, and aesthetic activity. Body and soul, the real and the ideal, individual and public interests, the beautiful and the good, the intellectual and the aesthetic, the rough virtues of the fighter and the urbane qualities of the gentleman, were all to be skillfully blended into a single personality. Young men were to be tigers in battle and lambs at home; or as Lucian expressed it, "the might of Hercules and the daintiness of Aphrodite were to be manifested in the same person." [20]

The result of Athenian education was to be an artistic product that rivaled the finest works of sculpture, painting, and the drama. Their technique of training must equal the techniques of the fine arts, for education was in reality a plastic art.

Defects of the Athenian ideal. One is in danger of becoming so much entranced with admiration for this fascinating humanistic ideal that he will overlook its weakness. Faults were numerous enough, and they played a large role in the ultimate overthrow of the Greek civilization.

1. The Athenian ideal of womanhood was a prime weakness. At a stroke, it eliminated the strongest single incentive for manliness that exists among any people.
2. No culture was provided for the masses. Slavery, taken for granted by all Greeks, tended, as it always must, to lower the general moral status.

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[19] Plato, *Laws*, § 643. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations from Plato are from Jowett's translation.

[20] *Lucian with an English Translation* by A. M. Harmon, Vol. V, p. 277. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

3. The Athenians were deficient in a sense of honor, honesty, truthfulness, loyalty, and altruism, which are basic elements of the highest manhood. As their ethical views did not project into the future, they had no final appraisal of conduct, no sense of ultimate punishment or reward. Accordingly, their religion lacked genuine ethical quality and personal sanction.
4. An exaggerated versatility led to insincerity, dishonesty, and lightheartedness, while their sunniness of spirit degenerated into frivolity, and licentiousness.
5. Their keen intellectuality, not being controlled by deep ethical considerations, degenerated into hair-splittings, disputation, and casuistry.
6. They had little feeling of sympathy. Mercy did not exercise its proper function in their lives. Although exposure of infants was not as common in Athens as in Sparta, there was no outcry against it. In warfare, they displayed great inhumanity and cruelty.
7. Finally, their ideal was local and institutional. Although some philosophers struggled vigorously to generalize and rationalize their ethical principles, they never succeeded in making their ideals personal and universal. The weakness of the civic ideal was apparent when the individual left his home. With the restraints of the family withdrawn, the Athenian, just as the Spartan, degenerated into a libertine, a glutton, or a moneygrabber.

C. *The Process of Education*

The Athenian view of the educational process. The Greeks had two main terms to express education, *Agoge* (ἀγωγή), and *Paideia* (παιδεία), which was the more comprehensive term. *Agoge,* which appears in our word *pedagogy* (pais, παῖς, child, and ἄγειν, to lead) had the root idea of leading, discipline, oversight, and applied especially to the type of education given in Sparta. *Paideia* was derived from *pais* meaning "child," and was allied to *paidia* (παιδιά), signifying child's sport or play. Athenian culture was the result of the natural evolution of the spontaneous activities of the play spirit and the outgrowth of child interest in stories and songs accompanied by rhythmic gestures and dancing. Fortunately for the Greeks, they had inherited from their ancestors no ancient repressive educational traditions and prejudices. Their culture emerged spontaneously and long retained something of its simple, original character. The rearing of the child was natural; his growth in body and mind was as unfettered as the growth of Hellenic culture itself. This spontaneous evolution of life among the Greek people and in the education of their young has been known as Humanism.

The Athenians delighted in vigorous personality. *Paideia* did not involve doing things for the child, but rather the guiding of his spontaneous activity into artistic and graceful forms. It signified in a general way the natural and harmonious development of physical and mental powers, to bring about an all-round perfecting of human nature. It formed and determined the character by directing conduct and controlling emotions. It did this not so much by theoretical instruction, or through the compulsion of law, but by the gradual initiation of the young into racial traditions and the national ethos. This formative education prepared for a prudent and happy life.

Paideia involved not only the systematic and consciously sought development of individuals, but likewise the cultivation of the people as a whole. What was true of the individual was true of the entire social fabric. When Pericles called Athens "the school of Greece," he did not mean that she was the school-teacher for other peoples, but that by example Athens showed other nations how to live freely and gloriously.

The significance of leisure. The finest products of Greek civilization owed their existence and cultivation to the leisure enjoyed by the citizens of Athens. Relieved by slave labor of the drudgery of earning their bread by the sweat of their brows, they devoted themselves to art, science, politics, philosophy, and the education of their youth. As leisure was the primary condition that made the higher culture of mankind possible, so it became the first essential for the cultivation of the child. It was no accident that the Greek word for leisure, *schola* (σχολά), became our word "school." But strange to say, we now employ the word *leisure* to convey an idea the Greeks never had. As they thought of it:

> To have leisure for any occupation, was to devote yourself to it freely, because your mind demanded it; to make it, as it were, your hobby. It does not imply useless work, but it implies work done for the love of it.[21]

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[21] Bosanquet, Bernard, *The Education of the Young in the Republic of Plato*, p. 12. Cambridge: The University Press, 1908.

The old Athenian school was not a place in which to acquire by a process of drudgery the so-called "tools of learning," nor yet the utilitarian arts of earning a living. It was a place to practice those activities that make a free and self-poised personality.

Compulsion. A second principle governing Athenian education was freedom. No compulsion was used. Greek culture as a whole was a spontaneous evolution of native capacities and interests. It was an inspirational development. So too, they believed, it must be in the case of the child. Plato strongly disapproved of forcing the young child into an intellectual mold without regard to his interests and capacities.[22] What the Athenian teacher required the child to do was so much in accordance with his native instincts and desires that there was no sense of hardship or drudgery.

Surveillance. Another feature of Athenian as well as Spartan education was the constant surveillance of the youth. In Sparta when the boy was seven he was placed under a state regimen, and every adult exercised control over him. When the Athenian boy had outgrown the supervision of his mother and governess and was ready for school at about six years of age, the parents assigned an old and trusted slave, who was no longer profitable for labor,[23] the task of accompanying the youth wherever he went. Away from home, the pedagogue exercised full control until the lad was eighteen years of age. The object of this continual oversight was moral restraint and cultivation. While the educational activities were not burdensome, the danger of unbecoming conduct was firmly met by supervision.

The pedagogue. The pedagogue was an educational agent peculiar to the Athenians. He awoke the boy from sleep, got him ready, and accompanied him to and from school. In families where there were several boys, he attended all. He carried the boy's tablet, lyre, and other school apparatus. He made him study his lessons, and helped him recall what he had learned. Another function was that of correcting his pronunciation and insisting upon proper habits of articulation, for the Athenian was meticulous about correct speech. In harmony with the Greek view of education as supervision, the pedagogue followed the boy and never let him get out of his sight. Freeman [24] suggests that he was "a mixture of nurse, footman, chaperon, and tutor."

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[22] Plato, *Republic*, § 536–538.

[23] Pericles is reputed to have said when a slave fell from a tree and broke his leg, "Lo, he is now a pedagogue."

[24] Freeman, Kenneth J., *Schools of Hellas*, p. 66; compare Walden, John W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, pp. 326–327.

The Greeks believed that only under the vigilant eye of an older man would the boy acquire the basic virtues. Plato held that, as animals require trainers, so boys, who are "the most unmanageable of animals," need pedagogues.[25] The chief responsibility of the pedagogue was for the training in manners, morals and deportment. He had the task of punishing the lad in case he disobeyed or did something reprehensible.

A PEDAGOGUE AND BOY.—*From the University Prints.*

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[25] Plato, *Laws*, § 808.

Habituation. The most essential feature of the old Athenian training was the inculcation of proper behavior by means of habituation. It is true Athens was far more liberal than Sparta in the treatment of the young, but in both cases, education was a process of training in accordance with the national ethos.

Plato draws aside the curtain for a summary view of the training of Athenian boys:

> Education and admonition commence in the first years of childhood, and last to the very end of life. Mother and nurse and father and tutor are vying with one another about the improvement of the child as soon as ever he is able to understand what is being said to him: he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable, that is dishonorable; this is holy, that is unholy; do this and abstain from that. And if he obeys, well and good; if not, he is straightened by threats and blows, like a piece of bent or warped wood. At a later stage they send him to teachers, and enjoin them to see to his manners even more than to his reading and music; and the teachers do as they are desired, and when the boy has learned his letters and is beginning to understand what is written, as before he understood only what was spoken, they put into his hands the works of great poets, which he reads sitting on a bench at school; in these are contained many admonitions, and many tales, and praises, and encomia of ancient famous men, which he is required to learn by heart, in order that he may imitate or emulate them, and desire to become like them. Then, again, the teachers of the lyre take similar care that their young disciple is temperate and gets into no mischief; and when they have taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the poems of other excellent poets, who are the lyric poets, and these they set to music, and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children's souls, in order that they may learn to be more gentle, harmonious, and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action; for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm.[26]

Not so one-sided and intellectual as our education. Finally, it must be emphasized, education in Athens was arranged to train the child's whole nature. Though naturally intellectual, the Greeks did not make the acquisition of knowledge the only feature of their training. In this respect, their procedure differed essentially from our own, as Bosanquet has urgently pointed out:

> When we compare the ancient Greek education with our own, whether primary or secondary, as a training of the whole man, we are surprised

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[26] Plato, *Protagoras*, § 325–326.

> to find ourselves put upon our defense. We suffer from an *embarras de richesses* in the intellectual world; and we can hardly see the wood for the trees. We teach one thing after another, or a number of things at the same time, rather as the most convenient way of making room for all that seems necessary to be learned, than with the aim of bringing before the growing mind as much and no more of the best experiences as it is able to appropriate with advantage to its growth. We think of education, on the whole, as an intellectual process, as a process of learning a number of things, each of which, on separate grounds, is necessary to be known. The Greek thought of it on the whole, as a moral process; or rather he would not have understood you, if you had asked him which of the two he supposed it to be. He would have said that the best experience, if due time and opportunity is given for assimilating it, necessarily enters into the tissue of the mind, and determines its feelings and desires no less than its views and ideas.[27]

Athenian education was a formative process of directing conduct and controlling emotions rather than implanting the elements of learning. As yet, the range of knowledge was limited, for the various subjects of literary instruction had not been formulated and their elements determined. The national ethos was inculcated by practicing right activities and acquiring appropriate habits and ideals. All the virtues, whether military or civic, were implanted by admonition, by the chanting of poetry and practice of heroic attitudes. The entire life of the citizens was an institutional training.

D. *Early Schools, Grading, and Pre-school Training*

First Athenian schools. How early schools were established in Athens is not known. The educational laws of Solon date back to the beginning of the sixth century. By the time of the Persian Wars, the importance of education was fully appreciated. When Xerxes occupied Athens, all the women and children took refuge in Troezen. The people of that city hired teachers for the Athenian boys at public cost.[28] By this time, apparently, education was practically universal among the citizens of Athens.

Age of entering school. At about six years of age the Athenian boy started to school. Xenophon leaves the question of age indefinite, as the following quotation shows:

> In every part of Hellas except Sparta, those who claim to give their sons the best education, as soon as ever the child understands what is

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[27] Bosanquet, Bernard, *The Education of the Young in The Republic of Plato*, p. 11, Cambridge: *The University Press*, 1908.

[28] Plutarch, *Themistocles*, X.

> said to him, at once make one of the servants his paidagogos, and at once send him off to school to learn letters and music and the exercises of the Palaestra.[29]

Axiochus [30] placed the age at seven, but Plato suggested six. The exact age probably varied between six and seven.

Grading. The Greeks generally never put much stress upon the matter of age and the artificialities of grading. They preferred to let the powers of the child unfold naturally in their own way. There was far more adaptability than is customary today, especially in elementary training. This was possible because the schools were private, and the form of education was left to the choice of the parent. Moreover, since music and literary education were given by individual and not in group or class instruction, grading was really not important. Furthermore, it is necessary to note that at this period secondary and higher instruction did not yet exist. Accordingly, our modern anxiety to prepare children by special drills and examinations to qualify for advanced instruction was happily unknown to the Athenians.

For a long time contestants in the great gymnastic games were divided into only two groups: boys and men. Later, further age divisions were introduced. During the older period of Athenian education, boys from six or seven to eighteen were taught without much regard to age differences. Literary and moral training accompanied by vocal music, and light gymnastics were stressed up to thirteen or fourteen. Instrumental music then received special attention, although other lines were not neglected. From sixteen to eighteen, that is, when the youth had attained full physical growth, gymnastic training was vigorously pursued.

Pre-school education. In Athens the newborn child was laid at the feet of the father. It was in his power to take him up, by this act acknowledging him as his offspring, and assuming responsibility for his education. If he did not take the infant up, it was exposed.[31]

The life of the Athenian infant was marked by many interesting ceremonies. *Amphidromia,* one of the first, came about the fifth day; it consisted in the nurse or grandmother, followed by the other female members of the house, carrying the infant several times around a burning altar. The family held a festive meal, and upon the doors were hung some wool for a girl and a crown of olives for a boy. A few days later the infant received a name, and another feast was held, and the babe was given presents. On the fortieth day the name of the child was registered on the records of the tribe.

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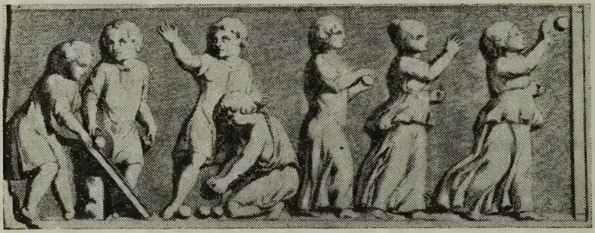
[29] Xenophon, *Constitution of Lakedaimonia,* II. See also Freeman, *op. cit.,* pp. 51–52; and Forbes, *op. cit.,* pp. 57–61.

[30] See p. 273 of this text for passage from Axiochus.

[31] Exposure, especially of girls, was not uncommon in Athens, yet it was only justifiable in the public mind by the necessity of the parents. In Thebes it was legally forbidden. Usually the exposure was such that the child did not die but was found and raised by benevolent people. Sometimes parents put a mark upon their exposed children in order to identify them later.

Nurses and governesses. In early times, Athenian women of even the highest station nursed their own infants. Later, nurses were invariably employed by the rich. Spartan women were preferred, for they were adept in preventing children's wailing and outbursts of passion. Moreover, their milk was supposed to impart physical endurance and strength. Nurses were employed for the first year or a little longer, and then a governess, generally an old slave, took charge of the child. She gave him his meals, usually consisting of honey, milk, and similar sweet and light foods. She also took him into the open air. Care was exercised in superstitious households to secure the favor of the gods, and amulets were worn to protect the child from evil spirits.



CHILDREN PLAYING BALL.—*From Gulick, C. B., "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," D. Appleton-Century.*

Amusements and plays. The children of Athens did not lack means of entertainment. The rattle was invented by the philosopher, Archytas, eminent among the Greeks for his many-sided talents. Toys of many kinds abounded; children frequently made their own. Dolls were plentiful, usually made of clay and painted. Not only dolls but all sorts of animal figures were fashioned; also hoops, tops, toy carts, and cockchafers.

Greek children played games similar to those used by other races. More than fifty distinct types of such games and plays have been recorded, not counting the many variations of each. Children also played with pet animals, as is shown by many pieces of sculpture; doves, geese, rabbits, and dogs were their common playmates.

During this stage of their development, the children were told fables, such as Aesop later gathered together, and the simple mythology and stories of the heroes of old. Ballads and nursery rhymes were sung to them. The education of little boys and girls was entirely the same, and similar to that by which the sense experiences and activities of children everywhere are integrated into the beginnings of connected thought. A rare light is shed on the pedagogy of myths and tales by Strabo:

> It is fondness for tales, then, that induces children to give their attention to narratives and more and more to take part in them. The reason for this is that myth is a new language to them—a language that tells them, not of things as they are, but of a different set of things. And what is new is pleasing, and so is what one did not know before; and it is just this that makes men eager to learn. But if you adhere to the marvelous and the portentous, you thereby increase the pleasure, and pleasure acts as a charm to incite to learning. At the beginning we must needs make use of such bait for children, but as the child advances in years we must guide him to the knowledge of facts when once his intelligence has become strong and no longer needs to be coaxed. Now every illiterate and uneducated man is, in a sense, a child, and, like a child, he is fond of stories; and for that matter, so is the half-educated man, for his reasoning faculty has not been fully developed, and besides, the mental habits of his childhood persist in him. . . . The ancients clung to their system of education for children and applied it up to the age of maturity; and by means of poetry they believed that they could satisfactorily discipline every period of life.[32]

E. *The Curriculum*

General view. The Greek curriculum was divided into two parts, gymnastics and music. There can be no question that both of these forms of training were pursued throughout education. Xenophon definitely stated that in early childhood the boys were sent to school "to learn letters and music and the exercises of the palaestra." The Athenian sense of harmony precluded the development of one side of the child to the exclusion of the others for any length of time. But while both music and gymnastics were always being learned, emphasis was apparently shifted from one side to the other in accordance with the growing capacities and needs of child nature.

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[32] Jones, Horace Leonard, *The Geography of Strabo*, pp. 67–73. New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1918. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

1. *Physical education.* Not until the end of the fifth century B.C. did the Greeks make any fundamental distinction between soul and body. They grew up as healthy, active creatures, living a harmonious but wholly objective existence. The soul and body, the mental and physical, mind and muscle, emotion and action, were not considered separate and distinct aspects of human nature. To the Greek, they formed a unity of common life for the dualism of mind and matter was still unknown.

Objectives of gymnastics. The Greeks loved gymnastic primarily for its own sake, but its value for military fitness was likewise evident to them from an early day. In the sixth century B.C., the Athenians copied the formalized gymnastic training of the Spartans. When victory over the Persian hordes for the first time demonstrated the military superiority of the European Greeks, this superiority was attributed to the practice of gymnastics. New zeal for physical exercises followed the war, and this in turn led to the discovery of still deeper values. Attention was then directed to health, and books were written on hygiene and diet. Bathing became popular. Not only military fitness and health,[33] but aesthetic and moral values were also disclosed. The value of gymnastics for mental health and balanced personality was stated by Plato as follows:

> Neither are the two arts of music and gymnastics really designed, as is often supposed, the one for the training of the soul, the other for the training of the body. What, then, is the real object of them? I believe, I said, that the teachers of both have in view chiefly the improvement of the soul. How can that be? he asked. Did you never observe, I said, the effect on the mind itself of exclusive devotion to gymnastics, or the opposite effect of an exclusive devotion to music? In what way shown? he said. The one producing a temper of hardness and ferocity, the other of softness and effeminacy, I replied. Yes, he said, I am quite aware that your mere athlete becomes too much of a savage, and that the mere musician is melted and softened beyond

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[33] The effects of Greek physical education may be seen from the statement of Diogenes Laertius concerning longevity. He found the average age of 34 philosophers varying from 53 to 109 years to have been not less than 81 years. If the cases that are disputed are also taken, the average was 85 years. The advanced age of Sophists in later centuries is discussed by Walden, John W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, note p. 248, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. The longevity of these men was largely due to three factors: (1) their temperance, (2) all-round exercise, (3) inner and outer harmony of life. This average far exceeds that of great leaders in other periods of history.

what is good for him. Yet surely, I said, this ferocity only comes from spirit, which if educated rightly would give courage, but, if too much intensified and exaggerated, is liable to become hard and brutal.[34]

Xenophon discussed the value of physical culture, giving the view of Socrates as follows:

> Socrates meeting a young man named Epigenes, one of his friends, and seeing that he was in poor bodily condition, said to him, "Why, Epigenes, how out of training you are!" "But, Socrates," he replied, "I am a private person (i.e., not an athlete) and am not obliged to be in training." "Indeed you are," said Socrates, "just as much as those who are preparing to compete in the Olympian games. Do you think that the life and death contest with our foes which the Athenians will enter upon whenever it may happen to be necessary, will be a light matter? . . . Those who are in good physical condition are healthy and robust; by means of it they come out of battle unhurt, in body and reputation; they escape all the perils of war; many succour their friends and deserve well of their country, on which account they win the goodwill of others, gain great glory, and receive the most distinguished honours.
>
> The body is useful in all pursuits which men engage in, and in all matters in which the body is useful it is of great importance to have it in the best possible condition. And even in those things in which you may think the body is least useful, namely, in intellectual pursuits, who does not know that even in these many men fall into great aberrations through not possessing good bodily health? Nay, weakness of memory, low spirits, ill-temper, and even insanity, often penetrate the minds of many persons so deeply, through their bad physical condition, as to cast out and dispossess knowledge itself. There is a great security, on the other hand, for those whose bodies are in good condition, they run no risk of suffering any such evils through a low physical condition. Rather, it is natural that good bodily health conduces to the very contrary of those evils which arise from bad health. What is there that any reasonable man would not undergo for the sake of securing the opposite of those evils which I have spoken of?[35]

Lucian in the *Anacharsis* lists the values of gymnastics thus:

> Manly perfection, physical beauty, wonderful condition, mighty skill, irresistible strength, daring, rivalry, indomitable resolution, and inexpressible ardour for victory.[36]

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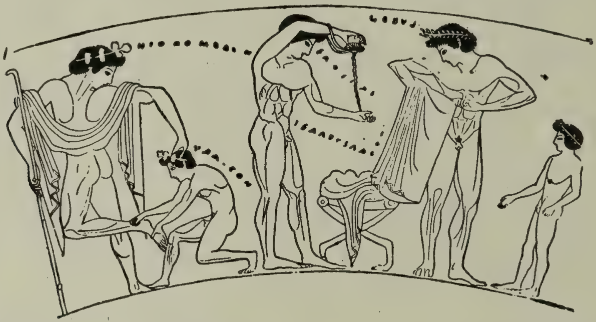
[34] Plato, *Republic*, § 410.

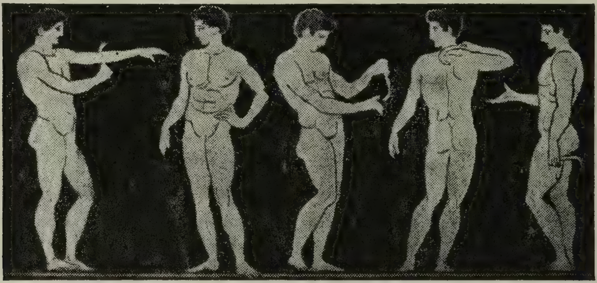
[35] Payne, Joseph, translation from *Xenophon's Memorabilia*, *Lectures on the History of Education*, Vol. II, pp. 275–276. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.

[36] Harmon, A. W., *Lucian*, Vol. IV, p. 15. New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

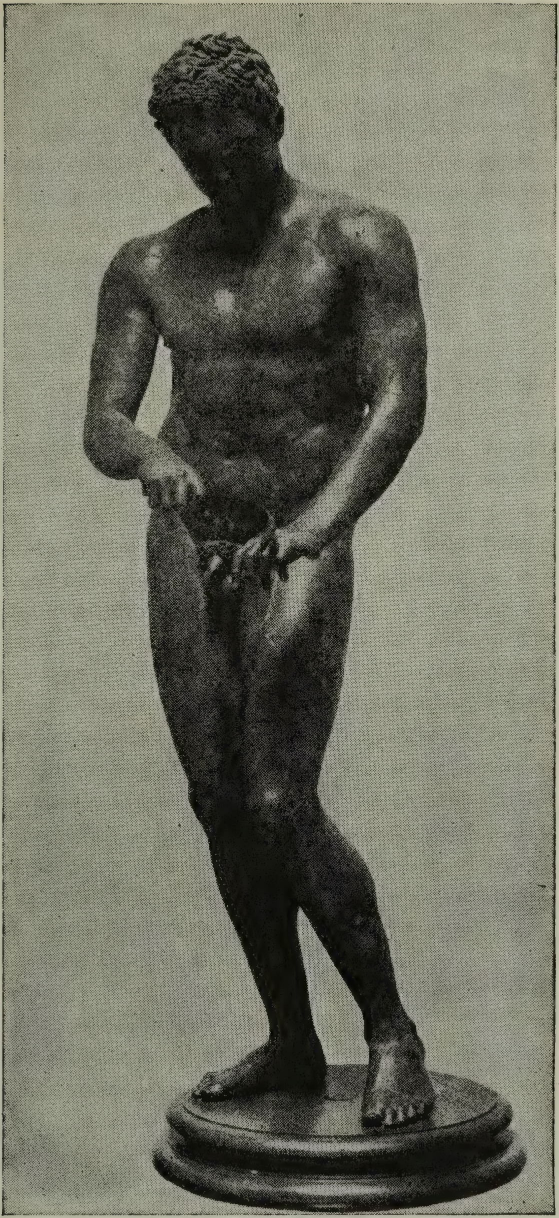
Moral and sportsmanship value. The greatest value of gymnastic training lay in its effect upon the moral life and sense of sportsmanship. All games and contests among the Greeks were played according to elaborate rules and had their value in training the youth in what the English term "good form." Wrestling was the contest most respected for this purpose. The school for physical training took its name, palaestra, from the word for wrestling, the most important contest of the pentathlon. Wrestling imparted courage, perseverance, and moral strength. Under no circumstances were Athenian boys allowed to fight without supervision. An instructor must be present to see that the contest was fought in accordance with the strict rules of the sport, and to prevent any evil or malicious passion from expression. The rules of all contests had been formulated after long experience and with the expert advice of physicians, and these rules were strictly enforced.



Gymnasium Scene. Taking thorn out of foot, pouring oil on body, and undressing.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

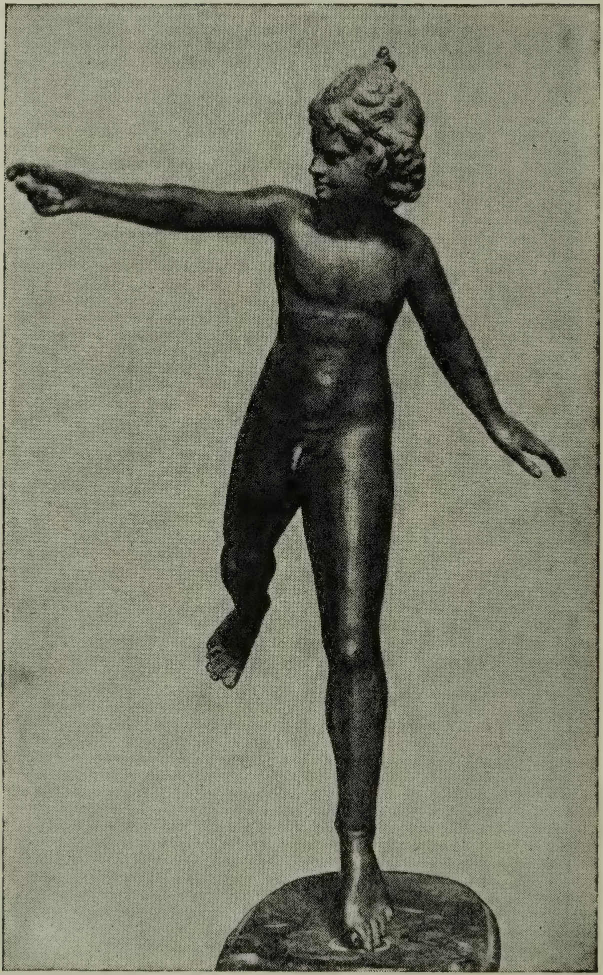


Youth Scraping Themselves.—*From Gulick, C. B., "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," D. Appleton-Century.*



Athlete Scraping Himself.—*From Bulle, H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

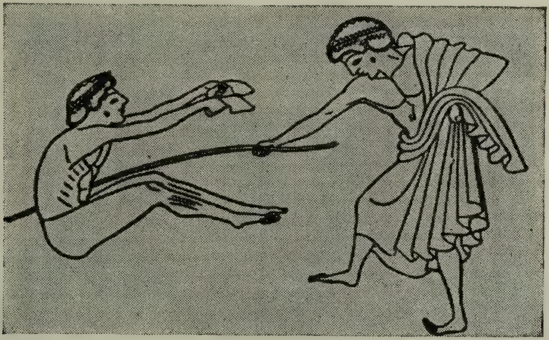
Training was adapted to individual capacities. Care was taken in pairing the boys to bring together only those who were well matched. The weaker and more diffident were matched with those whom they could overcome with good effort. Confidence was developed through self-exertion and the encouragement of the trainers. The overconfident and conceited were paired with boys



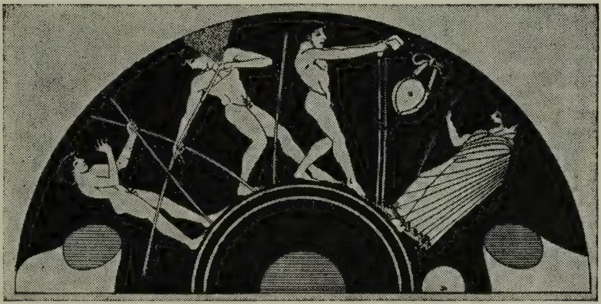
THE RUNNING BOY. PRADO MUSEUM, MADRID.—*From Bulle, H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

who were able to defeat them readily. In this way proper self-esteem was fostered.

Furthermore, the Greeks required the boys to enter into the contests with spirit and a strong desire to win. They were masters in stimulating and directing the instinct of rivalry. They provoked the contestants to white heat, but insisted rigorously that passion must not overstep the strict rules of the game. As the iron is tempered only when heated, so self-control and sportsmanship can best be developed when the contestant is passionately intent on winning. The Greeks strove by these means to produce modest winners, and good losers; spirited antagonists, who at the point of greatest temptation played fair and used no underhanded means. In this manner they trained the youth in courage, self-control, endurance, spirited action, and true sportsmanship. No better training of the will of the individual in



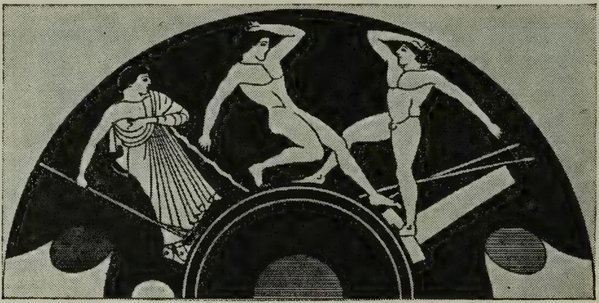
Practicing the Broad Jump.—*From Gulick, C. B., "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," D. Appleton-Century.*



Training in the Palaestra.—*Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

interaction with others could be conceived. The rivalry of the boys in the palaestra was regarded as the most important means for the training in moral attitudes. The word for this physical regimen, *askesis* (ἄσκησις), passed over into mediaeval Christianity to designate that moral Spartanism known to us as asceticism.

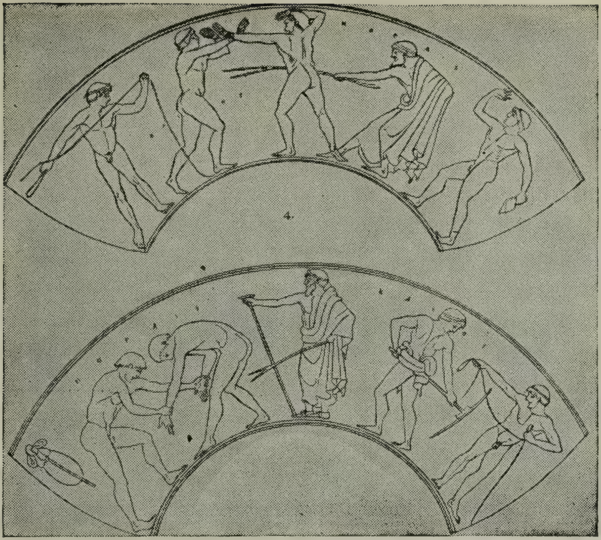
Schools for physical education. The gymnastic training for boys up to about sixteen years of age took place in the private palaestra (παλαίστρα). Originally, as already noted, the palaestra was a place for wrestling; in its simplest form it was merely a room with some provision for undressing and bathing, and an open space for the boys to wrestle, run, and engage in other sports. Literature informs us of many palaestrae in Athens; usually, they were named after their owners.



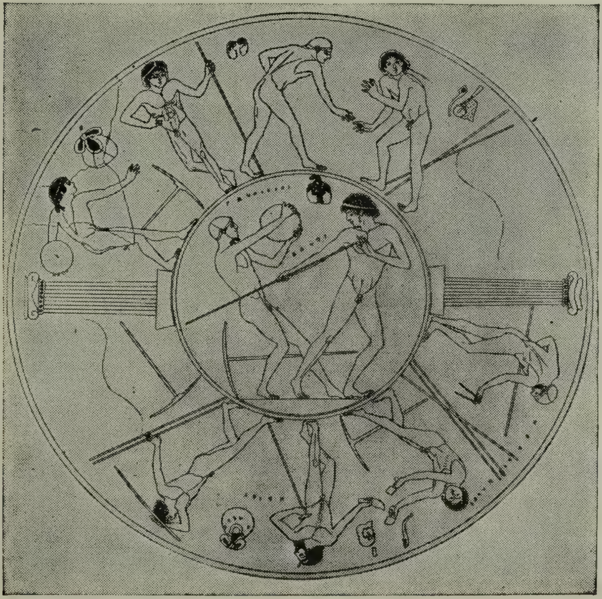
PRACTICING THE BROAD JUMP.—*From Caskey, L. D. and Beazley, J. D., "Attic Vase Paintings," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

The gymnasium was a state institution for physical exercise for all citizens, young and old. Three gymnasia were provided and supported by the city of Athens. The oldest was the Academy, located in a grove three-fourths of a mile northwest from the center of the city on the banks of the river. The Academy was the most aristocratic gymnasium and served the first families of Athens. The Lyceum was established by Pericles for the sons of citizens more recently enfranchised; the Cynosargės served those who were partly of foreign blood. The general oversight of each gymnasium was in the hands of an officer called the *gymnasiarch.*

The Greek gymnasium differed radically from the modern. Ours is invariably a huge structure in which young men of academic age pursue their training for an hour or two each day protected from sunshine and cold. The Greek gymnasium was

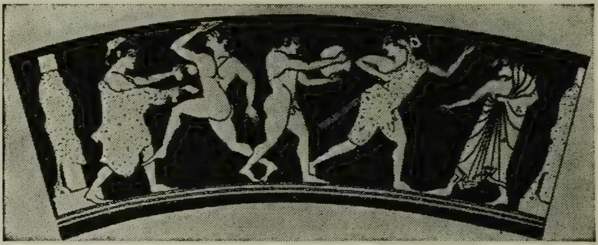


YOUTH PRACTICING THE PENTATHLON IN THE PALAESTRA.

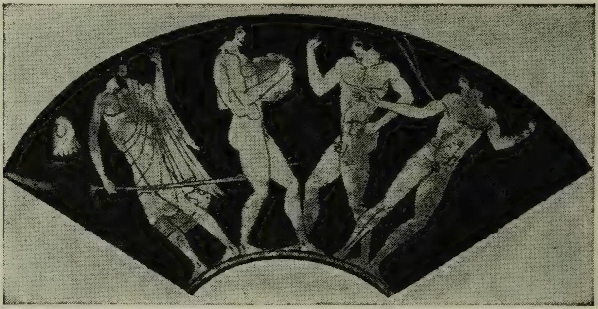


PRACTICING THE PENTATHLON IN THE PALAESTRA.—*From Schreiber, T., "Atlas of Classical Antiquities," Macmillan.*

an open space, for they never exercised under cover. From time immemorial, Greek men had engaged in boyish sports by the banks of some river in which they could swim when begrimed by sweat and dirt. The gymnasium served citizens of all ages, for the Greeks continued their physical exercises throughout life. It was used not only for physical exercises but as a lounging resort or club house where young men and old spent their hours of leisure. Here the men eagerly watched the sports of the youth, especially of their favorites; or they sat in groups under shady groves engaged in spirited discussion.

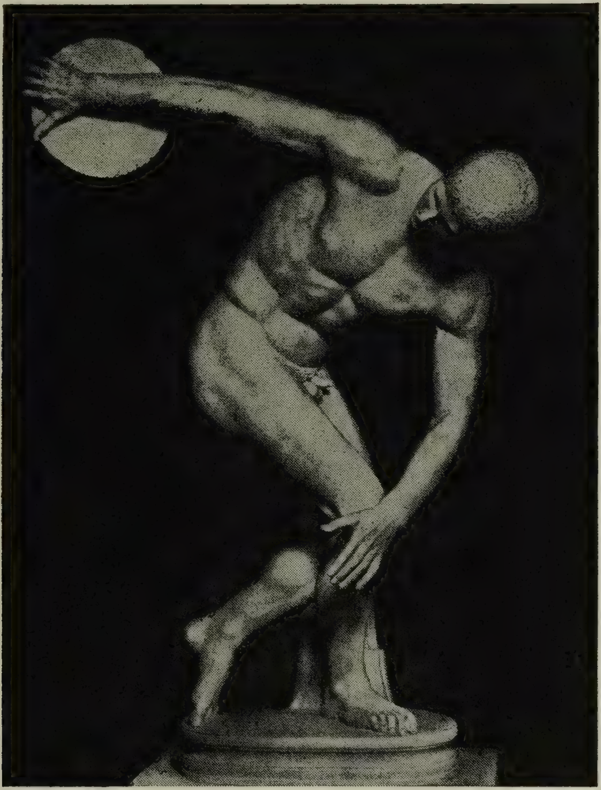


Practicing the Pentathlon.—*From Caskey, L. D., and Beazley, J. D., "Attic Vase Paintings," Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*



Exercises in the Palaestra.—*From Pottier, E., "Douris and the Painters of Greek Vases," John Murray.*

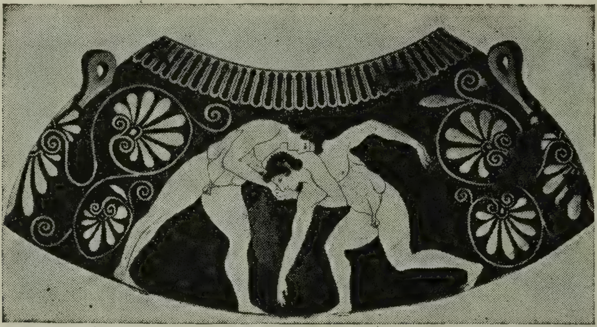
The building connected with the Greek gymnasium was a comparatively small structure consisting of service rooms. Its function can be most readily understood by tracing the course of a young man who came for his daily gymnastic round. First he passed through a corridor embellished with statuary, representing the patron deities of the gymnasium, to the room where he laid aside all his garments. Next he entered a room where oil was rubbed over his body and then another where sand was scattered on the oil. This was done in preparation for the wrestling. The oil rendered his joints supple, and the sand helped his opponent take a firm hold. Then he went to a room where a pick and other equipment were found, for the earth had to be loosened for wrestling, and lines had to be used for measuring distances in jumping. Now he was ready to go forth for the exercises.



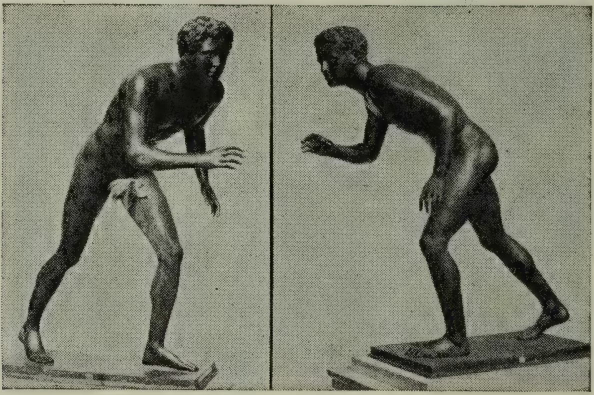
Discus Thrower.

Returning after his daily round, he went into a room where the dirt was scraped off his body with a *strigilis* and, then, to the bath. On being dried, he was ready to put on his clothes. In process of time, the buildings became more elaborate, and rooms for conferences and lectures were added.

Training of boys in the palaestra. The physical education of the Athenian boy in the palaestra was given by the Paedotribe (παιδοτρίβης, one who rubs or practices the boy). It was thorough and vigorous, but it accorded perfectly with the instinctive interests of boy nature. Observation of physicians and physical training specialists led to the grading of the exercises to fit the immature capacities of the young. Strain was avoided, and strength, skill, and endurance were gradually acquired. The exercises were selected to meet the needs of the growing muscles. Playing with balls in many different ways and tug-of-war were favorite contests because they called into action all the muscles of the body.

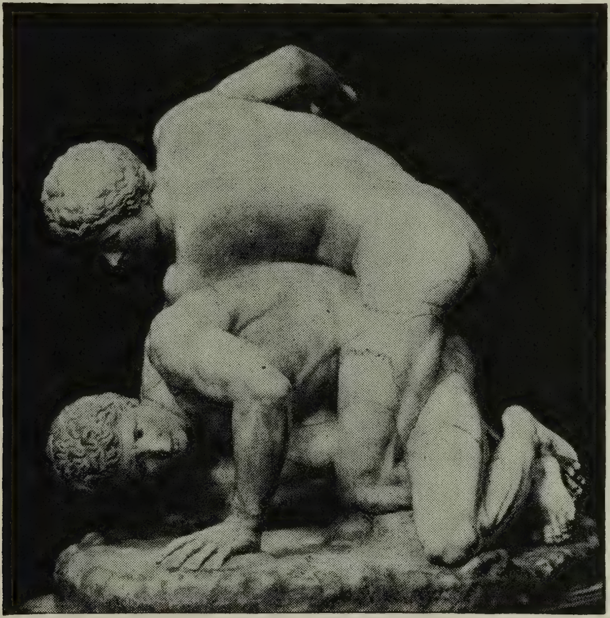


Youth Wrestling.—*From Hoppin, J. C., "Euthymides and his Followers," Harvard University Press.*



Youth Wrestling.—*From the University Prints.*

The younger boys were also taught deportment and easy exercises for some years. Aristophanes informs us that they were taught to sit down and to rise up in the most graceful manner. Vases represent boys learning how to stand with dignity. Not only statuesqueness but gesticulation also was taught. All movements were practiced so as to be gracefully performed.



Youth Wrestling.—*From the University Prints.*

The pentathlon. After sixteen years of age began the more formal and strenuous exercises for which the earlier training of the boys had been a preparation. For the legs, running and jumping, or leaping were considered best. For the arms, hurling the spear or javelin, throwing the discus, and punching the bag were used. But it was wrestling that gave its name to the palaestra and was regarded as the best all-round form of training. It brought into play the greatest number of muscles of arms, legs, and trunk, and at the same time had definite significance for the moral training of the youth. The five exercises, running, jumping, throwing the discus, hurling the spear or javelin, and wrestling were known as the *Pentathlon* (πέντε, five and ἆθλον, contest), and were the most important features of Greek gymnastics. Boxing was employed to some extent but the *pancratium* was unpopular because of its brutality.

The physical training of the Athenians was quite successful in attaining its objectives. From a modern point of view, its chief weakness lay in the lack of any team work. Greek gymnastics were almost wholly individualistic, and did not make for the development of *esprit de corps*.

2. *Music and education.* Music comprehended all those arts fostered by the Muses "that made for the beauty and happiness as opposed to the drudgery of life." The term embraced melody, rhythm, poetry, dancing, and gesticulation. Later on all literary instruction such as reading, writing, arithmetic, memorizing poetry, and the learning of the laws, the sciences and philosophy, and also moral and aesthetic cultivation formed this gentler aspect of life and of education. In this comprehensive sense, music was the central feature of the Athenian curriculum. These various lines, however, were not looked upon as separate activities to be learned by the child as different skills. Rather they had all evolved together as one unified means of expressing emotions, and were naturally combined in the child's experience and activity. In this respect the Greek education followed more closely the original unfolding of human culture than does our education today. It is difficult, in fact well-nigh impossible, for modern people to understand the Greek notion of music.

Importance of music. Poetry accompanied by musical tone, it must ever be remembered, was the ladder by which the Greeks ascended to the higher aesthetic and intellectual life. The poets and rhapsodists chanted their epics to the high-born at the courts of the princes, to the crowds in the market place, at the great games, and at religious festivals and funeral celebrations. Others imitated these songs and handed them on throughout all Greece. The lyric poets arose later to emulate the wandering epic bards. The poets were the first actual teachers. Sappho, greatest poetess of ancient times,

> conducted a sort of academy for the instruction of girls in poetry, music, singing, and dancing; in fact in the culture of all physical and mental graces. . . . This establishment is called (Μοισοπόλων οἰκία) the House of the Lovers of the Muses.[37]

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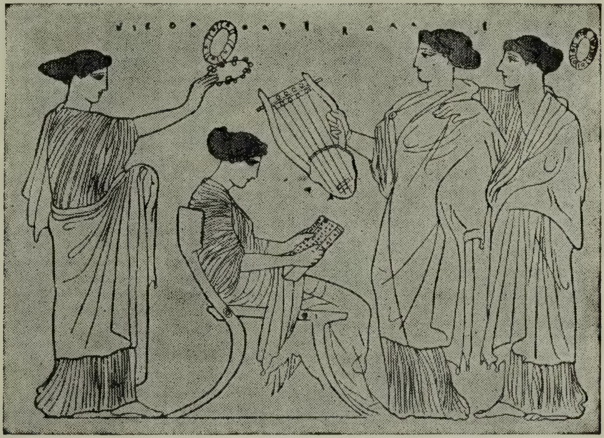
[37] Haines, C. R., *Sappho: The Poems and Fragments*, p. 20. London: Routledge & Sons.

Like Sappho, other lyric poets formed schools in which poetry, songs, dance, and deportment were imparted to youths and maidens. An extensive literature grew up embracing hymns to the gods, paeans in honor of victors at the games, marriage chants, funeral dirges; harvest hymns, and innumerable others.

Nursery songs played and sung by mothers to their children were the beginning of musical education. Every boy and girl learned to sing them and, thus, learned to feel the common emotions that had given birth to the songs. It was through the combination of music and poetry that the Greeks passed on their chararacteristic emotional life and ideals to the young. Thus it was from the poets that Greek culture arose.



The Crowning of Sappho.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

The poets furnished the light that guided mortals; they possessed the science and wisdom of life.

> Whence comes that authority of the poets? Because in the eyes of the Greek he is the counsellor and the guide of man; the depository of divine wisdom, the educator *par excellence.* Moreover, he is given charge not alone of the rules of conduct but of useful knowledge. The verses of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer have revealed to mankind a thousand means for improving himself. In possession of universal science, the poet renders to the body as much of service as to the soul. At the same time that he teaches to live well, he is the inventor and the popularizer of all arts; he is also the one who makes the divinity known to man, who teaches them how she intervenes in

> human affairs and in what manner one can placate her. The philosophers appeal constantly to the experience of the poet. Similarly the orator quotes him on the rostrum and finds in him the weapons against his adversaries. In argument poetic quotations have an importance equal to that of the law, decrees, and testimony. They are the texts that contain the eternal verities, and the orator comments on them as on passages of the Bible.[38]

In all the other great civilizations, the priests were the first teachers of the people, but in Greece it was the poets who possessed wisdom, wrote the early literature, and transmitted religious ideas to the people. According to Strabo:

> Poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy, which, taking us in our very boyhood, introduces us to the art of life and instructs us, with pleasure to ourselves, in character, emotions, and actions. And our School, the Stoic, goes still further and contends that the wise man alone is a poet. That is the reason why in Greece the various states educate the young, at the very beginning of their education, by means of poetry; not for the mere sake of entertainment, of course, but for the sake of moral discipline. Why, even the musicians, when they give instruction in singing, in lyre-playing, or in flute-playing, lay claim to this virtue, for they maintain that these studies tend to discipline and correct the character.[39]

It is a matter of greatest importance in tracing the unfolding of the Greek genius that their culture came from the poets, who are notoriously emotional and creative, and not from hereditary priesthood, which is invariably conservative.

Most significant was the close tie between Greek music and the literary arts. Apollo, the god of music, was also the patron of all the intellectual arts. According to legend, Orpheus invented not only the lyre but also writing. This means that the poets were the first to popularize the arts of reading and writing. The entire range of intellectual affairs was embraced by the term "music," and every one of the arts was under the fostering care of the Muses. The combined music-poetry-dancing of the Greeks originated their religion, morals, and wisdom; later, it led to the study of language, grammar, philosophy, oratory, and literary criticism.[40] The truth of the matter in a nutshell is, the Greek school, as well as the materials of instruction, originated in the poetic life of the rhapsodists and poets. Homer was their supreme teacher.

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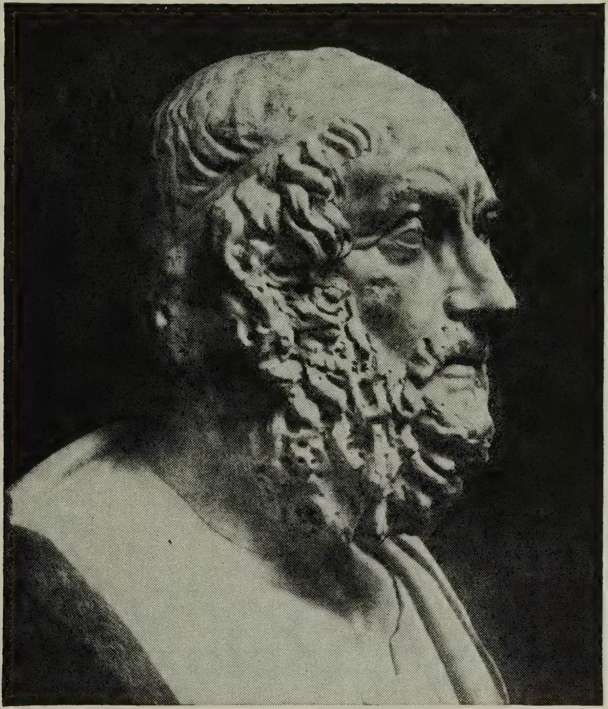
[38] Girard, Paul, *L'Education athénienne*, pp. 140–141. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1891. For an ancient discussion of the educational function of the poets consult *The Geography of Strabo*, translated by Horace Leonard Jones, pp. 55–65. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918.

[39] Jones, Horace Leonard, *The Geography of Strabo*, pp. 55–57. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917.

The power of music over the Greeks. The modern mind has, for the most part, failed to penetrate the mystic power that music exerted upon the spirit of the Greeks.[41] Today the competition of prosaic impressions and interests make it impossible for music to dominate the emotions and conduct of modern people to the same extent that it did the Greeks. Their mythology supplied testimony of the extraordinary effect of music



HOMER.—*Courtesy, Museo Nazionale, Naples.*

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[40] For the connection of poetry, prose, music, and rhetoric *see* Strabo, *Geography*, I, 2, 5–6.

[41] For a good discussion of the subtle power of Greek music *see* Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The Greek View of Life*, pp. 218–226, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927.

and song. The magic of the Sirens was irresistible for even the common sailors, the toughest of humankind. Still more powerful was the spell of Orpheus, inventor of the lyre. By his song and melody he was able to charm the wild beasts, and also "to draw trees, and rocks from their places, and to arrest rivers in their courses."

These myths are interesting symbols that testify to the seductive power of music over the Greek spirit. Music touched all aspects of Greek nature and set into lively vibration the meanest passions as well as the highest longings for great and noble deeds. Music, combining melody, movement, and meaning, intoxicated the Greek spirit. It lifted the individual out of the experiences of the humdrum, practical world into a divine exaltation of spirit. It imparted the most zestful enthusiasm (ἐν, *in;* Θεός, *god)* to life, the participation in the divine.

The followers of Pythagoras used music to control the passions and to counteract mental aberrations.

> Playing the lyre formed part of the daily exercises of the disciples of the renowned philosopher, and none dared seek his nightly couch without having first refreshed his soul at the fount of music, nor return to the duties of the day without having braced his energies with jubilant strains. . . . It is related of Pythagoras that on a certain occasion he by a solemn air brought back to reason a youth who, maddened by love and jealousy, was about setting fire to his mistress' house.[42]

That music had healing value was asserted by many of the Greek writers, among them Theophrastus in his treatise *On Enthusiasm.* Aristotle also recommended music for its purifying power on the emotions. One need not doubt the fact, for the heightened activity caused by music has always produced a therapeutic effect.

Music an educational instrument. Owing to its amazing power over the Greek nature, music was skillfully employed to cultivate the emotional life, and through the emotions, the moral nature.[43] Martial strains and songs were employed to stimulate courage, endurance, and a fighting spirit. Stately hymns and paeans evoked piety toward the gods and an intense spirit of patriotism.

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[42] Naumann, Emil, *The History of Music,* Tr. by F. Praeger, Vol. I, p. 139. New York, Cassell & Co., 1886.

[43] They discriminated the various kinds of music and the effects each had upon their inner life. The Lydian scale, originated in Oriental sensuality, was soft, voluptuous, and enervating. It was best fitted for orgiastic revelries. The Phrygian lays were inspiring. These and the Doric music were favored during the old Greek education.

Sung together by the boys or the youth, they were the most subtle means for arousing *esprit de corps.*

Plato was an enthusiastic advocate of music because of its moral value in controlling the passions, in producing a spirit of temperance, and in filling the soul with the desire for noble conduct and sound judgment. He declared:

> Musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, and making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful, or of him who is ill-educated ungraceful; and also because he who has received this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble and good, he will justly blame and hate the bad, now in the days of his youth, even before he is able to know the reason why; and when reason comes he will recognize and salute the friend with whom his education has made him long familiar.[44]

Plato believed that law and order in the state were preserved by the music taught the youth. He pointed out, "when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them."[45]

Melody, movement, and meaning. Among all primitive people, dancing and musical tone which produces rhythm were universally associated; in fact the one was never found without the other. At some stage in the process of human evolution, the singing or chanting of poetry was united to movement and melody. This unification of music and poetry was probably reached early in Greek tribal life; for, historically, their poetry was never wholly dissociated from music. And music, for its part, never became an independent art among the Greeks. Down to the fifth century, the music was always accessory to poetry, content merely to accompany the words of the poet with an appropriate melody. Greek music, therefore, was never as purely sensory as ours. Tied to words, its significance was always apparent. As mere melodious sounds, it had no meaning and, therefore, no interest for them. The Greek mind felt the need for a thought content: for to his consciousness, sense and thought, emotion and reaction, were more closely integrated than they are with any modern people. Greek poetry was created primarily to be sung and acted, not merely to be read. It is inconceivable apart from melody and action.

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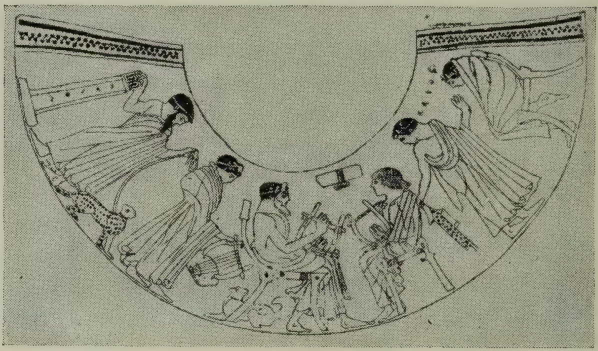
[44] Plato, *Republic,* §§ 401–402.

[45] Plato, *Republic,* § 424.

But while words were closely tied with music and rhythm in Greek experience, still more important was the fact just stated: that movement invariably accompanied the chanting of poetry. It was this triune expression of rhythmic sound, meaning, and mimetic representation that integrated the inner nature of the Greeks.

The idea or thought and its expression in appropriate action reinforced the emotion. Thus it came about that the Greeks possessed inner and outer harmony to a much higher degree than other peoples; emotion, thought, and action were more closely tied together. This made it possible for their songs to produce highly subtle effects which modern education attempts to bring about by other methods.[46] Rhythm of movement imparted control and power, as well as dignity and grace.



Music Lessons.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

Music, in this broad sense, had primacy in Athenian education not only in time but in importance as well. The chanting of poetry accompanied by music preceded reading and writing and led in the development of these arts. This had been the historic order; it was also the order of learning by the individual. Every gentleman was trained in music, for this was synonymous with liberal education. If one could look into the mind of any educated Athenian of the end of the fifth century B.C., one would find it was mostly made up of poetical passages he had learned to chant in the days of his youth. Xenophon related the case of a father who had his son learn all of Homer by heart in order to make him a good man.[47] Greek literature furnished ample evidence as to the universality of knowledge of poetry among the educated men of Greece. Music was the product of their leisure. It was the expression of the higher longings of the people, and so it was used as the means of arousing similar emotional states in the hearts of the young. It was utilized to inspire boys with noble aspirations, to enhance the pleasure of the symposium, and to assist in passing leisure in a worthy way.

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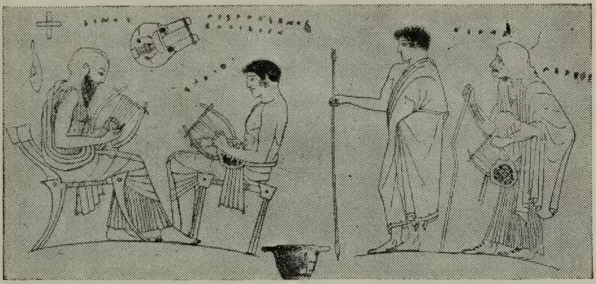
[46] Since writing the above there has come to attention the discussion by George S. Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 25–44. London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1891. One sentence of his puts the matter in a nutshell: "It must," he wrote, "be admitted that in distinguishing and criticizing the character of the various musical styles, Plato has before his mind, not mere music, standing abstracted from all else, but rather the *tout ensemble* of a lyrical performance with one harmonious character overspreading thought, language, music, and dance."



Music Lessons.

Training in instrumental music. In the earlier stage of the child's training the same teacher gave instruction in both music and letters; later a special teacher, the citharist, was employed for instrumental instruction. All of the instruments of Egypt and all of the Asiatic nations were known to the Greeks, but not all were liked. The lyre or cithara was most used in their musical competitions. The boys were taught to sing and to play the lyre, the cithara, and the flute. The lyre and cithara were not widely different; probably only a matter of the number of strings. The lyre was taught first, and later the cithara which was more difficult. Playing the flute was not considered of lasting importance, but as a passing fad. The flute was highly popular for a short time after the Persian Wars. Plato and Aristotle opposed it. So far as the individual playing was concerned, the flute could not be accompanied by the voice, which was a serious objection; a further objection was that it distorted the face. For these reasons it fell into disfavor.

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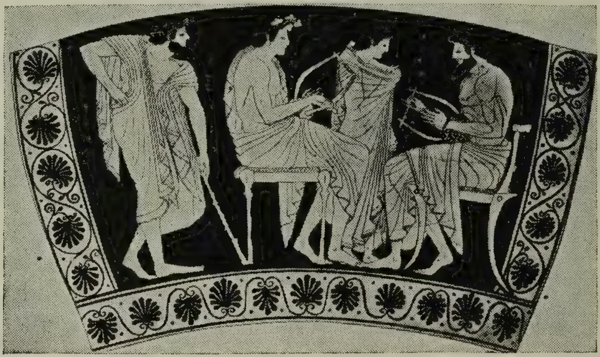
[47] Xenophon, *Symposium*, Chap. III, 506. Plato's works contain several quotations from the dramatists, from Hesiod, and over 100 from Homer. Aristotle's works show 24 quotations from the dramatists, 17 from Hesiod, and about 120 from Homer.

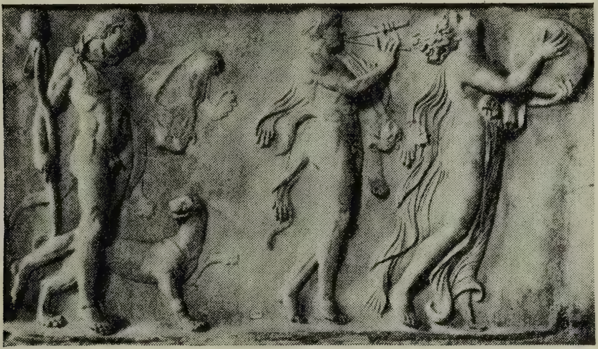
No attempt was made to perfect the student in music, but merely to fit him to take part in the chorus, in the religious festivals, in the patriotic and social songs, and to enjoy the music of others. Every man entering society was expected to be able to play and to sing, just as we expect every man in higher life to know how to read, but we do not expect him to be an elocutionist. Training in instrumental music began around thirteen years of age, and lasted about three years.



Lesson on the Lyre.—*From Hoppin, J. C., "Euthymides and his Followers," Harvard University Press.*

3. *Importance of dancing.* Dancing, to the Greeks, was the grandest of all gifts, the noblest of all arts. To appreciate the part it played in their lives is to fathom the Greek spirit. It was a means of intoxication, a divine enthusiasm. All of the gods, from Zeus down, danced. Pan, Dionysus, Ares, and Apollo were especially distinguished for their dancing. Athena and Artemis were its patrons. The Nymphs, the Nereids, the Muses, and Graces danced. In fact, the joy that is the very essence of Greek divinity was inseparable from dancing. As with gods, so with men; all the great characters of Athens danced.

The importance attached to dancing may be judged from the statement of their deepest thinkers. Socrates danced and commended dancing as the best form of exercise, because it imparts health, beauty, suppleness, and is a good preparation for war.[48] Plato regarded dancing as a divine gift, for the gods were the dance-mates and teachers of man. In more realistic terms, music and dancing were the agency that lifted man from the animal to the human level. It was their combined power that coordinated the body and the soul of primitive man, and made for the emergence of rationality.[49] The same principle brought order and control to the chaotic and passionate impulses of the young and made rational habits and purposes possible. Lucian called the dance "the greatest of all the good things in life."[50]



Music and Dancing.—*From the University Prints.*

The modern reader finds it very hard to realize why Hellenic philosophers attach so much educational importance to dancing. This is largely because modern dancing differs radically from its ancient predecessor in several very important particulars: it is not connected with religion, and it is not dramatic.[51] Freeman, a recent educational writer, showed clear insight into the Greek dance when he wrote: "Choral dancing to a Hellene was at once the ritual of religion . . . the highest form of music, and the most perfect system of physical exercise then discovered." The truth of the matter is that dancing was the one great means for the coordinating of the sensory and motor life, and the integration of all elements of the growing child into an artistic and social personality. It did for the Greeks precisely what the activity program is attempting today in the harmonious development of all the powers.

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[48] Consult Xenophon, *Symposium*, II, 15–16; Diogenes Laertius, II, 5, 15; A. M. Harmon, *Lucian*, Vol. V, p. 237.

[49] Plato, *Laws*, §§ 653–654, 659, 664–665. See page 270 of this text.

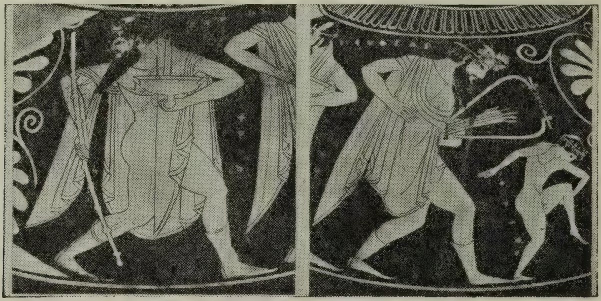
[50] Harmon, A. M., *Lucian*, Vol. V., p. 237. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

[51] Freeman, Kenneth J., *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

Nature of Greek dancing. As just noted, the Greek dancing differed essentially from ours:

a. First, let it be emphasized, it was not primarily a form of social enjoyment, but a religious ceremonial or act of worship. Dancing accompanied every religious rite and formed the chief element in all the grand festivals in honor of the gods. It was not a means of individual pleasure, but a spectacle to be seen by gods and men. It had no relation to sex: only rarely did the sexes dance together, and then never in direct contact.

b. Even more widely different were the movements involved. It was not confined primarily to movements of the feet and limbs, but of the head, neck, the hands and arms—in short, of every part of the body. The dancing art consisted especially of rhythmic movements of the trunk, arms, and limbs in order to create graceful forms of action and representation. Xenophon described a boy dancing:



DANCING TO MUSIC.—*From Hoppin, J. C., "Euthymides and his Followers," Harvard University Press.*

> The dance being over, Socrates exclaimed: pray, did you notice how the beauty of the child, so lovely in repose, became enhanced with every movement of his supple body? To which Charmides replied: . . . to be sure; and there's another point I could not help observing; how while he danced no portion of his body remained idle; neck and legs and hands together, one and all were exercised.[52]

No other activity brought such a wide range of movements into play, for they danced with every muscle of the body.

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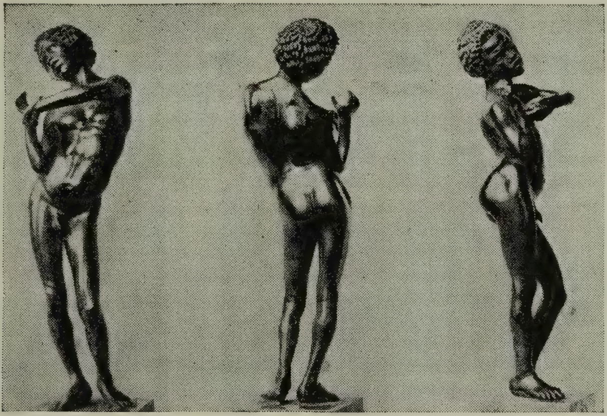
[52] Dakyns, H. G., *The Works of Xenophon,* Vol. III, Part I, *Symposium or The Banquet,* p. 302. London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.

c. Greek dancing was a form of art that reached "the very summit of all culture, not only in music but in rhythm and meter, and especially in . . . philosophy, both physics and ethics." It was imitative or mimetic. In it the body and soul unite to represent or dramatize life. Mimicry and gesticulation formed its essential nature. Interpretative dancing began with the rhapsodists in very ancient times, but later it developed to a high degree in the refinements of its technique. The rhapsodists or storytellers chanted or sang their poetry, and accompanied the song with appropriate and lively gesticulations. This interpretation of poetry evolved into the dance. Reading, reciting, dramatizing, pantomime, singing, chanting, and dancing were all very much alike. The dancer spoke or expressed his thoughts with all parts of the body. Herodotus revealed the Greek attitude when he claimed that vision is more trustworthy than hearing. At any rate, they were happiest when the eye and ear confirmed each other. Through movements, the dancer visualized to the audience his ideas, emotions, and the characters he enacted. The dance was a revelation of thought by gesture, introducing now a lover, now a madman, again a man possessed of grief or of anger, or any other emotion or passion.



BOY SINGING AND DANCING.—*From Richter, G. M., "The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks," Yale University Press.*

d. In the golden age of Athenian culture, the dance was invariably accompanied by music and song, usually sung by the dancers, but at times by others. The tragic poets were known as "dancers" by their contemporaries. They not only used dancing in performing their dramas but they gave instruction in dancing. In accompanying the thought of the drama, every movement of the dancer had to be expressive and full of meaning and had to correlate perfectly with the words that were being sung. Lucian was led to exclaim:

> Singing combined with dancing does in truth stir the heartstrings, and it is the choicest gift of the gods.[53]

Silent dancing was an unwelcome innovation, which did not come into vogue until later centuries, and it was never the common mode. In it the dancer undertook to express by agility of movement alone the ideas in his mind. To such an extreme was pantomimic representation carried, that Memphis, a celebrated dancer, attempted "to demonstrate the Pythagorean doctrines of transmigration of the soul and theory of numbers by silent dancing."[54]

Occasions for dancing. Innumerable opportunities for dancing were found in the life of the Greeks. Every experience of joyful feeling was an invitation for dancing. The military dances, especially the pyrrhic, were an excellent preparation for fighting. War dances were most popular in Sparta, but were practiced likewise in Athens. All forms of dancing were esteemed useful because motion, skill, and control were direct aids to warfare. Not only military exercise but the festivals in honor of the gods were occasions for dancing. The Athenians celebrated over forty such occasions annually. Every month of the year had one or more such festivals. While not all citizens participated in every festival, most citizens took part every year.

The most important of these festivals were the Dionysia, the Panathenaea, and those in honor of Apollo, Aphrodite, the Muses, and Artemis. Every bit of the Dionysiac rites was dancing, and contests in dancing were included in the other festivals as well. Under some chorus leader (*choregos*, Χορηγός), choruses of youth were formed in every tribe that competed for the prizes in dancing. Dancing had a place in celebrating marriages, births, special dinners, the gathering of the vintage, and numerous other occasions. Moreover, solo dances were a common form of exercise for gentlemen, young and old.

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[53] Harmon, A. M., *Lucian with an English Translation*, Vol. V, p. 237. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.

[54] Yonge, C. D., translation, *Athenaeus*, Vol. I, p. 20.

Special festivals for the youth were the Hermaea, the Apaturia, and the Musaea. At all of these, the youth entered into contests to show their progress in dancing and the other arts that embellish life.

The grandest of all Athenian festivals was the Panathenaea, celebrated in honor of Athena, the protective divinity of the city. It signified the union of the tribes of Attica and was celebrated with the greatest pomp and ceremony by all the people. The whole population of Attica, young and old, afoot or otherwise, crowded into Athens. The games and other features were the most costly in all Greece. There were gymnastic contests of all kinds, pyrrhic and other dances, musical contests both vocal and instrumental,[55] recitation of epic poetry, especially of Homer by the rhapsodists, and public disputations by philosophers. Herodotus read his history on one of these occasions. But the most important event was the annual procession carrying the robe or mantle embroidered with gold to the goddess, Athena, in the Parthenon.

Training in dancing. Dancing was not taught in the schools. This is astonishing when we consider the importance given to it in daily living and culture. Is it not extremely curious that an activity praised so extravagantly should not be included in the curriculum of formal education? Surely here is a paradox demanding explanation.

This strange situation arose because the Greeks made no clear distinction between music, singing, and dancing: the three were combined in one harmonious form of expression. Athaeneus informs us "that the best modes are those which combine dancing with the singing."[56] Lucian and other authorities witness to the same fact. Hence, formal instruction in dancing was not necessary, for all the essential movements were acquired in the exercises of the palaestra, and of the school of music and letters. In the palaestra, gymnastics and deportment trained the boy to suppleness and gracefulness of movement. In the school of letters, the teaching of reading, singing, and chanting of poetry was a direct preparation for interpretative dancing. The grammatist and teacher of music taught the boy to chant poetry, and to dramatize the story with appropriate gesture. To inculcate rhythmic action, every movement was accompanied by melody. Perfect coordination of word and thought with gesture and melody was required. This was the course of elementary training for every individual.

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[55] Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, p. 13.

[56] Yonge, C. D. (tr.), *Athenaeus*, Vol. III, p. 1007. London: Bohn, 1854.

Dancing in concert with others was the especial function of the chorus and afforded a final opportunity for instruction in this art. The fact is that the most renowned of the Greeks had been instructed in dancing, and even the dramatic poets taught dancing while they played the accompaniment on cithara or flute.

4. *The chorus.* Every part of the rites connected with the festivities in honor of Athena and Dionysus (or Bacchus) consisted of processions and choral dancing. Each of the ten tribes of the city was required by law to select annually a choregos as the conductor of the chorus. Only a man of wealth and leadership could be chosen because of the expense attached to the office. It was his duty to select one group of men and another of boys or youth, each about fifty in number, to form two choruses to represent his tribe in these religious ceremonials. The choregos was required, at his own expense, to provide the members of these choruses with good food and beverages to help them sing and dance well. For the rites, he had to furnish all of the members with suitable clothing. Each group contended for the prize before all of the people, and the people were extremely critical in their judgment. By this means, many hundreds of boys were trained every year. To win in these choral contests was the highest honor that could come to a choregos, and the boys shared his glory.

The choral performances were dances in which by song and movement the myths concerning the gods and also tragedies and comedies were presented to the citizens. They formed the greatest public occasion of the year in which the youth had a chance to shine. Choral training distinguished the well-trained gentleman from the uneducated. Plato states, "The uneducated is he who has not been trained in the chorus. . . . He who is well educated will be able to sing and dance well."[57] The poorer people, we may feel assured, seized the occasion for free training at the expense of the rich choregos. A most important fact was that, if he did not train the members himself, he was obliged to select some teacher who had the approval of the state authorities. This teacher (χοϱο-διδάσκἀλας) strove to bring the chorus to the highest perfection in voice and movement. He was an expert who spent a month fitting the boys to perform. In addition, a flute player was chosen by lot to play the musical accompaniment.

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[57] Plato, *Laws*, § 654.

According to Lucian,

> The dancer should be perfect in every point, so as to be wholly rhythmical, graceful, symmetrical, consistent, unexceptionable, impeccable, not wanting in any way, blent of the highest qualities, keen in his ideas, profound in sculpture, and above all, humane in his sentiments.[58]

To attain this perfection, every boy was drilled to the highest degree in voice and movement. Since the performances were in the open and before a large concourse of people, a clear, flexible, and sonorous voice that would carry well was required. The utmost precision in movement was likewise essential for every member of the chorus, in order that the group might perform as well as possible.

Coordinating effect of music and dancing. A still deeper significance was attached to the integration of these various forms of expression. According to Plato, it was music that brought order and control into human experience in the evolution of the race, and in this way prepared for the functioning of the rational faculty. Moreover, what was true for the evolution of culture in the race was true for the development of the individual child. Like all young animals, the human infant is exceedingly active; unlike them, however, he is also passionate and chaotic in his self-expression. At first, his activities are wild, uncoordinated, and subject to outbursts of passion. It is music in its triune form of melody-movement-meaning that brings control into his emotional expressions. By music, man has become the dance-mate of the gods and is introduced to the higher levels of existence, participating in the orderly life and creative activities of the divine nature. This is one of the most constructive conceptions in the theory of human evolution.

The civilizing effect of music and dancing. The Greeks attributed their civilization to their music-poetry-dance activities, and they cited as the greatest evidence of this theory the case of the Arcadians. This ancient Greek stock inhabited a high plateau cut off from other peoples on all sides. The harsh climate and rugged terrain rendered life miserable and toilsome, and the people ferocious. To counteract the bestializing effects of nature, the legislators introduced festivals, processions, singing, and dancing, and required all citizens, young and old, to practice these arts. By this means, the people grew so gentle and mild that Arcadia became the historic symbol of rustic simplicity combined with happiness. On the other hand, their kinsmen and neighbors who declined these humanizing arts remained in a state of abject barbarism. Polybius who described the situation admonished these backward peoples,

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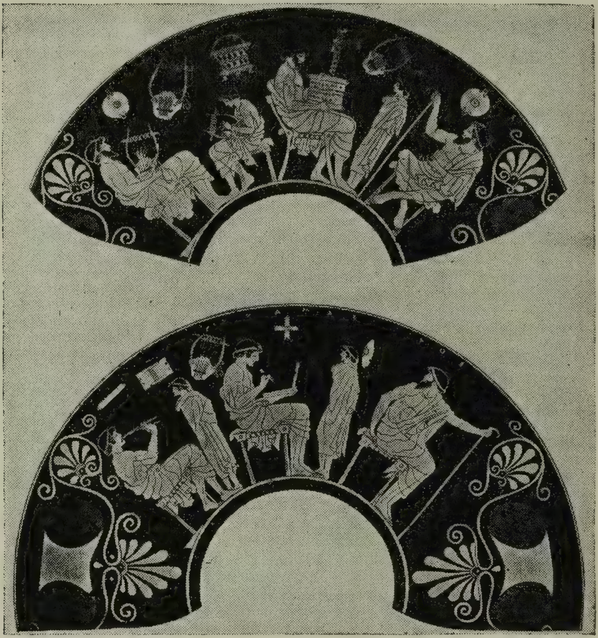
[58] Harmon, A. M., *Lucian, The Dance*, p. 283. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.



School Scenes.

> If heaven ever grant them better fortune, they may humanize themselves by turning their attention to education and especially to music; for by no other means can they hope to free themselves from their savagery.[59]

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[59] Paton, W. R., *Polybius, The Histories*, Vol. II, pp. 349–355, New York: Loeb Classical Library 1922. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Music and higher mentality. A further point of profound significance is that scientific thinking emerged from Greek interest in music.

> The Egyptians place their music in close affinity with astronomy; but it was only among the Greeks that this combination attained its greatest significance. The linking together of music with the science of the stars and the universe—a connection repeatedly asserting itself amongst so many of the ancient civilized nations—distinctly points to their view of music as the art capable above all others of giving complete expression to the infinite, the eternal, and ineffable.[60]

The pursuit of geometry as a theoretical science did not spring from the practical situations in which it was first employed. The practical activities of the Egyptians in surveying, architecture, and in measuring granaries, did not lead beyond the empirical use of a few geometric facts. But the science of geometry took on profound significance when Pythagoras demonstrated the relation of mathematics to music. He laid it down "that the whole universe is not only put together but kept together by music." It was this conception that aroused the higher intellectual faculties of the Greek people so far as mathematical science was concerned. The empirical, the pragmatic, had a certain propaedeutic value, but we must not be blind to its inherent weakness. It was poetry, music, and art that first awakened the higher intellectual faculty of the Greeks and gave it breadth of comprehension and insight.

5. *Learning the laws.* There is testimony to the effect that Athenian youth learned the laws of the city. According to the following statement of Plato, the state required this, though not as part of formal education:

> When they have done with masters, the state again compels them to learn the laws, and live after the pattern which they furnish, and not after their own fashion.[61]

In another place, this same high authority makes the statement,

> Strains of music are our laws (νόμοι), and this latter being the name which the ancients gave to lyric song.[62]

Several centuries later Lucian, in the *Anacharsis,*[63] avers that in the time of Solon the younger men of Athens learned the laws.

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[60] Naumann, Emil, *The History of Music,* Translated by F. Praeger, Vol. I, p. 38, New York: Cassell & Company, 1886.

[61] Plato, *Protagoras,* § 326.

[62] Plato, *Laws,* § 800; compare *Idem,* § 700.

[63] Lucian, *Anacharsis,* § 22.

Aelian declared Critias used music to teach the laws in order to fix them more readily in memory. From these ancient authorities we must accept it as a fact that the youth of Athens did learn their laws, but where and under what circumstances they were taught is nowhere definitely stated.

Training in manners and morals. According to the writers of that day, it was no easygoing education that formed the men who won victory at Marathon. From their early boyhood they were drilled in *eukosmia* by parents, pedagogues, and the instructors of music and gymnastics. This characteristic of Athenian education is clearly expressed in the *Axiochus*:

> Having through many woes waded to seven years of age, he is yet afflicted with greater griefs, being subject to the tyranny of the Schoolmaster and Tutor. As his years increased, so is the number of his guides and governors increased, being afterwards in the hands of censors, philosophers, and captains. Soon after being waxen a stripling he is hemmed in with greater fear, namely of Lyceum, of the Academy, of the school of games, of rulers, of rods; and to shut up all in one word, of infinite miseries. And all the time of his youth is spent under overseers which are set over him by the Areopagus, from which labors young men, being once freed, are yet overlaid with greater cares and more weighty thoughts, touching the ordering of his state and trade of life.[64]

Aristophanes, the celebrated writer of comedies, was a staunch conservative who believed in the old, and parodied the new education. He described the old education in this fashion:

> To hear then prepare of the Discipline rare
>   which flourished in Athens of yore
> When Honour and Truth were in fashion with youth
>   and Sobriety bloomed on our shore;
> First of all the old rule was preserved in our school
>   that "boys should be seen and not heard:"
> And then to the home of the Harpist would come
>   decorous in action and word
> All the lads of one town, though the snow peppered down,
>   in spite of all wind and all weather:
> And they sang an old song as they paced it along,
>   not shambling with thighs glued together:

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[64] Spenser, Edmund, Translator, *The Axiochus of Plato*, p. 47. Edited by F. M. Padelford, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. [The spelling is modernized.]

"O the dread shout of War how it peals from afar."
  or *"Pallas the Stormer adore,"*
To some manly old air all simple and bare
  which their fathers had chanted before.
And should anyone dare the tune to impair
  and with intricate twistings to fill,
Such as Phrynis is fain, and his long-winded train,
  perversely to quaver and trill,
Many stripes would he feel in return for his zeal.

. . . .

  Yet these are the precepts which taught
The heroes of old to be hardy and bold,
  and the Men who at Marathon fought! [65]

At home, parents and pedagogue taught the boy how to act with propriety in all situations. They taught him how to dress, to comb his hair, tie his sandals, eat in mannerly fashion at the table,[66] to sit without crossing his legs, and to rise and stand in the presence of his elders. He was required to be silent until an older person spoke to him, and to blush in a becoming manner when a stranger addressed him. He was expected to obey the slightest suggestion of father or mother.

On the street, under the eye of the pedagogue, he was obliged to keep his mantle carefully folded about him, with one hand hidden under it; to walk with dignity and grace, and not too fast, for a gentleman is never in a hurry. He was enjoined to avoid the market place with its vulgarity, the public assembly, the courts of law, and any other place where he would hear low conversation or the discussion of licentious matters.

In the schools, too, the lessons in music and gymnastics were directed toward the same end, instilling a sense of reverence for all that is superior. It began by awakening in young children a sense of modesty or shame (αἰδώς, *aidos*). From this feeling evolved modesty, courtesy, good manners, and a noble ambition to live worthily. Manners, morals, and deportment formed the heart of Athenian training: all other learning was subordinate and contributory to these; as Plato stated of the boy, "They send him to teachers, and enjoin them to see to his manners more than to his reading and music." [67]

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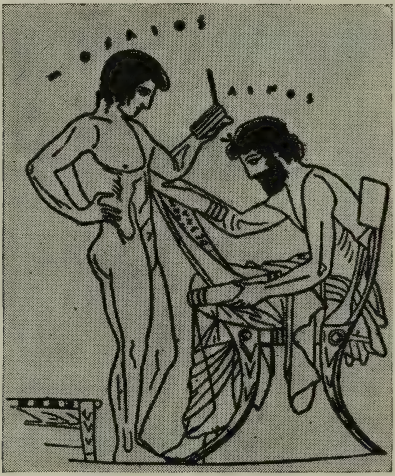
[65] Rogers, Benjamin Bickley; Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, Vol. I, pp. 351–355. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1924. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. It is interesting to note that the tendency toward swing music was strong among Athenian youth.

[66] Certain things like fish, fowl, radishes, anise, and parsley were forbidden children as too stimulating.

F. *Literary Education*

Literary instruction. Instruction in reading and writing was given in private schools by a teacher called the *grammatist* (γραμματιστής). Every Athenian citizen learned to read and write. According to the proverb, neither to read nor to swim marked one as belonging to the lowest class of people. According to Freeman: "We meet no Athenian in literature who is ignorant of letters; we meet several who know no music." [68] Instrumental music was omitted by some of the poorer citizens; gymnastics, too, was sometimes, although very rarely, missing; but letters, never.



READING THE POETS.—*From Gulick, C. B., "The Life of the Ancient Greeks," D. Appleton-Century.*

The alphabet. In learning the alphabet, the Greek boy was not confused by both capital and small letters, and the differences between written and printed symbols. Here he enjoyed greater simplicity, since all writing was in capitals. But with regard to the method of teaching reading, scanty information has come down to our day. Several most fascinating suggestions are to be found, but their exact interpretation is not clear. There were methods of dramatizing and singing the letters to impress them upon the memory of the child. There was also the practice of dancing the form of the letters, or of mimicking them by gesture. Another method was to describe the individual letters in riddles, and have the pupil guess which letter was meant. Then again, the entire alphabet was set to music. That such devices were effective and rendered reading, a play, rather than drudgery may be accepted as certain. The following quotation from Athenaeus furnishes information on some of these interesting procedures:

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[67] Plato, *Protagoras*, § 325.
[68] Freeman, *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

> Callias of Athens, . . . composed the so-called *Alphabet-Revue* on the following plan. Its prologue is composed of the letters of the alphabet, and it is to be read in such a manner as to divide the letters according to the punctuation and bring the conclusion, in the manner of a tragic *denouement,* back to the letter alpha, thus: alpha, beta, gamma, delta, ei (which is the god's letter), zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lamda, my, ny, xei, o, pei, rho, sigma, tau, y, phei, and chei next to psei, and coming down to o. The chorus of names is composed by him with the collocation of letters in pairs, set to metre and accompanied by tunes in the following manner: beta, alpha, ba, beta ei be, beta eta be, beta iota bi, beta o be, beta y by, beta o bo; and again, in the answering strophe of song and of metre: gamma alpha, gamma ei, gamma eta, gamma iota, gamma o, gamma y, gamma o, and so for the remaining syllables in each case alike; they all have the same metre and lyric form in the answering strophes.[69]

Another device of this same Callias was a guessing game in which he described in iambic verse the letters of the name to be given to a baby. The name was to be guessed from his descriptions. The mother said,

> My dears, I will tell you the name of the babe by means of letters. There is a long, straight stroke; at the middle of it, on each side, stands a small reclining stroke. Next comes a circle having two short feet.[70]

A number of other writers followed this same plan, among them Euripides and perhaps Sophocles. Euripides, too, seems to have composed that speech in his *Theseus* in which letters of the alphabet are described. In that play there is an illiterate herdsman who plainly describes the name of Theseus (Θησεύς) as it is inscribed thus: though I am not skilled in letters, yet will I tell the clear witness of their shapes. There is a circle, as it were measured off by compasses; this has in its centre a plain mark. The second letter has first two strokes, and these are kept asunder by another in the middle. The third is like a curl turned hither and thither, while the fourth, again, has one rising stroke, and three cross-lines are propped against it. The fifth is not easy to describe: for there are two lines standing apart and these run together into one support. The last letter is like the third.[71]

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[69] Gulick, Charles Burton, *Athenaeus, with an English Translation,* Vol. IV, pp. 555–557. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1930. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. See also Sandys, John Edwin, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* pp. 88–90. Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, 1906.

[70] *Ibid.,* p. 559.

Callias undertook to teach the right pronunciation of the vowels through dramatization. What this whole discussion signifies is not clear from the statement of Athenaeus. Whether Callias introduced a new method of teaching the alphabet, or was satirizing the methods of others, no one knows. It would appear, however, from the general tendencies of the Greeks at this time to dramatize and to correlate everything with music, that these were methods of teaching the alphabet, correct pronunciation of the vowels, and the beginnings of reading.

Reading. Educational historians insist that learning to read was a difficult task for the Greek lad. Books were written in uniform script and there was no punctuation. The words were joined together across the page with no breaks in the line. Paragraphing was unknown, and only the sense of the words could guide one as to the meaning of the author. The pupil had, therefore, to read with his mind and had little help for his eyes.

But the process of learning to read was probably not by any means as difficult as these facts appear to indicate. Undoubtedly the teachers took the whole task much more leisurely than do our primary teachers today. The tyranny of preparation for the next grade and the need of passing marks were happily unknown. One may surmise that there was another condition that made reading easier than historians believe. Much that the boy was called upon to read he probably had already learned to sing or chant from listening to others. The identification of the symbols or words would not be so difficult when the sense was already understood.

Pronunciation. This was a matter of extreme importance in the education of young Athenians. The Attic dialect was highly refined and so difficult that foreigners rarely acquired its niceties, and natives lost it after a lengthy absence from home. It required proper articulation, pronunciation, enunciation, and accent. The teachers were careful to instruct and practice their pupils in these matters, and even the pedagogues corrected their young charges when they needed it. As future orators or members of the chorus they must be perfect in speech.

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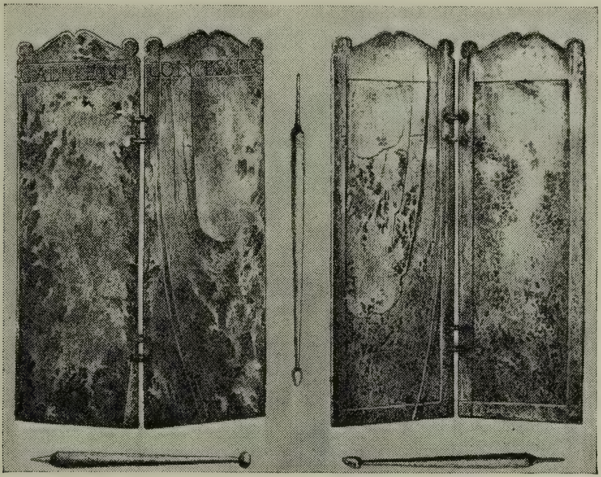
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 559–563.

Writing. Writing was another subject of elementary instruction. The boys began to write on wax tablets. The master wrote the words in the wax with the stylus. Then he guided the hand of the boy as he traced the grooves. Not until he had acquired some facility, would he write on papyrus with pen and ink, for papyrus was not cheap in Greece and had to be used sparingly.



WAX TABLET.—*From Baumeister, "Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums," Oldenbourg.*

Knowledge of poetry. Next to admonitions on morals and manners, the most permanent possession of the youth was a store of passages from the Greek poets. The boy was taught to recite or chant poetry in the school, and contests were held at which they recited before the public. Prizes were given for the best recitations. The frequent use of quotations from the poets by writers is sufficient evidence of how completely their memories were saturated by poetry in early teaching. The curriculum down to the fourth century was meager. But for the lack of scientific and mathematical knowledge, they were fully indemnified by the rich treasury of poetry they acquired.

> Instead of learning their lessons in abstract terms, they learnt them out of the concrete representation of life. Poetry was the basis of their

> education, the guide and commentary of their practice, the inspiration of their speculative thought. If they have a proposition to advance, they must back it by a citation . . . if they have a counsel to offer, they must prop it with a verse. Not only for delight, but for inspiration, warning and example, they were steeped from childhood onwards in an ocean of melodious discourse.[72]

The part played by poetry in Athenian education is well expressed by Plato, whose works abound with quotations from Greek poetry. Speaking of poets, he said:

> The youth who are rightly educated should be brought up in them and saturated with them. Some insist that they should be constantly hearing them read aloud and always learning them.[73]

Athenian education made the poetry-music-dance combination the center of its curriculum because it considered these forms of expression were the result of divine inspiration. The primary interest in poetry lay in the moral ideals that it inculcated.

Schoolteachers. The elementary teacher was dependent upon a small fee for tuition; he was, in consequence, not only poor but despised by everyone. "You taught letters, I went to school," was the insult Demosthenes hurled at his enemy, Aeschines. Lucian, in his satire describing hell, stated that the kings of earth, reduced to beggary, were compelled to sell salt fish or to teach the alphabet and elements of learning. Like the meanest of slaves, they were abused and hit over the head.

Teachers held responsible. The parents of Athenian youth held teachers responsible for the results of their teaching. The chief charge against Socrates, and similarly against Protagoras, was that they corrupted the youth. Some of the young men whom Socrates had sought to influence turned out to be traitors against the city. They were Socrates' pupils; therefore, he must be put to death. Such was the way they reasoned. When a Sophist brought suit against a pupil for refusing to pay his tuition fee, he was laughed out of court. He had contracted to teach his pupil justice. If the youth did not act justly, obviously the teacher had failed in his instruction, and the student owed him nothing.

Books and libraries. The first and most universal school books were Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* the second was Hesiod's

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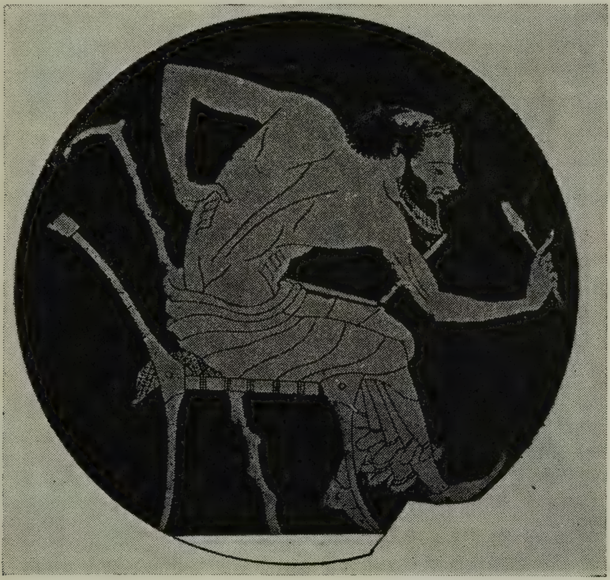
[72] Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The Greek View of Life*, p. 227. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927.

[73] Plato, *Laws*, § 810.

Works and Days. Others were the writings of Phoclides and Solon; Aesop's fables, numerous heroic poems of good morals, and descriptions and stories of heroic characters from the olden times. The main idea was that reading these works would inspire the boys to emulate heroic deeds and to strive to become noble in character.

By the Age of Pericles, books were plentiful. Aristophanes said of the spectators in the theater observing the presentation of his comedy, "Each a book of the words is holding, never a single point they'll miss." [74] Good libraries were already in existence by the end of the fifth century B.C., though there was as yet no celebrated collection. The range of subjects treated in the books of the day was amazing. Reading, we may be sure, was far more common than has been usually believed, for a reading public was already in existence. The Greeks learned much from books, though they thrilled more to the spoken word.



ELEMENTARY SCHOOLTEACHER.

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[74] Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, lines 1114–1115. For Greek libraries, consult Metcalf's *Charicles*.

Arithmetic. Little is known about the teaching of arithmetic during this early period of Athenian education. The evidence at hand indicates that the Athenians were naturally good at calculating, and it is safe to say it was one of the subjects taught in the schools. Judging, however, from the great emphasis given it by Plato, one can assume that the subject was still in an elementary state. The Athenian gentleman needed only enough knowledge of numbers, and of weights and measures to conduct his business affairs, and no attention was given to the properties of numbers in which Plato was particularly interested. As for other men, they learned the arithmetic they needed when acquiring their crafts. In the regular schools, the instruction in this subject was practical, and entirely concrete. Counting began on the fingers or with pebbles, and this practice was usually adhered to; but, for more difficult calculating, the abacus was used. Both methods were cumbersome and rendered the four fundamental processes highly difficult for figuring larger numbers.

G. *School Organization*

The school day. The way in which the school day was divided may be guessed from the following statement of Lucian, translated by Freeman:

> He gets up at dawn, washes the sleep from his eyes, and puts on his cloak. Then he goes out from his father's house, with his eyes fixed upon the ground, not looking at anyone who meets him. Behind him follow attendants and *paidagogoi,* bearing in their hands the implements of virtue, writing-tablets or books containing the great deeds of old, or, if he is going to a music school, his well-tuned lyre.
>
> When he has laboured diligently at intellectual studies, and his mind is sated with the benefits of the school curriculum, he exercises his body in liberal pursuits, riding or hurling the javelin or spear. Then the wrestling-school with its sleek, oiled pupils, labours under the mid-day sun, and sweats in the regular athletic contests. Then a bath, not too prolonged; then a meal, not too large, in view of the afternoon school. For the schoolmasters are waiting for him again, and the books which openly or by allegory teach him who was a great hero, who was a lover of justice and purity. With the contemplation of such virtues he waters the garden of his young soul. When evening sets a limit to his work, he pays the necessary tribute to his stomach and retires to rest, to sleep sweetly after his busy day.[75]

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[75] Freeman, Kenneth J., *Schools of Hellas*, pp. 79–80. London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1908.

This was written the second century of our era. It may perhaps be questioned how far the description was true of the fifth century B.C. Knowing, in general, the tenacity of ancient customs, we may accept it as fairly accurate for the earlier age as well.

After a light breakfast, boys started to school before sunrise. Solon, in his laws, had bidden the schoolmasters not to open their schools before this time and not to close before sunset. The boys went home for dinner in the middle of the day and returned for the long afternoon session. If there was more than one son in the family, they would go to school at the same time, accompanied by the pedagogue. In making the schedule, freedom was exercised, and the training of one class was evidently going on in gymnastics while others were reciting in literature or music in the other schools. No definite information, however, exists upon these points.

The long school days were probably broken in many ways. First, there was always an alternation between the school for literary instruction and that for gymnastics. Every day the pupil went to these two in turn. Instrumental music and literary studies may sometimes have been taught in the same school, but often they were not; the day would then be divided among three schools. Moreover, there were plenty of recess periods when the boys engaged in plays and games.

Holidays. There was, of course, no regular weekly rest period as in our Christian civilization. But many were the festivals, for Athens passionately loved the spectacular. Public festivals, dances, processions, religious events such as the Dionysia, the Corybantic, the Eleusinian mysteries, the choruses, the tragic drama, and comedies broke the monotonous routine of the school. In addition, there were also the annual school festivals. A special one of these was held in honor of Hermes, who was the protecting deity of the palaestra. Similarly, another, the *Mouseia,* was held in honor of the Muses. Every month had a round of occasions which interrupted the work of the schools. Parents attended these occasions and brought gifts to the teachers.

Individual and class instruction. No very definite information has come down with regard to instructional methods. From the scenes depicted on vases, it would appear that individual instruction was largely the rule. This was probably the case in elementary education, particularly in teaching reading and writing. The teaching of the cithara would also be individual.

That there was some class instruction is quite certain. This was probably for the older lads. The teaching of gymnastics, particularly in preparation for the great contests, took place in groups. Plato, speaking of the masters, wrote,

> They assign equal amounts of exercise to them all; then send them forth together, and let them rest together from their running, wrestling, or whatever the form of bodily exercise may be.[76]

Choral singing and dancing, especially dear to the heart of the Athenian, offered the most effective means of group instruction. According to the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the boys on their way to school "sang an old song as they paced it along." Moreover, in the school they sang together "as they sat to be drilled in a row." Closely linked with gymnastic exercises and choral music, the dance, also, provided an exceptional opportunity for group action. Such group training would prepare the boys for participation in the religious and other festival occasions when they sang in chorus or marched in processionals. All these cooperative activities cultivated patriotism and *esprit de corps.*

H. *Education of Girls*

Athens was a man's world; socially, woman was incidental. The Athenian women lived in seclusion in the back of the house, or in the second story. Children and slaves were their companions. The gods in their wisdom had ordered a right division of labor between man and woman: the woman managed everything in the house, the man everything outside. Marriages were arranged by the fathers, and not by Cupid. Conjugal fidelity was rare among the men. As for the women, they were guarded from temptation as strictly as possible. The ideal Athenian woman, as described by Pericles, was one who remained at home, was never seen abroad, and was never talked about either for good or ill. The education of girls fitted them for such conditions in life.

Boys and girls played together until the age of six, when the boys were placed under the charge of the pedagogue and marched off to spend the livelong day at school. Some time before the girl was ten, she was consecrated to the goddess Artemis in a public ceremony in token of pure virginity. She was dressed in festive costume and, in a solemn procession led by the mothers, went to the temple of the goddess where she was placed under the special protection of the divinity.

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[76] Plato, *Statesman*, § 295; *cf.* Forbes, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

The chief concern of the mother was the beauty and gracefulness of the daughter. Girls were restrained in their eating to keep them slender. Their waists were formed by bands, their hair colored, their eyebrows darkened, and their cheeks rouged. Their dress was a long flowing garment held together by a girdle. The dress of women and men did not differ so radically as today, but the women were decked with crosses and other ornaments, and wore high-heeled shoes. The mother trained her daughters in home management; they were taught to make garments, to spin, sew, weave, and cook. As most of the work was performed by slaves, the actual skill acquired by the girls would function largely in directing and supervising the slaves.

Apparently, too, they received some instruction in reading and writing, in singing or chanting, and in playing the lyre. They had constant instruction in piety, religion, self-control, and in deportment.

The girls never quitted the protecting shade of the Parthenon except on special occasions, when they were spectators of a festal procession to add to its pomp. Socrates asked a young friend, Ischomachus, what his wife knew. He replied:

> Why, what could she have known when I married her? She was not fifteen years of age when she came to me, and during the whole of the time before her marriage great pains had been taken with her that she might see as little as possible, hear as little as possible, and ask as little as possible.[77]

In their attitude toward women, the Athenians followed Asiatic ideals to which they were led by their fellow Ionians in Asia Minor. The wives and daughters of citizens were mere nonentities. On the other hand, their mistresses, the *hetairae,* were often both cultured and influential. Some of them succeeded in making their personalities widely felt in Athenian affairs.[78]

I. *Ephebic Education*

The training of young men. At eighteen, the young Athenian came of age. In a solemn ceremony, the legality of his birth and his parentage were determined. He took the oath of citizenship and was enrolled in the Deme and invested with all the rights and duties of freeborn Athenians. He was now liable to military service and was probably assigned to police duty.

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[77] Xenophon, *Oeconomicus,* VII, § 5.

[78] For further reading: Xenophon, *Oeconomicus,* VII, 5, 10; *Memorabilia,* II, 7; Plato, *Republic,* § 455; *Laws,* § 805.

What further training may have been given the youth during this early period of Athenian history is not definitely known. Until a few years ago, historians assumed that there was a time of military training under the control of the state. This so-called "ephebic training" is no longer accepted for the period of education before 335 B.C.[79] With regard to the training of young men, authorities now are agreed.

> There is no evidence for an elaborate organization of the ἔφηβοι—no evidence that they received either support or instruction from the state, save as it came in their regular tours of duty.
> . . . . It is essential for the proper understanding of the boys and youth of our period to free our minds of the ideas that two years of this most receptive time of life were preempted by the State for military instruction. . . .[80]

That there was no ephebic training in Athens must be assumed from the statement of Xenophon in which he contrasts Sparta and other Greek states:

> Coming to the critical period at which a boy ceases to be a boy and becomes a youth, we find that it is just then that the rest of the world proceed to emancipate their children from the private tutor and the schoolmaster, and, without substituting any further ruler, are content to launch them into absolute independence.[81]

Again in the *Memorabilia,* Xenophon puts into the mouth of Socrates this statement: "Our city does not practice military training in public." [82] Aristotle likewise asserted that there was no public training. There is no evidence in literature before 335 B.C. "that the State concerned itself with any part of the boy's training from the cradle to manhood."

J. *Vocational Training*

Vocational training was not deemed worthy of discussion by the Greeks, for it was not considered part of the education of a gentleman. No such training was given in the schools. In Homeric times, all Greeks, high and low, labored with their hands. Later, all forms of manual work except farming were looked upon with contempt. A sharp distinction was drawn between vocations that are mechanical and are, therefore, adapted to an empirical mind and those that are liberal. The mechanical arts were considered vulgar and degrading, and were reserved for slaves. They were despised for three reasons: (1) They deprive a man of leisure and thus prevent him from exercising in the gymnasium or performing his civic duties as a free citizen. (2) Many crafts are of a sedentary nature and distort the body in some way so that he cannot compare in physique with free gentlemen. (3) Mentally, the empirical vocations narrow one's vision of the world and the state, and, therefore, were called *banausic* (βᾰναυσικός, mechanical), that is, slavish and vulgar. Socrates alone lifted up his voice in favor of "the dignity of labor"; but neither Plato nor Aristotle agreed with him.

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[79] For further discussion of the ephebic training, see page 461 of this text.

[80] Bryant, Arthur Alexis, *Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes,* in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XVIII, pp. 79–80; 1907.

[81] Dakyns, H. G., *The Works of Xenophon,* Vol. II, p. 302. London and New York: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

[82] *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 123; *Memorabilia,* III, Ch. XII.

Athenian education a fine art. Education to the Athenian was a fine art, ranking with ceramics, sculpture, painting, architecture, drama, and oratory. The materials which they molded into form were different in each case, and the tools and techniques were not the same; but the ends they sought were all alike—the products of the one idealizing, artistic spirit. Through a harmonious unfolding of the capacities of the individual, they aimed to produce a beautiful unity, a perfect human. The antithetic elements of personality, mind and muscle, emotion and thought, action and reflection, the real and ideal, the sensuous and the spiritual, the particular and the universal, public interests and private, all the complex elements of human expression and experience were to be interwoven into an exquisite work of art. Strength, action, self-control, and sound judgment in matters, both practical and aesthetic, were the result. That this account is glowing, one readily agrees; but no educational system ever attains the ideals sought. The old Athenian education did, however, produce the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, and such men as Phidias, Pericles, Socrates, Plato, and all the other brilliant artists and thinkers in the firmament of fifth-century culture. This artistic process of cultivating the native powers of the child in a harmony of personality is the true and original humanism.

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7

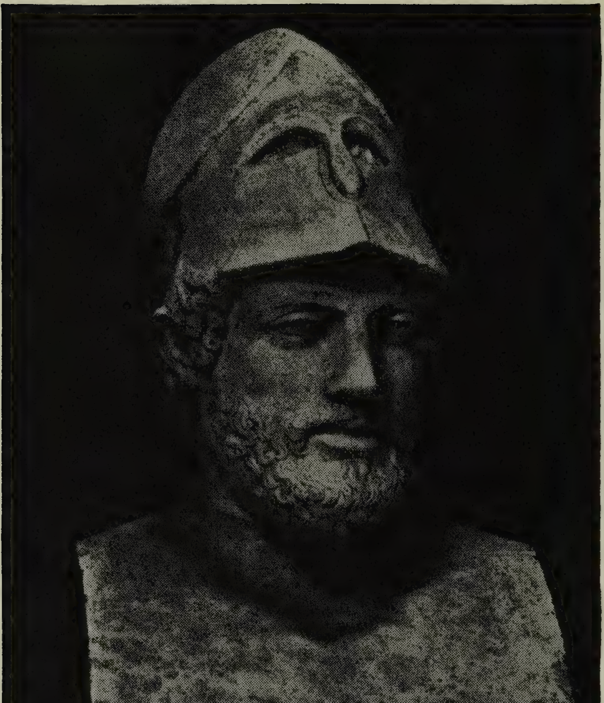
The Intellectual and Moral Revolution

I. SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. *The historic background.* In no period of human history has the genius of man unfolded with greater rapidity and prodigality than in the fifth century B.C., commonly called the "Age of Pericles." Almost within one generation were created those marvels of the tragic drama, sculpture, architecture, literature, and oratory that have been looked upon as models for all time. Some of these arts originated in other parts of the Greek world, but the democratic atmosphere of Athens was the environment for their fullest expression.

Athens alone in ancient times provided the right conditions for the evolution of the highest intelligence. Creative thinkers appeared almost everywhere among the Greeks; philosophers and scientists in the coast cities of Asia Minor and also in Megara and Southern Italy; rhetoricians and orators in Sicily; dramatists and historians in various lands. But Athens alone offered them the encouragement and freedom necessary for the full development and expression of their genius. In the long history of that city, just four men were ever persecuted for their radical views. Athens was the only city where freedom of speech and the grace of eloquence found a home. Until one studies the social, political, moral, and economic conditions of that day it is not possible to appreciate, in any real way, the rise and influence of the higher intellectual and artistic life of man, and to understand their relation to education.

The Persian War which ended in 479 B.C. opened a new era. Previous to this momentous event, the Asiatic tyrants had subjugated the Greeks of Asia Minor, and suppressed the free and full development of life. With the loss of independence, the


ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ
ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

Pericles.

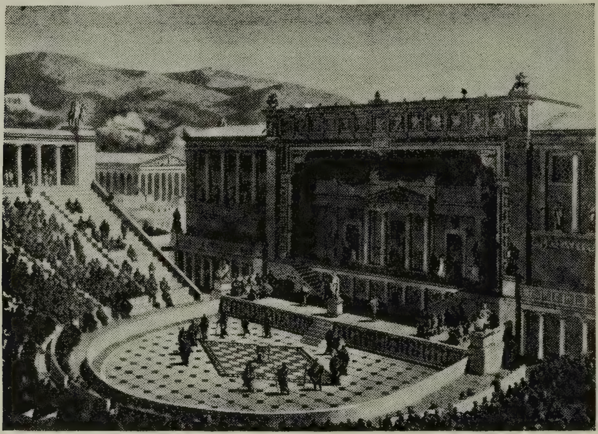
intellectual and artistic leaderships of the Greeks passed to their Ionian kinsmen in Europe. Athens was not slow in seizing the full advantages of her great victory. In 477 B.C. she formed the Delian league and assumed the treasuryship, thus becoming the head of what was termed a confederacy, but was in fact an extensive and wealthy empire. Her political triumph opened unlimited opportunities for the expression of individual and national ambition, but was unfortunately accompanied by far-reaching changes that began to destroy the fabric of her own inner life.

2. *Political and economic changes.* The result of the war was the emergence into leadership of a new class of citizens. Their rise was the result of various causes. First, the Persians had overrun the peninsula of Attica and had devastated the landed estates of the old Athenian aristocracy, impoverishing many of them. Henceforth, the farmers and herdsmen were no longer able to spare the time to go to the city to attend to civic affairs. Second, the soil of Attica, never very fertile, had become depleted, and ceased to be a source of profit. Third, the lower-middle class of people demanded political recognition on the ground that they had won the war. The old aristocracy had been prepared to fight only on land: they had won the celebrated victory of Marathon. The gravity of the struggle with Persia had necessitated the enlistment of all resources, and it was the lower-middle class which manned the Athenian ships that gave the death blow to Asia's might at Salamis. Owing to their splendid naval service, which had been the last hope of the city, the common people claimed a greater share in state affairs. Class struggles, silenced for some time, broke out anew and with increased violence.

As the population of the city grew, the demand arose for the redistribution of civic rights. As a consequence, freemen of every rank and calling, artisans, tradesmen, seamen, and not a few wealthy foreigners, were admitted to citizenship. Many slaves also were freed and enfranchised. Everyone had the right to speak and to vote in the assembly. Leadership came to those who could win the greatest popular applause. The man of eloquence, energy, and resourcefulness readily triumphed over the aristocrat of blood and wealth. Thus Athens became the world's first thoroughgoing democracy.

> The consequence was that in Athens, the middle and lower classes tended to monopolize political power. . . . Of the popular leaders

Cleon, the most notorious, was a tanner; another was a baker, another a cattle dealer. . . . The government of Athens thus became one of political equality imposed upon social inequality. In order that the poor might have opportunity to attend to their civic duties, they were paid for services in the city courts and council. Even attendance at the theatres was paid for at public expense.[1]



THEATER OF DIONYSOS.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

Moreover, from a simple agricultural society the Athenians now became a manufacturing and commercial people. Large deposits of clay near the city were used in making fine potteries, for which Athens had become celebrated. About this time, new patterns for decoration of vases came into popularity. Archeologists have unearthed the largest find of Athenian vases in Tuscany, Italy, but they were popular everywhere in the known world. Athens became noted for the manufacturing of arms, cutlery, furniture, and other products. The marble quarries, the silver mines, and other raw materials also played a part in the expansion of commerce and added to the rapidly increasing wealth of the recently enfranchised citizens.

3. *New social conditions.* Under these conditions, as might readily be conjectured, the newly enriched Athenians no longer adhered to the simple and dignified modes of living of bygone days. The number of slaves greatly increased, perhaps up to

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[1] Dickinson, G. Lowes, *The Greek View of Life*, pp. 115–116. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927.

150,000. Increased wealth added greatly to the leisure time of citizens, brought luxurious living among the more ambitious, and was not without sinister effects upon the members of the less fortunate classes. Formerly the individual had realized his higher selfhood in service to the state. He had been taught to look upon the performance of his civic duties as the noblest kind of life. Now all this was changed; the majority of citizens preferred paid service in civic office to military service on the field of battle. They soon degenerated into mere lethargic pensioners of the state. Private interests were no longer subordinated to the welfare of the state, but more and more the individual followed his own inclinations and fortunes, regardless of the public good.

There was still another aspect of the social and political revolution that foreboded ill. The newly enfranchised families from the lower classes did not accept the ideals of strenuous discipline and training to which the aristocratic youth had been subjected. The era of simplicity, uniformity, and rigorous discipline was gone; a new era of complexity and individualism was taking its place.

Greater wealth, increased population, and the development of knowledge and technical skill brought about a higher standard of living. Greater refinements along every line required more efficiency in the arts and crafts. Specialization arose, and, as a consequence, technical training became necessary.

4. *Art and literature in the Age of Pericles.* The Age of Pericles and the generation following saw the highest development of Athenian art. Phidias, greatest master of sculpture of all times, decorated the Parthenon and the Propylaea with friezes that have never been equaled. The temples, gymnasiums, theaters, and other public buildings of imposing construction, erected in Athens during this period, made it the most beautiful city of the world. Pindar, to the disgust of his fellow Thebans, was inspired to sing:

> O splendid, violet-crowned, glorious Athens,
> Famed in song, pillar of Hellas, city divine.[2]

It was at this time that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides wrote their superb tragedies. In the following generation Aristophanes produced his comedies; Socrates brought philosophy down from the stars and set it the task of discovering the nature of man; Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates carried philosophy, literature, and oratory to their highest development; Herodotus and Thucydides wrote their histories; while in the realm of morals, Aesop collected the fables that became the universal text for two thousand years. No other period of time has produced an equal number of men of the first rank of genius in so many fields.

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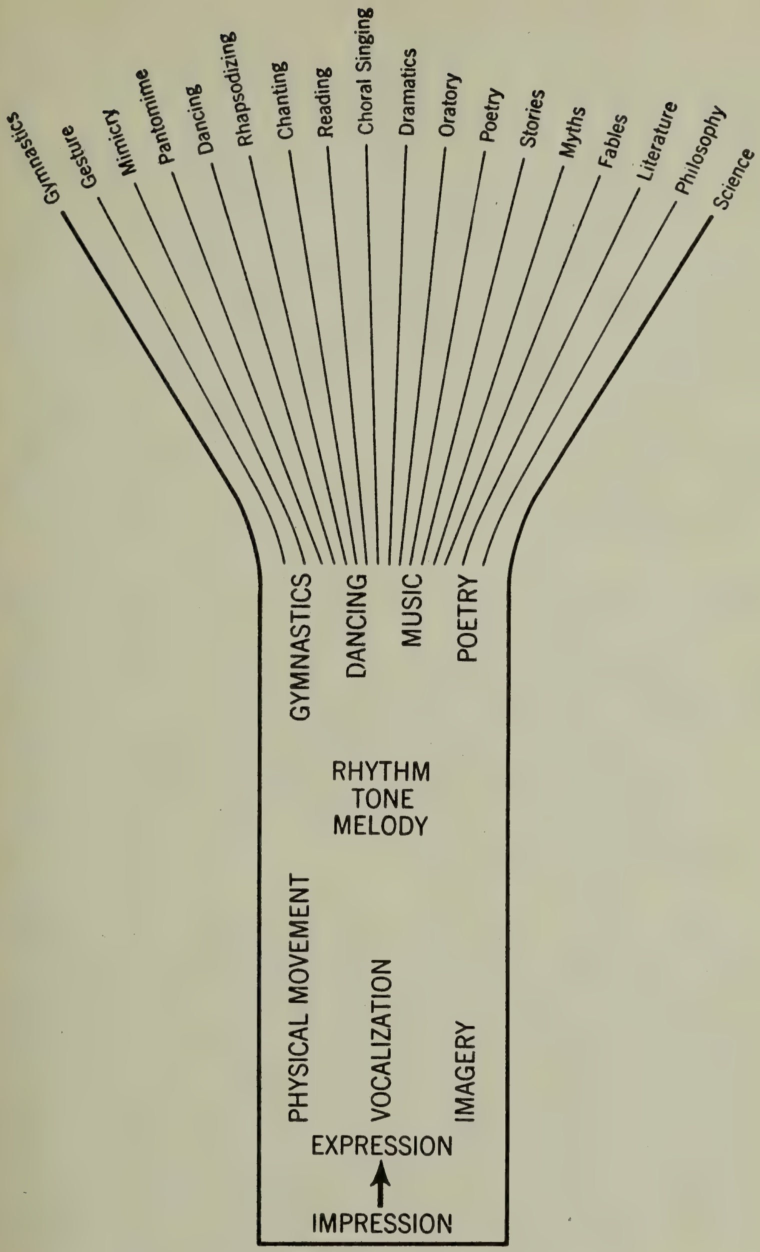
[2] Because of this praise of a rival city, Pindar was fined by his home town. The Athenians, however, gave him twice the amount of the fine and set up a bronze statue in his honor.

5. *Rise of oratory.* The Greeks had always been fond of talking; it may be debated whether they loved sports or wrangling more. As early as the heroic age, the "speaker of words" held the most exalted place in Hellenic regard. With increased leisure the Greeks spent even more time in discussion. Preachers, professors, political campaigners, and public lecturers they did not have. Moreover, newspapers and magazines were entirely unknown. Books did not preëmpt attention, for although all citizens could now read, they still preferred the oral to the written word. The living language expressing their vivid sentiments and ideas long continued to dominate attention. Now that democracy had dawned in Athens, oratory had an opportunity to flourish.

The council of war and the panegyric oration delivered in honor of some dead hero may be considered the original sources of oratorical expression. But at least two new conditions tended to raise oratory to the highest development, and to evoke new types of eloquence. First, every man in Athens had to be prepared to speak in his own defense in the courts. Under the restive civic and commercial conditions, every citizen of Athens stood in constant peril of being hauled into court to answer an indictment against him. The readiness with which charges might be preferred against any man by a designing and unscrupulous enemy kept every citizen on the rack. He must be ready to plead his case before his fellow citizens, who acted both as judge and jury. His success depended wholly upon the power of his oratory in persuading the court of his innocence. It must be noted, furthermore, that an Athenian trial was not decided impartially on clear-cut issues of justice and fact; it was rather a question of winning the favor of the jury through an appeal to their emotions. The Athenian juries were large, sometimes composed of five hundred, a thousand, and even fifteen hundred citizens. Under such circumstances, oratorical ability was the essential


Gymnastics
Gesture
Mimicry
Pantomime
Dancing
Rhapsodizing
Chanting
Reading
Choral Singing
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Stories
Myths
Fables
Literature
Philosophy
Science
GYMNASTICS
DANCING
MUSIC
POETRY
RHYTHM
TONE
MELODY
PHYSICAL MOVEMENT
VOCALIZATION
IMAGERY
EXPRESSION
IMPRESSION

THE GROWTH OF HUMANISTIC SELF-EXPRESSION weapon, both of attack and defense. As Professor Jebb remarks of oratory, "not only was there the most various inducement to cultivate it, but it was positively dangerous to neglect it."

Second, oratory was the one road which led to social and political promotion. In democratic Athens, the prizes of leadership were open to all, but they invariably fell to those who, because of the charm of their eloquence, were more successful in persuading the people to follow their policies. Any citizen could rise on the proper occasion and address the public assembly, but only by the superiority of his eloquence could he hope to have his plans adopted. Athens was the chief state in the world where both sides of public questions were fully debated and the law of the state was adopted by vote of the citizens. Not only was oratory necessary in addressing the public assembly at home, but there were political missions, embassies, and numerous other occasions which appealed to the ambitious. To sum up the causes of oratory, we may borrow the statement of Gomperz:

> The chief instrument of government in practically the whole of Greece was the power of the tongue. . . . The gift and faculty of speech were the sole road to honor and power. And speech, too, was the sole protection against injustice of every kind. Without that weapon a man was exposed to the dangers of hostile attack in his own city, and in times of peace as hopelessly and defenselessly as a warrior without sword or shield on the battlefield. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the art of speech should have been cultivated for the first time in the democratic communities of that age as a profession, and that it should have assumed a prominent, if not actually the first place in the education of the young.[3]

Rhetoric as a technical art arose first in Sicily with the establishment of democracy. Corax and Tisias were its originators. The defense of property rights in the courts, after confiscation by the tyrants, furnished the all-sufficient motivation for the special attention to public address. But Athens became the chief center for the cultivation of the new art. Pericles was the first to exhibit its value as a means of political power. Then, too, he brought Cephalus from Sicily to Athens, and Lysias, son of Cephalus, became the first celebrated orator of Greece. It was, however, another Sicilian, Gorgias the sophist, who was the first teacher of rhetoric in Athens. Only in democracy did oratory find the right soil for its fullest development. As a consequence, the pursuit of oratory became the central interest in Greek culture; and this devotion to speech dominated secondary and higher education for centuries.

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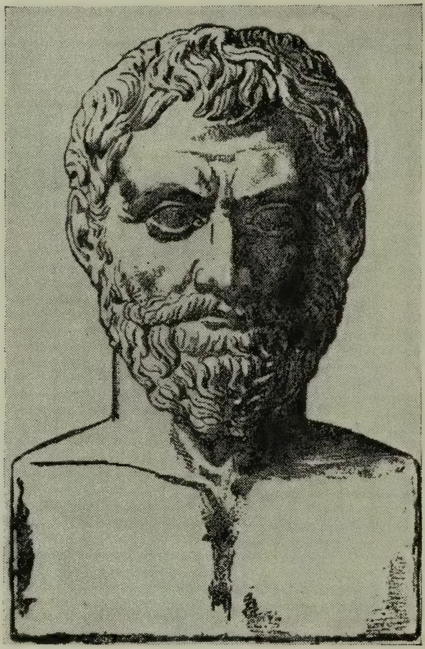
[3] Gomperz, Theodore, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. I, pp. 382–383.

Four forms of oratory suitable for various public occasions were distinguished: the *forensic,* concerned with accusation and defense, was used in courts; the *epideictic,* having to do with eulogy or panegyric; the *judicial,* and the *deliberative,* having to do with persuasion and employed especially in public assemblies. Oratorical displays shared with gymnastics the popular enthusiasm at the great national games. The study of oratory, pursued with intense interest, led to the development of various other subjects essential to it.

6. *The beginning of philosophical thought.* The disintegration of the fabric of the old Athenian ethos during the fifth century B.C. was due in large measure to the new critical attitude of philosophy and science. The history of education is not directly interested in the numerous cosmological theories that followed each other in rapid succession. It is, however, highly important to understand the circumstances that impelled the leaders in philosophy to pursue those new pathways of thought that led to the higher mental culture, especially as this higher intellectual life became the permanent possession of our race. It will not be denied that some Egyptian and Hebrew sages manifested intimations of philosophic and scientific insight of the first order. The fact, nevertheless, remains that they did not introduce the movement of free intellectual inquiry. The beginning of reflective thought and of the higher mental processes, not only in the individual mind but in the race as such, is of profound concern to genetic psychology and education.

Higher thinking had its origin among the nature philosophers of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. It originated with Thales of Miletus (640–546 B.C.), an Ionian Greek, in the seventh century B.C. Living by the sea and observing the mist forming clouds, he reached the conclusion that rainfall is not caused by some god, but by the natural process of evaporation and precipitation. In this way he substituted natural causation for the mythological or personal causation of the traditional explanation. Henceforth, the Greeks turned to a closer observation of the processes of nature.

Thales was interested in geometry, physics, astronomy, and cosmology. He traveled widely and is reputed to have taught the Egyptians how to calculate the height of a pyramid by its shadow. Other traditions relate that he foretold the eclipse of the sun, and calculated the distance of ships at sea. From observations of many natural phenomena, such as hail and snow, vapor and dew, blood, the juice of fruit, and the deposit of sediment by the river, he concluded that all things have been derived from water.



THALES, FATHER OF PHILOSOPHY.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

These naive speculations of Thales are among the great events of human history. A new thing has come into the world, such as is not to be found in the ancient homes of civilization, neither in Jerusalem, nor in Babylon, nor in Egypt. The reign of use and wont is over; henceforth men are to base their life on reason. We are standing beside the cradle of newborn thought.[4]

Simple as all this now seems, Thales' view of natural causation was one of the most revolutionary steps in the history of human thinking. He was the first man in recorded history to make scientific deductions from general principles.

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[4] Livingstone, R. W., *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us,* Second Edition, p. 206. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915.

Following Thales, the early Greek philosophers were interested mainly in nature and cosmology. They were searching for the elements out of which the external or material world is composed. Other peoples before them had an interest in the varied phenomena of nature, but none of them, so far as we know, had discovered the idea of natural causation.

a. *The causes of Greek science.* What were the circumstances of Greek thought that brought about the great transition from the idea of personal or mythological causation to natural causation? The following conditions were chiefly responsible:

(1) The accumulation of large masses of facts in the fields of geography, physics, astronomy, and medicine.

(2) A remarkable psychological readiness in breaking up sensory experiences into component parts.

(3) An unusual capacity for reintegrating the factors of experience into logical systems of thought. This ability to formulate and systematize ideas in mathematics, history, and the various sciences, was a new mental phenomenon.

(4) The dissociation of the Greeks from the practical or utilitarian concerns of life and the consequent increase of leisure were further circumstances that favored the emergence of the higher intellectual life.[5]

(5) A society tolerant of variation. The death of Socrates and the exile of several other individuals was the extent of the popular opposition to progressive ideas in Athens. Compared with other peoples, the Greeks were exceptionally tolerant. This spirit of liberality did much to encourage progressive thinking.

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[5] Pragmatic philosophy loudly deplores the separation of culture and the pursuit of science from practical affairs. This philosophy is based upon the theory that thought or ideas evolve in connection with particular practical problems or situations. It assumes that empirical practice is the only condition under which thought has evolved. It must be recognized, however, that it was the divorce of thought from practical affairs that produced the evolution of higher thinking and also of art in fifth century Greece. The leisure afforded the higher classes was one of the conditions of that higher development of intelligence. At any rate the separation of thought and practical life which Dr. John Dewey (*Democracy and Education*, Chapter XIX. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924) and his school so greatly bewail marked this period. Moreover, the fact remains that none of the great civilizations in which empirical practice dominated thought and action produced the highest level of mentality. Only the Greeks who got away from the practical activities of life make this important ascent. As Aristotle points out they wanted to know not "on account of any utility" but for "the sake of understanding."

(6) Unusual power of creative imagination. This quality was shown especially in art. It may well be that the rapid advancement of Greek genius was due primarily to the freedom of art in all its forms.

(7) A sense of causal relation, especially experienced in adapting means to ends. Greek philosophy was based upon the teleological principle.

The causes of the rise of philosophic thought are succinctly stated by a recent humanistic authority, Livingstone, who wrote:

> Athens was in a susceptible, excited mood. At the same time increase of trade brought wealth, and wealth brought emancipation from mean needs, and emancipation brought leisure, and leisure left men free for thought. Finally a democracy was established, in which every citizen took a direct share in the government of his country. Politics became the most important business of life. This latter fact was the immediate cause of the coming of thought.[6]

b. *The progress of science.* The passion of the Greeks for travel in foreign lands and for colonization vastly increased the knowledge of the surface of the earth. At first geography was subsidiary to the study of ethnology and history, but later it came to be a more independent science. The study of history naturally grew out of epic poetry with its stories of the heroes of old. As early as the middle of the sixth century there were numerous writers of history, but, unfortunately, their works have been lost. The science of history culminated finally in the writings of Herodotus, the father of history, and Thucydides, the classic model of historic method.

Mathematics was another science which was undergoing rapid development at this period. Thales of Miletus, first of the seven wise men of Greece, introduced the study of the lines and angles, whereas the Egyptians had dealt primarily with the geometry of surfaces and of solids; the one was empirical and practical in character, the other abstract and scientific. In his measurements of the height of pyramids and the distance of ships at sea, Thales was the first to apply theoretical geometry to practical uses. This abstract and deductive thinking was a new phenomenon in the realm of human culture. Pythagoras (584 or 581 to 500 B.C.) is reputed to have placed a movable bridge under a cord stretched over a resounding board, and by moving the bridge from one end of the cord to the other he demonstrated that tones are governed by definite mathematical laws. This interesting discovery led to a vast amount of investigation into the relation of numbers and to much curious speculation concerning their nature. Pythagoras thought numbers the secret essence of all things. This idea, however fanciful it may now seem, led in time to the application of mathematics to all the fields of physical science.

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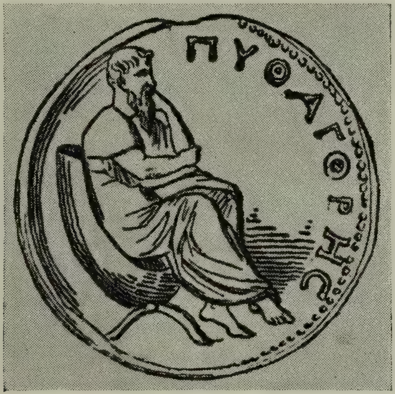
[6] Livingstone, *Op. cit.*, p. 208.



PYTHAGORAS.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

Before the age of Pericles, the outstanding thinkers directed their attention to the phenomena of nature. Their method was largely speculative, and, as a consequence, it soon degenerated into verbal hair-splitting. Nevertheless, considerable progress was made. Xenophanes (540 to ? B.C.) introduced theological criticism and discussed the nature of true being. Empedocles (444 B.C.) proposed a theory of biological evolution. Democritus (460 B.C.) and his disciples propounded the atomic theory of matter, which has been the foundation of physical science to our own time. The range of Greek philosophic interest rapidly broadened, and investigations entered into ever more minute specializations.

But an era of deeper philosophic thought was at hand. In the new era, the problem of education became paramount, and this necessitated the investigation of man's origin, nature, destiny, and the institutions in which he lived. Henceforth ethics or human relations formed the central theme of philosophic interest. Science had naturally been the concern of a select few. But as ethics, law, government, and education are the proper concern of every man, philosophy became a popular interest.

> In a moment all Athens was seething with this new and revolutionary culture. And further, from the hobby of a few, thought became the property of all, and there sprang up, what otherwise before our own times is unparalleled in history, a thinking nation.[7]

Down to the age of Pericles, the attempts of science were motivated chiefly by practical needs and specific situations, and thinking was guided by empirical processes. Soon, however, the inquiries into the explanation of nature became more abstract. Then, because of its interest in man and human institutions, philosophy became vastly more comprehensive, and thinking was no longer pursued for purely practical purposes. The vivid and powerful imagination of the Greeks led them to dispense with practical considerations as the power that propels thought. Pure intellectual curiosity became the leading motive for investigation. They yearned to know merely for the sake of knowing. Pragmatic thinking or problem solving was superseded by the passion for insight, logical connection, systematic explanation. Knowledge and intelligence had reached its highest level. The Greeks had scaled the heights of rationality and led the race to the highest level of intellectual evolution.

c. *The breakdown of the old morality.* In the progress of every people upward toward higher civilization there comes a time when the old, naive morality and traditional customs break down. Such a disintegration is essential before the establishment of life and society upon a higher, broader, and more spiritual basis can take place. In the early period of Athenian culture the people were still in a simple, almost primitive condition. There were five reasons for the breakdown of the old Athenian ethos and character: (1) the traditional theology and the new moral insight were in direct conflict; (2) observation of comparative morals produced a doctrine of relativity; (3) the theory of evolution led to agnosticism; (4) the growth of individualism destroyed social unity; (5) the old education failed to teach civic efficiency. To appreciate how sweeping were the effects of these causes requires a fuller discussion of each.

(1) The traditional Greek religion as presented by the poets was in irreconcilable conflict with the moral ideals that were

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[7] Livingstone, R. W., *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

taught the youth in the home. The poetry which the boy learned by heart pictured the gods and goddesses as engaging in every sort of immoral behavior. They were incestuous, murderous, treacherous, revengeful, intemperate, immodest, and disrespectful to parents. They lied, stole, fought, and lived without law or order. Now the moral training given the young vigorously condemned all such practices. No culture can long endure that imparts one code of morals in its system of education and extols another in the worship of its deities. Heraclitus declared that Homer deserved a sound thrashing for misrepresentation of the gods. This striking contradiction first became intolerable in the time of Plato, but it continued to survive in full vigor for centuries. Lucian, in the second century A.D., described his own experience:

> While I was a boy, what I read in Homer and Hesiod about wars and quarrels, not only of the demigods, but of the gods themselves, and about their amours and assaults and abductions and law suits and banishing of fathers and marrying sisters, I thought all these things were right and I felt an uncommon impulsion toward them. But when I came of age, I found that the laws contradicted the poets and forbade adultery, quarreling, and theft. So I plunged into great uncertainty, not knowing how to deal with my own case.[8]

To resolve this conflict, Lucian decided to consult the philosophers. On doing so, he learned, to his sorrow, that they were in even greater contradiction in their views of what is right and what is wrong than law and education were with the traditional ideas.

(2) Comparative observation led to relativity of morals and law. Close contact with foreigners at home and travel abroad among races with diverse morals and manners brought about a comparison of moral practices. Such a comparison led first to self-criticism and finally to skepticism. The study of history and ethnology broadened their outlook and added fuel to the fire. The comparative method was ruthlessly applied to the most sacred ideals and traditions. The result was that all social customs, laws, and habits came to be regarded as mere conventionalities of behavior, wholly lacking in authority. In the following tale the historian, Herodotus, presented a striking example of the wide differences in racial behavior:

> Darius, after he had got into the kingdom, called into his presence certain Greeks who were at hand and asked, "What he should pay them

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[8] Chapman, John Jay, *Lucian, Plato and Greek Morals*, pp. 25–56. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931.

> to eat the bodies of their fathers when they died?" To which they answered that there was no sum which would tempt them to do such a thing. He then sent for certain Indians, men who eat their fathers, and asked them while the Greeks stood by and knew by the help of an interpreter all that was said, "What he should give them to burn the bodies of their fathers at their decease?" The Indians exclaimed aloud and bade him forbear such language.[9]

From this, Herodotus concludes that Pindar was correct when he declared "Convention is the king of all men."

The basis of law is the same as that of morals and manners, namely, human invention. In democratic Athens, where the laws were a subject for popular discussion and decision, the validity of laws was subjected to the same criticism as was morality, for in the Hellenic mind generally, moral principles and civil law were identical. More and more as political changes became imperative, the citizen debated, consulted, and voted in the popular assembly, upon all measures of legislation. Thus he came to see that all laws were merely man-made. The only reason for the enactment of any law was that some advantage accrued to the individual or to the state as a whole. If individual or party interest was the sole ground for enacting a law, it was likewise the only reason for obeying it. The Athenian was all too quick in concluding that the obligation to obey a law extended only so far as it was to his private interest to do so.

If traditional customs and laws were merely human conventions, the problem arose whether there is anything whatever that is valid everywhere and always, any law or moral obligation that is independent of the difference between peoples, states, and times, and therefore, authoritative for all men. This was a search for universal principles of ethics just as science was the search for universal natural laws.

Thus the keen-witted Athenians concluded that as there is no rule of conduct which is necessarily universally binding upon all men, there is nothing that is universally right or wrong. These convictions, which tended to exert a profound influence upon practical life, were accentuated by current evolutionary theories, and by theological skepticism.

(3) The theory of evolution led to agnosticism. The old Greeks had looked upon their laws, their customs, and traditional ideas of right as the direct gifts of the gods; they must be obeyed

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[9] Rawlinson, George, *Herodotus*, Vol. II, p. 363.

because their origin carried a divine sanction. But an age of restless innovation, philosophic questioning, and theological speculation naturally scouted this origin. The theories of cosmic evolution of Heraclitus, Anaximander, and Empedocles set up the claim that man had developed gradually from lower forms of life. Anaximander, tracking Thales, derived all things from water; man, he held, sprang from the fish. Such scientific views tended to prove that the farther back one went the less and less perfect were mankind and human institutions. Instead of a golden age in the far past when the gods mingled freely with man and blessed him with divinely revealed truth, there had been merely a condition of primitive savagery. Therefore, the various customs and habits of civilized man were not derived from an all-wise and divine source, but had come from preceding ages when the race was in a savage or even more primitive condition.

According to Critias, man lived originally without laws just as the animals do. The crude origin of manners and morals, customs and institutions, provoked a feeling of superiority and contempt in the hearts of the aggressive youth. They refused to have their freedom of conduct hampered by the survival of a less enlightened age.

The question of origin always tends to be confused with that of worth and dignity. By teaching the bestial origin of man, and the evolution of morals and institutions, naturalistic thinkers destroyed respect for their value and authority. While naturalism was undermining the authority of traditional moral practices, it found a powerful ally in theological criticism. The Greek religion was civic rather than ethical, but, nevertheless, obedience to law and moral customs had derived their sanction from the worship of the gods. Athens did not prescribe orthodoxy, but the gods had to be reverenced as a civic duty in order to benefit the city. Rank impiety was thought to bring down their wrath and displeasure.

The deepening ethical sense of fifth-century enlightenment more and more fully perceived the incongruity of primitive polytheism. Among the first to criticize these popular conceptions was Xenophones of Elis, a wandering minstrel and philosopher who preached the unity and purity of the deity with all the enthusiasm of a Hebrew prophet. But his criticisms had more effect than his abstract ideas of the nature of God.

In the next generations the tragic poets, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and philosophers like Plato, advanced the doctrine of monotheism. But in spite of these lofty theological ideals, atheism became widespread. The gods were openly caricatured on the comic stage and became objects of ridicule. Like Diagoras of Melos, who gave utterance to his views in a work termed "Crushing Speeches," many became ranting and blasphemous atheists. Others took refuge in agnosticism. Protagoras, the first sophist, began his book with this statement; "In respect to the gods, I am unable to know either whether they are or whether they are not, for there are many obstacles to such knowledge, above all the obscurity of the matter, and the life of man in that it is so short." The damaging effects of this open and widespread atheism and agnosticism upon moral conceptions and practices was very great. The religious sanctions of morality became completely shattered.

(4) The growth of individualism destroyed social unity. The brilliant success of the Athenians in the older days was ascribable to the fortunate combination of community will and individual initiative. Community interest, religion, and the patriotic ideal enabled them to present a united front to their enemies without and their problems within. This unity was fostered by the old education that made service to the state the supreme aim of every citizen. Life was still simple, and the subordination of individual interest to public welfare was the unquestioned rule.

In the era after the Persian War, this *esprit de corps* broke down. Life grew in complexity, and new interests sprang up in great variety. Protagoras taught that man the individual is the measure of all things. The old uniformity lost its charm. Socrates gave impetus to the new tendency by emphasizing the admonition *know thyself*. Patriotism fell to the lowest ebb. Citizens were ready to betray the city for the slightest advantage. Traitors were more admired than despised.

> When men began to ask whether they existed for the good of the state, or the state for their welfare and protection, it was difficult to enforce the demands of patriotism.[10]

One of the reasons for this growth of individualism was the character of Athenian education.

> The spread of education worked in the same direction. The self-development which it proposed as an end was diametrically opposed to self-devotion for the community, for the more a man's attention was

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[10] Fairbanks, Arthur, *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

focused on the training of his own powers as an end in itself, the less he was inclined to regard himself merely as one fraction of the state.[11]

Still another cause for the disintegration of Athenian life was the broadening of citizenship and the decrease in the old aristocracy. The newly enfranchised lower class with more wealth and less intelligence and moral stamina did not respond to the general will. They had no interest in the unity of the state as such.

II. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE OLD EDUCATION

The weakness of the old education. The old Athenian education had endeavored to mold the youth into obedient and patriotic citizens, interested in the performance of their duties in war and peace, in public and private. The rapid disintegration of society and of moral conceptions broke down the ideals that had been held up for their admiration.

Not only were the gods immoral; when the light of truth was turned upon the noble heroes of old, they too were far from flawless. Even more than the gods and goddesses these heroes, glorified in song and story, had been held up to youth as moral ideals. Their patriotism, courage, fortitude, and self-control had won freedom for Athens. But, with the growth of individualism, and the evolution of higher morals, these heroic characters no longer retained their glamour for the youth of Athens. With their old ideals shattered, the Athenians were forced to discover new ones around which the character of their youth could be formed. Many suggestions were forthcoming, but none met with universal acceptance. The result was that the youth treated the dignified music and moral training with contempt, and abandoned the rigorous physical culture of the good old days. The old education failed to adjust in the following ways:

1. Changes in gymnastics took place. The devotion to the traditional ideal of physical training was abandoned, and the youth no longer kept up strenuous exercise.

Athenian gymnastics enjoyed its golden age just prior to the Persian War and for a generation after its close. Pindar (c. 522–443 B.C.) sang his glorious songs in praise of the victors at the great games. Cities vied with one another to honor their successful candidates, and everywhere the most extravagant adulation was paid to the winners. Presents and prizes of all kinds were showered upon the victors, in great contrast to the simple wreaths awarded them in early days.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267.

An enormous change took place in Athenian gymnastics beginning about 440 B.C., strangely coincident with the death of the poet Pindar, who had done more than any other man to celebrate gymnastic prowess. First of all, a distinction arose between gymnastics and athletics. The one pertained to the schools and physical education of boys and youth, the other had to do with training youth and men for winning in the great games. The one aimed at the development of will-power, self-control, and all-sidedness. The other aimed only at muscle and brawn trained along some special line such as running, boxing, or wrestling. The testimony of contemporaries agrees that gymnastics suffered a great decline and that athletics were in the ascendency. Euripides (480–406 B.C.) wrote in the *Autolycus*

> Of all the countless evils infesting Greece, there is none worse than the tribe of athletes: first, they neither learn how to live aright, nor could they if they would; how, indeed, when a man is slave to his jaw, and victim to his belly, could he acquire wealth to increase his father's store? Again, they cannot endure poverty, nor adapt themselves to misfortunes.[12]

Aristophanes frequently aimed the shafts of bitter criticism at the decline of interest in the old gymnastic training. In the *Frogs* he complained,

> None has training enough in athletics to run
> With the torch in his hand at the races.[13]
>
> . . . .
>
> Moreover to prate, to harangue, to debate, is now the ambition
> of all in the state,
> Each exercise ground is in consequence found deserted and empty.[14]

Socrates noted a lack of interest in gymnastics [15] and thought that specialization was overdoing the growth of the legs of the runners, and the trunk and arms of boxers. Xenophon watched the change in physical education with utter disgust, deplored the drift away from sound physical training, and the scornful attitude of youth:

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[12] Gulick, C. B., *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists.* Vol. IV, p. 373. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1930. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[13] Rogers, B. B., Aristophanes, *Frogs*, Vol. II, ll. 1066–67. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library: 1924. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[14] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, ll. 1096–70.

[15] See page 243 of this text.

> The spirit of beautiful and brave manhood has taken wings and left our city. . . . When will he pay as strict attention to the body who is not content with neglecting a good habit, but laughs to scorn those who are careful in the matter! [16]

The unknown author of *The Constitution of Athens,* evidently exaggerated the situation when he wrote:

> Citizens devoting their time to gymnastics and to the cultivation of music are not to be found in Athens; the sovereign people has disestablished them, not from any disbelief in the beauty and honour of such training, but recognizing the fact that these are things the cultivation of which is beyond its power.
>
> Besides this they are given shoes to wear which tend to make their feet tender, and their bodies are enervated by various changes of clothing. And as for food, the only measure recognized is that which is fixed by appetite.[17]

The degeneration of physical stamina affected their clothing as well. The youth no longer contented themselves with the simple, sleeveless chiton but began to wear overcoats. The disastrous effects of this softening became evident when the Athenian soldiers were decisively beaten by the warriors of conservative Sparta.

Plato distinguished between gymnastics and athletics, and pointed out that all athletes became brutal and sluggish. He laid the blame upon society.

At the time of the Persian War, Athenian citizens, young and old, rich and poor, enthusiastically pursued gymnastic training. By the time of the Peloponnesian conflict few, if any, were willing to subject themselves to the strenuous activities of the gymnasium. That the change set in about 440 B.C. is attested by the scenes depicted by the paintings on their pottery. The artists had ceased to show the youth engaging in the toils of gymnastics, but portrayed them lounging around and engaging in discussion.

What brought about these changes? Numerous suggestions have been made by ancient and modern students:

a. Aristophanes laid the blame for the change to love of luxury and effeminacy. The youth forsook the hard exercises for warm baths, horse racing, and dancing girls.

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[16] Dakyns, H. G., (Tr.) *The Works of Xenophon,* Vol. III, p. 95, London: Macmillan and Company, 1897.

[17] Dakyns, H. G., *Op. cit.*, p. 279. Dakyns ascribes this work to Xenophon, but others dispute his conclusion.

b. More palaestrae were required and these were built in luxurious style and ornamentation.

c. In former times all adults except the officials were forbidden to enter the palaestra and mingle with the boys and youth. This precaution was neglected, and the men used the opportunity for degrading practices. Parents of delicate feelings shielded their sons from these abuses as much as they could, but they continued to flourish nevertheless.

d. Professionalization had an evil effect. As the rules became more strict, gymnastics became increasingly more technical and professional. Only those who followed the special training could hope for victory in the celebrated games.

e. From being the sport of gentlemen, gymnastics became the art of making money. Bribery was common. Victory was for sale. Olympia was free for a long time from such commercialism, but in 388 B.C. the practice of bribery began even there.

f. Gymnastic training was no longer sought as a preparation for military fitness. More and more, the army was recruited from mercenary soldiers. Young men preferred the enjoyments of life at home to the toils of war.

g. The most important reason for the lack of interest in gymnastics was that the enthusiasm of Athenian youth had found a new object of devotion. The heroes who attracted the greatest adulation at the end of the fifth century B.C., and for years to come, were the Sophists and teachers of rhetoric. No one can read the story of Protagoras in Athens [18] without discovering that a new era was opening. While the interest in intellectual culture was not universal among the youth, its appeal to the best of them was all-powerful.

2. The second reason for the failure of the old education was that the youth disregarded its moral precepts and practices. Young men no longer believed in the gods or revered the national heroes. They ceased to show proper respect for parents and elders, and became extravagant, licentious, and unruly. They frequented the market place and the baths, and spent much time in gambling, or in debauchery with ballet girls. Horse racing, cock fighting, and feasting became daily occupations. Plato lamented the decline of civic virtue:

Here at Athens there is a dearth of the commodity, and all wisdom seems to have emigrated from us. . . . I am certain that if you were to ask any Athenian whether virtue was natural or acquired, he would laugh in your face, and say: Stranger, you have far too good an opinion of me; if I were inspired I might answer your question. But now I literally do not know what virtue is, and much less whether it is acquired by teaching or not.[19]

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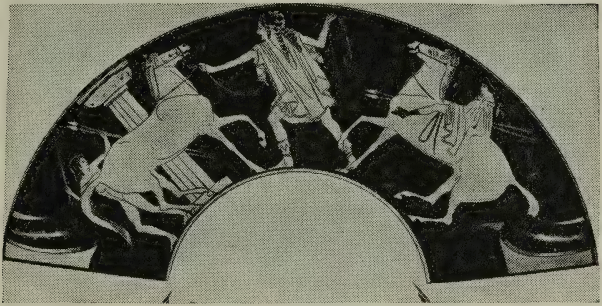
[18] Plato, *Protagoras*, § 310.



Horsemanship.—*From Hoppin, J. C., "A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases," Harvard University Press.*

Another witness to the failure of the old education to perpetuate virtue in the youth was Aristophanes the poet. In his comedies, he contrasted the old with the new and severely censured the degeneration of morals and manners. He represented the old education as pleading with the youth to choose the good old ways:

But now must the lad from his boyhood be clad
  In a Man's all-enveloping cloak:
So that, oft as the Panathenaea returns,
  I feel myself ready to choke
When the dancers go by with their shields to their thigh,
  not caring for Pallas a jot.
You therefore, young man, choose me while you can;
  cast in with my Method your lot;
And then you shall learn the forum to spurn,
  and from dissolute baths to abstain,
And fashions impure and shameful abjure,
  and scorners repel with disdain:
And rise from your chair if an elder be there,
  and respectfully give him your place,
And with love and with fear your parents revere,
  and shrink from the brand of Disgrace,

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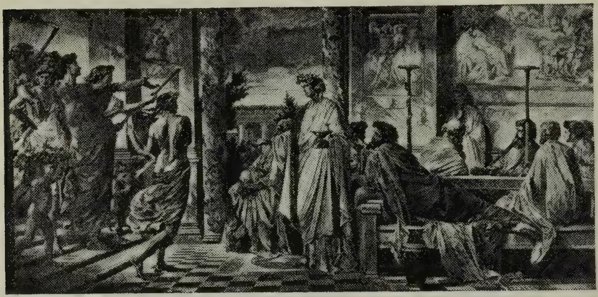
[19] *Ibid.*, *Meno*, §§ 11–12.

And deep in your breast be the Image impressed
  of Modesty, simple and true,
Nor resort any more to a dancing-girl's door,
  nor glance at the harlotry crew,
Lest at length by the blow of the Apple they throw
  from the hopes of your Manhood you fall.[20]



SYMPOSIUM OF AGATHON. Alkibiades on the left with arm outstretched, with dancing girls, breaks into the Symposium. Agathon is in the center. Socrates is on the right center with profile showing.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

3. Changes of a radical character took place in music. The use of the flute with its more piercing and stimulating notes became popular and rivaled the cithara. New songs with new rhythms were introduced. For the first time, poetry became subordinate to melody, and then arose music completely unaccompanied by words.

> Whereas formerly the poet composed his own melody, was entire master of his chorus, and was the recipient of all the glory won by the performance, it is now the αὐλητής, the bandmaster, who is all important, while the poet is a mere verse-writer who receives his orders from the musician as from a superior.[21]

These changes in music called forth the scathing denunciation of Aristophanes, Plato, and many others. Plato declared that the change in music had subverted the laws and the moral foundations of the state.

But out of the old education in music-poetry-dancing came a new evil, pantomimicry. It will be recalled that the Athenian education originally aimed at all-sidedness and abhorred specialization. With the expansion of personal interests and the training in dramatization, all-sidedness led to charlatanry. It produced good speculators, historians, dramatists, and artists, but poor generals, statesmen, and businessmen. Efficiency and skill require specialization of training. The dislike of specialization and the lack of specific technical training produced the jack-of-all-trades and master-of-none. The Athenians carried their versatility to an absurd extreme. Juvenal satirized this aspect of their culture:

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[20] Rogers, Benjamin Bickley, *Aristophanes, The Clouds*, Vol. I, p. 355. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1924. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[21] Farrell, George S., *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 40–41. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891.

> A Protean tribe, one knows not what to call,
> Which shifts to every form, and shines in all:
> Grammarian, painter, augur, rhetorician,
> Ropedancer, conjurer, fiddler, physician,
> All trades his own your hungry Greekling counts:
> And bid him mount the sky—the sky he mounts!
> No longer now the favourites of the stage
> Boast their exclusive power to charm the age;
> The happy art with them a nation shares,
> Greece is a theatre, where all are players.
> For lo! their patron smiles—they burst with mirth;
> He weeps—they droop, the saddest souls on earth;
> He calls for fire, they court the mantle's heat;
> 'Tis warm, he cries—and they dissolve in sweat.[22]

This versatility of expression became the chief weakness of Greek moral character. They were altogether too imitative and consequently lacked stability, integrity, and loyalty to principle.

4. The final weakness of the old education was in its failure to meet the expanding needs of the new age. As long as Athens remained small and retained the old simplicity of life, the former education was sufficient. But in the expansion of the state better technique was necessary to keep in line with the expansion of knowledge and improvement of professional and technical skills.

Such were the general conditions of philosophy, social life, and education in Athens, and indeed throughout all democratic Greece, during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. Old customs and institutions, fast crumbling under the fierce attacks of criticism, no longer exercised a restraining influence over the conduct of the individual. How to better these degenerate conditions formed a complicated problem whose solution challenged the powers and genius of their greatest minds.

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[22] Livingstone, R. W., *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us*, p. 177. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915.

New educational needs. The standard of living had risen in Athens, and the most elaborate needs of practical and civic life could no longer be met by the crude technique of untrained men, however clever and resourceful they might naturally be. When every art from taking a walk to cooking a dinner was made a subject of critical investigation, technical performance could not remain in a primitive condition. Generalship of the army, leadership of the navy, diplomacy, and all the other offices of government and of social life had to be filled by men who not only were possessed of intelligence, but who were likewise equipped with expert knowledge and skill in performance. The elementary education in gymnastics, music, reading, and writing did not equip men for the demands of these specialized professions. The increased intellectual activity and higher technical performance demanded expert training.

> All citizens sit in parliament; every office from commander-in-chief to civil-service clerk is open to talent; an aristocrat, a grocer, an artisan may equally become premier: he has only to persuade parliament to elect him. In such a state the first need is a gift of speech: an eloquent, plausible, convincing tongue. That is the one road to power. With it a man may achieve anything. Only, where can he learn the art of speaking, and, what is more important than speech, the art of knowing what to say? If we can conceive of a nation in this plight, we shall know what Athens was like after the Persian wars.[23]

Public speaking, whether to the assembly, the jury, or on any other occasion, demanded a knowledge of rhetorical technique and a logical mode of approach. Beauty of speech and correctness of language and thought required training along lines which had never been known before.

To meet the urgent needs of the new age, a threefold educational demand sprang up: There was needed (1) a more definite training in the higher field of general culture; (2) an urgent demand for new information and increased skill, especially in the language arts and in all the technical sciences; and (3) a more comprehensive philosophy of the world and of man that would include within it a sound philosophy of education.

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[23] Livingstone, Richard Winn, *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

The new educational opportunity. Under the old Athenian education, the youth, having completed elementary training in the schools of the grammatist (γϱαμματιστής), the citharist (κῐθᾰϱιστής), and the paidotribe (παιδοτϱίβης), had no opportunity to learn anything that would help him in the technical and professional vocations. No provision had been made in Athens either by private parties or by the state for secondary or higher training of a cultural and professional character.[24] Various individuals now began voluntarily to fill this gap in the educational life of the times by teaching the youth and young men to think, speak, and act more efficiently in all private and public affairs.

The relaxing of the practice of gymnastic training, and also of civic and military duties, afforded the youth plenty of leisure for such intellectual pursuits.

III. THE SOPHISTS AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

A. "Half-professor and half-journalist—that is the best formula that we can devise," says Gomperz, "to characterize the sophists of the fifth century B.C." The number of these individuals was small, and only one of them could claim Athens as his native city. Owing, however, to its wealth, culture, and literary patronage Athens became the favorite resort for these peripatetic instructors. They did not attempt to set up permanent schools even in Athens, choosing rather to wander from city to city as the rhapsodists of old who were their cultural predecessors.

The term "sophist" was employed in a loose way to designate any man who was wise or clever along any line. In this sense it was used to include men of practical wisdom, such as Solon, and likewise the teachers of nature philosophy; by some it was also applied to Socrates. Later the term was given a narrower significance referring particularly to the teachers of rhetoric and ethics who during the latter half of the fifth century began to accept money for their instruction. A closer view of these early teachers and their instruction is necessary because of their great educational contributions.

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[24] Before this, individual philosophers had associated young men with themselves and taught their systems of thought. Pythagoras formed a monastic institution with a definite regimen. The association of these men was for the purpose of propaganda and the practice of a certain way of life.

1. *Protagoras.* The earliest and most renowned of the new teachers of Athens was Protagoras (c. 490 B.C.) of Abdera, in Thrace. He came to Athens in 445 B.C. under the patronage of Pericles. Observing that the need of the hour was greater efficiency in the performance of public and private affairs, he set himself up as an instructor along these lines. He claimed that from his instruction a student would acquire:

> Prudence in affairs private as well as public; he will learn to order his own house in the best manner, and he will be able to speak and act for the best in the affairs of the city.[25]

In other words, Protagoras professed to make good citizens; men who would be successful in private affairs, and efficient in public service. It is interesting to discover that this first popular teacher reflected carefully upon the art of education, and wrote a book on pedagogy, several principles of which still remain. These principles are as follows: "Teaching requires natural disposition, and exercise, and must be begun in youth." "Neither theory without practice nor practice without theory avails at all." "Culture does not flourish in the soul unless one reaches a great deepness."

Another book, *On Correct Speech,* marks him as the first investigator of grammar, a subject which he not only originated but introduced into the curriculum. Wherever he taught, he met with enormous success, and his popularity with the young men of Athens was phenomenal. Protagoras may well be regarded as the father of secondary education and one of the greatest educational innovators. According to Diogenes Laertius he was the first:

1. To teach as a Sophist in Athens,
2. To maintain that there are two sides to every question,
3. To distinguish the tense of verbs,
4. To institute contests in debating,
5. To teach rival pleaders the tricks of their trade,
6. To exact a fee of a hundred minae,
7. To point out how to attack and refute any proposition laid down,
8. To mark off the parts of discourse into four, namely, *wish, question, answer, command.*[26]

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[25] Plato, *Protagoras,* § 318.

[26] See Hicks, R. D., *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers,* Vol. II, pp. 463–467. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925.

2. *Prodicus* (465–399 B.C.) of Ceos. After Protagoras, Prodicus was the most prominent teacher. He professed to impart civic efficiency, that is, virtue and good character. He laid emphasis especially upon practical ethics, and his parable, the *Choice of Hercules,*[27] was very popular for moral instruction. In addition to morals, he taught nature philosophy, the history of religions, and gave great attention to the right use of language. He was the first man to draw up lists of synonyms and antonyms. The historian, George Grote, vigorously defended Prodicus' effort to bring greater accuracy into the use of words:

> Prodikus, again, published one or more treatises intended to elucidate the ambiguities of words; . . . the purpose was one pre-eminently calculated to aid Grecian thinkers and dialecticians; for no man can study their philosophy without seeing how lamentably they were hampered by enslavement to the popular phraseology, and by inferences founded on mere verbal analogy. At a time when neither dictionary nor grammar existed, a teacher who took care, even punctilious care, in fixing the meaning of important words of his discourse—must be considered as guiding the words of his hearers in a salutary direction.[28]

Though he emphasized precision in the use of language, ethics nevertheless was his uppermost interest.

3. *Hippias of Elis.* Hippias was the most versatile and bombastic of these early professors, and the first of the Greeks to aim at universalism in knowledge. On one occasion he appeared at the Olympian games clothed from head to foot in apparel made by his own hand, "from sandals on his feet to the plaited girdle round his waist and the very rings on his fingers." He proudly courted notoriety as a jack-of-all-trades. He offered to give instruction in all branches of learning as well as in the fine and professional arts. Possessing the type of mind that undertakes to popularize knowledge, he gave superficial training in astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, poetry, grammar, politics, and archaeology. He aimed to make his students ready debaters along every line and on both sides of any question.

As a creative scholar, he wrote on phonetics, rhythm and music. He produced theories of sculpture and painting. His system of mnemonics was remarkably successful. When an old man, it is stated, he was able by its aid to retain fifty new names heard for the first time without omitting or misplacing a single one. He proved his versatility by writing tragedies, epics, epigrams, and dithyrambs. He compiled a list of Olympic victors, composed a collection of memorable events, wrote a work on national names, and made some contribution to geometry.

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[27] For this tale, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, Book II, Chapter 1.

[28] Grote, George, *A History of Greece*, Chapter LXVII.

4. *Gorgias of Leontini* (c. 483–375 B.C.). Gorgias made no claim to teaching civic efficiency or virtue. His one aim was rhetoric, and he preferred to be called *rhetor* (ῥήτωϱ) rather than sophist. He had studied under Tisias, the Sicilian orator, and came to Athens as head of an embassy in 427 B.C. His fame rests on two things: he was the first Greek writer to use prose in place of poetry; he also introduced the technical study of rhetoric into Athens. Gorgias was particularly interested in beauty of expression. Jebb states, "Gorgias was the first man who definitely conceived how literary prose might be artistic."

B. The attitude of the Sophists to the moral problem of Athens may be summed up in four points.

1. They believed that pleasure is the *summum bonum* which every man seeks, and they were quite incapable of conceiving of any higher or better goal for human desire. They held that the interest of the individual lies in controlling his actions in order to experience as many pleasant sensations as possible. Furthermore, they held that the interests of the individual are more important than the welfare of the state. The old civic ideal had lost its power over the individual will, and was replaced by a goal that did not lead to strenuous exertion, but only to sensuous inaction.

2. Conduct motivated by spontaneous impulse was considered superior to the conduct that merely imitated traditional morals. Nature was sharply contrasted with convention, as it was later in eighteenth-century Europe. Since prevailing moral sanctions had fallen into desuetude, there was no adequate reason why natural impulses should be restrained or controlled. The Sophists failed to see that spontaneous impulses must always be guided by some higher principle in the interest of a social ideal. If there is no such larger imperative, there is no reason for the government and discipline of the irrational life of appetite and impulse.

3. It logically followed that there could be no fixed principles of right and wrong. If pleasure is the measure of value, that is, of the good, then the individual becomes the measure of the

ethical world. What gives him pleasure is the right thing for the moment. It may be wrong at another time for him and may be right or wrong for others. What is bitter to one might be sweet to another. It is a mere matter of individual feeling. Consequently there is no absolute right or wrong for everybody and for all times. In other terms, the sophistic teaching denied the universality of ethical principles. Right and wrong became mere matters of individual taste and had utterly lost any general significance. This conclusion involved the logical destruction of moral life. The individualism of the Greeks had reached its climax in theory as well as in practice.

4. Corresponding to the exaltation of impulse in the ethical sphere was their doctrine of sensation in the intellectual sphere. They believed that the sensations of the individual are the criteria of truth. Consequently there is no universal truth, but all is relative to the perception of the moment.

C. There was need of a new accurate knowledge. Athens was seething with new energy, but technical knowledge did not match the burgeoning arts and complex activities of life. This need of new knowledge of all sorts was keenly felt. Without newspapers, magazines, the lecture platform, the pulpit, the college classroom, and the laboratory, the means that supply the intellectual and emotional life in our day, the Hellenic world had to find some substitute. That substitute was supplied by the Sophists who became the investigators and teachers of the time. However, before they could instruct to advantage, they were obliged to investigate and discover the basic facts of the various fields, for the materials for training in the higher professions were still lacking. Thus these men became not only the first professors of higher learning but also the first research professors.

1. Precision of thought produces study of language. The culture of the Greeks had grown out of religion and folklore as expressed in poetry and music. Down to the time with which we are now dealing, all literature was in the poetic form. Now, as every one knows, poetry is emotional, imaginative, and notoriously lacking in precision of thought. The critical study of science and philosophy naturally brought poetical language into disrepute. Under the spur of the need for greater precision and exactness of thought and expression, interest in language became dominant. Democratic conditions necessitating the study of oratory still further accentuated the attention to language arts. An investigation into the nature of language became inevitable. The loose

terminology of the former era had to give way before the more exact and logical thinking of the new age. Scientific grammar, etymology, syntax, the laws of rhetoric, the rules of logic, and, finally, the origin of language became matters of profound study. Language is at once the vehicle of thought and its treasury. The conquest of all phases of language was, therefore, essential before the human mind could make the steep ascent to the highest level of intelligence, that is, to positive knowledge. These investigations into language and the teaching of the language arts were not the work of any one man, but of many independent scholars.

Grammar. It is a curious circumstance in the history of language that no one had the slightest knowledge of grammar until this time. Innumerable languages had grown up, and great literary works had been composed, though not a single author distinguished a noun from a verb. What is still more curious, fine distinctions were made by the use of different verbal forms to show tense, number, and mood without any consciousness on the part of men that they were making such distinctions. It is evident that the use of different forms to express variations in meaning is independent of any conscious knowledge of rules. Just so children acquire the use of the tenses long before they make any conscious analysis of the grammatical forms involved.

Grammar as the scientific knowledge of the use of language began with Protagoras. He was the first man to call attention to the use of different forms of words to express masculine, feminine, and neuter gender. He also distinguished the moods and tenses in the use of verbs and also the different forms of address. He formulated some rules of correct speech and even attempted to reform some traditional usages. Later Plato and others made additions to grammatical knowledge. At any rate the scientific analysis of language began at this time—a development that owed its inception to the deepening insight of the human mind in all fields of thought, and an outgrowth of a need for more definite and exact thought and expression.

Rhetoric and oratory. The development of interest in rhetoric and oratory at the end of the fifth century B.C. in democratic Greece was one of the most important movements in human culture. Soon these subjects were to become the heart of the curriculum, and language began to dominate the school room. Protagoras invented the use of themes on which his students wrote arguments both pro and con. His aim was to train the pupil's keenness of wit and dexterity in argument; at the same time to equip him with a stock of ideas and phrases to be kept in constant readiness for use. Prodicus wrote a book, *On Correct Language.* This work has not come down, and we do not know what aspects he treated. But we do know that in collecting and comparing synonyms so as to distinguish their shades of meaning, he was calling attention to one of the greatest needs of the day. Exact thought could make no progress until language was a sharper and more effective instrument of expression.

In an age of pioneer investigation, ambiguity is always one of the chief faults of all philosophical, ethical, and scientific thinking. It causes interminable discussion and disagreement of opinions. A special need of the effervescent fifth century was that of a dictionary. To make up for this lack, the Sophists and Socrates and Plato devoted themselves assiduously to the classification and definition of words.

However, not only clearness and accuracy of thought were sought; beauty of expression also was desired. Gorgias made oratory a matter of study and instruction. As was but natural, at first oratory and prose style retained many of the characteristics of poetry. The teaching of rhetoric and oratory to young men who were eager for instruction naturally followed the new need for skill in public speech. In this, Gorgias the foreigner became leader.

> Received with acclamation he spent the rest of his long life in central Greece winning applause by the display of his oratorical gifts and acquiring wealth by the teaching of rhetoric.[29]

The prose style of Gorgias was decidedly of the florid type. The study of grammar, rhetoric, and oratory was closely connected with the study of rhythm, meter, phonetics, and the theory of harmony. The Greek passion for beauty of expression which was formerly confined to poetry was now transferred to oratorical displays.

In general, the Sophists aimed to train the youth to speak, to think, and to act effectively in private and public affairs. Seeing that by tradition morals and manners had been the dominant objective in training, it was entirely natural that the

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[29] *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Article, "Sophists," 11th Edition.

Sophists should set themselves up as the new teachers of virtue or civic efficiency. Their instruction comprised a vast range of subjects: the elements of the positive sciences; the theories of the nature philosophers; the interpretation and criticism of poetry; the rudiments of grammar, etymology; the elements of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, natural history; the laws of meter, rhythm, history, mythology, genealogies, politics, ethics; criticism of religion, mnemonics, tactics and strategy, music and harmony, drawing, painting, scientific athletics, political science, archaeology, physics, administration of the household and of government, and, above all, rhetoric and argumentation. No one sophist gave instruction in all lines, but, since knowledge was not systematized, each man followed his own interests.

In this labor of instruction and investigation, the Sophists offered courses of instruction, ordered the materials, and elaborated the sciences. These men formed in a loose sort of way the first European university. By the nature of the situation they were at once investigators into the different fields of knowledge and instructors of youth.

The young men of Athens were filled with abounding enthusiasm for the new instruction. Higher learning for the first time had cast its spell upon mankind. They were impelled by an irresistible impulse for intellectual inquiry and gladly paid enormous fees for the privilege of learning from these men, the first professional teachers of the Greek world.

A fierce conflict of opinion has raged in regard to the influence of the Sophists upon the moral life of the time. Of their writings nothing has survived but a few quotations. Our knowledge of them has come from their bitter enemies, the traditionalists on the one hand, and the idealistic reformers on the other. The chief charges against them were these: they taught for money, a gross offense against the ethical sensibilities; they were superficial, pretentious, ambitious, bombastic; and they taught the young men skill in argumentation—a skill which was as readily used to defend falsehood and evil as the true and good. However, be it said to their credit, they ministered to the intellectual needs of the times, and while their ethical philosophy may have been superficial and misleading, their intellectual and aesthetic instruction was salutary and in accord with popular needs. To them we owe the introduction of secondary and higher intellectual education.

IV. SOCRATES

Personality. Socrates—what a name that had been to conjure with! For upwards of twenty centuries synonym of wisdom and philosophy, and the world's ideal sage. What a brain he had! What inexhaustible stores of mental energy!

> One morning he was thinking about something which he could not resolve; he would not give it up, but continued thinking from early dawn until noon—there he stood fixed in thought; and at noon attention was drawn to him, and the rumour ran through the wondering crowd that Socrates had been standing and thinking about something ever since the break of day. At last, in the evening after supper, some Ionians, out of curiosity (I should explain that this was not in winter, but in summer), brought out their mats and slept in the open air, that they might watch him and see whether he would stand all night. There he stood all night until the following morning; and with the return of light he offered up a prayer to the sun and went his way.[30]

SOCRATES.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

Twenty-four hours or more of sustained and profound thinking!

In personality Socrates was one of the two most unique figures in human history. Physically he was ugly, almost repulsive. His nose was broad with wide spreading nostrils; his lips thick, his eyes protruding. His figure was portly, and he walked with a waddle. He went about with bare feet and his garment was old and slovenly and full of holes. To the beauty-loving Greeks, he strongly resembled a Satyr. Believing as they did that beautiful souls are found only in beautiful bodies, his fellow citizens concluded that Socrates must be exceedingly depraved. But he was reputed for his courage and his great physical endurance. As a rule he was abstemious to the extreme in eating and drinking; nevertheless, occasionally he was known to drink everyone under the table, without the least symptom of intoxication.

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[30] Plato, *Symposium*, § 220. For Socrates' life and character read Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. II; for his death read Plato's *Apology* and *Crito;* for his method read the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon.

Life and vocation. This remarkable figure was born in Athens in 469 B.C. His parents were too poor to give him the regular education of a gentleman. Naturally he learned to read and write, but he missed the ordinary training in music and dancing. What further instruction he received is uncertain, though it is claimed that he was taught the nature sciences of the day. Following in the footsteps of his father, at an early age he took up sculpture as a vocation.

Socrates performed the ordinary duties of a citizen with conscientious efficiency. He acted as soldier and juror, and regularly attended the public assembly in which he once served as president. But an inner voice warned him against any special political ambition. He married and became the father of three sons, but his family relations were by no means happy. It is, however, unjust to lay too much of the blame upon Xantippe, for men of great genius are often hard to live with, and the eccentricities of Socrates must have been especially irritating.

When and under what circumstances Socrates deserted sculpture and turned to teaching we are not informed. At his trial he declared he was divinely commissioned to teach.[31] And when confronted with the alternative of quitting his teaching or being condemned to death, he cheerfully chose to die rather than give up his vocation. Socrates was the world's greatest educational martyr. To him the satisfaction of teaching and of pursuing clear ideas far outweighed the loss of life.

One must not picture Socrates as a professional instructor lecturing in the conventional ways. The circumstances were otherwise; he went about Athens in an informal manner ever alert to find someone whose ideas needed correcting and enlarging, or whose conduct or technique needed expert guidance.

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[31] At various times when he was about to enter upon some activity, an inner voice spoke to him and warned him against the action. This monitor he took to be a divine providence and trusted to it implicitly. It marked him as different, though he never presumed overmuch on account of this remarkable peculiarity.

In the morning he usually went to one of the palaestrae; at noon he mingled with the crowd at the market place; and the afternoon he spent in one of the gymnasia or some other place where men congregated in numbers. But wherever he went, he engaged some individual in discussion and plied him with question after question, seeking as he sincerely avowed, to discover accurate information. He always contended that he did not know anything himself. In questioning others he soon involved them in hopeless contradiction and confusion. But in all the discussions and wrangling, his one aim was to direct the youth to virtuous life, and to reach clear conceptions. In an age of insatiable curiosity, Socrates was the foremost inquirer, for he was possessed by a profound passion for the investigation of clear, universal ideas. For thirty years or more he pursued this strange mode of life.

The disciples of Socrates. In his peripatetic instruction, Socrates talked with all classes of people. Naturally he did not treat them all alike, but fitted his dialectic discussion to the needs of each individual. The students he prized most were those who had "a readiness to learn," "power of retaining," and who possessed self-control and an ambition to excel in practical affairs.

Young men of all classes of society sought his counsel and attended his steps to hear his discussions. Thus he was generally accompanied by a group who hung upon his words and became his constant followers. Some of these went forth to practice his quizzing method upon others, to their bitter disgust. These came to harbor a deep hatred against the master, believing that his influence upon the youth was bad. Among his followers were many who became famous as teachers, thinkers, and statesmen. One thinks first of Plato, Xenophon, Euclid of Megara, and Isocrates.

The Socratic Doctrines. a. *Field of thought.* The subjects that claimed the exclusive attention of Socrates and that invariably formed the topic of his discussion had to do with the art of living, or human relations. The virtues, such as justice, temperance, courage, gratitude, and friendship; also, the nature of wealth, statesmanship, and questions concerning government, the practical arts and crafts, and household economy exhausted the range of his inquiries. According to Xenophon, one of his most ardent followers,

> He never wearied of discussing human topics. What is piety? What is impiety? What is the beautiful? What the ugly? What the noble? What the base? What are meant by just and unjust? What by sobriety and madness? What by courage and cowardice? What is a state? What is a statesman? What is a ruler over men? What is a ruling character? and like problems.[32]

Socrates did not attempt any investigations into physics or biology. By their many contradictions, the nature philosophers had led students into hopeless confusion. For this reason Socrates came to believe that the gods had intentionally hidden the secrets of nature from human knowledge. Theology, also, failed to attract him. The limitation of his intellectual horizon was due to his special interests as an investigator and teacher. Man and human institutions were his sole field of inquiry. Subjects that had significance for the education of the youth were of peculiar interest, for Socrates was primarily an educational philosopher. The fact was, he recognized that education was man's supreme problem, and that this problem required a clarification of the virtues that constituted the aim of education. Of old, it had been said that he brought down philosophy from heaven; this simply meant that he substituted investigation of the problems of every day life for the airy, cosmological speculations of the nature philosophers.

b. *Socrates' view of the curriculum.* Xenophon has left a short discussion of Socrates' ideas of pedagogy. He believed in gymnastics, especially for the sake of health, sanity, and military efficiency. Dancing, music, and poetry he recommended for the development of the personality of the true gentleman. Practical religion, but not theology, had a large place in his informal course; for Socrates was a man of genuine piety. Geometry was to be taught so far as it had practical application, astronomy for its value in forecasting the seasons and keeping track of time. Arithmetic was approved for business reasons. Psychology, too, won his favor; for self-knowledge was, of all subjects, most essential for the attainment of happiness; and last and most important was ethics or the science of the virtues.

Great as was his thirst for knowledge, Socrates avowed no interest in knowledge for its own sake. But he firmly believed in freedom of inquiry. For inquiry, he declared, at his trial,

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[32] Dakyns, H. G., *The Works of Xenophon*, Vol. III, p. 5. London: Macmillan and Company, 1897.

"I am ready to fight, in word and deed, to the utmost of my power." Only those subjects, or those aspects of a subject, that had a practical bearing upon life found favor in his sight. For the general theory and insight into the nature of the world and man he cared nothing. Knowledge necessary to administer one's private affairs, to run the state, to produce goods efficiently, and to live a temperate, just, and happy life constituted the course of Socratic teaching. He was the first great leader in the field of the pragmatic theory of education.

c. *Discovery of universal elements in knowledge.* "Two things," said Aristotle, "may be ascribed to Socrates, inductive reasoning and the fixing of general concepts." The main object of Socrates was to introduce clear thinking into the intellectual life of Athenian society. "He thirsted for pure concepts as ardently as any mystic ever panted for union with the Godhead," declares Gomperz. We have already seen the confused condition of contemporary intellectual life. It was purely on the sensory and empirical level of development. Since his day, the establishment of higher patterns of thought, the development of true concepts, the defining of terms, has been the prodigious labor of students for centuries. Socrates was the first to show the necessity for such clarity in thought, and to demonstrate the only method by which it could be obtained. He confined himself to the search for clear concepts in the fields of ethics; his purpose was to clarify the ideas of the virtues so as to secure a more efficient ethical life.

The identification of knowledge and virtue. "No man errs of his own free will." This was the fundamental tenet of the Socratic philosophy. All error is due solely to ignorance. If a man knows what is right, he will do what is right. No one will voluntarily and intentionally do wrong. This is a highly plausible theory. Let us trace the course of his reasoning as it is presented in the *Protagoras* of Plato.

First, it is asserted that pleasure is the only good. Now it is axiomatic that all men seek happiness, and that only the good are happy. Furthermore, happiness consists of those things that bring pleasure, provided they are not later attended by consequences that produce pain.

In every act, men seek what they consider is the good, *i.e.*, that which will produce pleasure. If, perchance, it turns out that the chosen line of conduct leads to painful consequences that were not foreseen, then this line of conduct was pursued ignorantly. If a man can foresee all the remoter results which are inevitably connected with a choice, he will undoubtedly select only the good, that is to say, only those actions that produce permanent pleasure. Men, therefore, choose evil and engage in conduct that brings undesirable consequences because of ignorance. To know the right, to think it clearly, vigorously, and comprehensively, is to perform it; on the other hand, to think and know, in the truest sense, the wrong, the evil, to have a farsighted and steady vision of its consequences is to reject and avoid it. Therefore, knowledge, real knowledge and sound judgment, will always lead to virtuous conduct, while ignorance, on the other hand, is the cause and synonym of evil. This thought is clearly expressed in Plato's *Protagoras*:

> O, Protagoras and Socrates, what is the meaning of being overcome by pleasure if not this?—tell us what you call such a state—if we had immediately and at the same time answered "Ignorance" you would have laughed at us. But now, in laughing at us you will be laughing at yourself; for you also admit that men err in their choice of pleasures and pains; that is, in their choice of good and evil, from defect of knowledge; and you admit further, that they err not only from defect of knowledge in general, but of that particular knowledge which is called measuring. And you are aware that the erring act which is done without knowledge is done in ignorance.[33]

How did Socrates come to reach such a conception? Before entering upon a discussion as to whether Socrates' conception of the relation of knowledge and virtue is true or false, let us inquire how he came to accept it.

First, as Gomperz points out, "Socrates possessed an ideal—an ideal of calm self-possession, of justice, of fearlessness, of independence. He felt that he was happy because, and in so far as, he lived up to this idea." Here is the fact of highest importance: there was no vacillation in his aim. He had a profound sense of the ideal life, and in pursuing it he tolerated no compromises.

Second, Socrates was a man of balanced temperament; the poise and harmony of all elements of his personality were superb. Zopyrus shocked the friends of the great Athenian sage by declaring that he saw in the countenance of Socrates the sign of strong sensuality. Socrates silenced protests with the reprimand, "Zopyrus is not mistaken; however, I have conquered those desires."

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[33] Plato, *Protagoras*, § 182.

> All countries have produced their quota of strong clear cool heads; and there has been rarely any lack of warm hearts. But the two are rarely combined, and the rarest phenomenon of all is a heart of mighty power working with all its force to keep the head above it cool, as a steam engine may give motion to a refrigerating machine. Such a combination occurs but once a millennium on any large scale. . . . The rarity of this phenomenon is due to a fundamental peculiarity of human nature. All enthusiasm, as such, tends rather to obscurity than to clearness of mental vision. The same, indeed, is the effect of emotion in general. Every emotion attracts those ideas and images which nourish it, and repels those which do not. To perceive and judge of facts with an open, unbiased mind is impossible except where impartiality, that is freedom from emotion, has first paved the way.[34]

Compare Socrates with another of the profoundest leaders of thought, Paul the Apostle, who did not possess a nature so well poised.

> For that which I do I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I . . . For I know that in me (that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing: for the will is present with me: but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not that I do . . . I find then a law that when I would do good evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death? [35]

Third, Socrates regarded morals and practical technique or art as alike in character. A carpenter building a house, a pilot guiding his ship, a potter fashioning a vase, all alike wish to produce the best result. Their aim is simple and clear; the difficulty is merely one of means. The technique of each of these arts is resolved into the question of knowing what procedure is best fitted to produce the desired result.

Socrates regarded ethics in this same light. Every sane-minded man desires to live a happy life. The goal of conduct being clear, the only problem was that of means, and that was for him an intellectual matter dependent upon insight, that is, knowledge and good judgment.

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[34] Gomperz, Theodore, *Greek Thinkers*, Vol. II, p. 48.

[35] *Epistle to the Romans*, 7:15–24.

Fourth, Socrates felt that there must be a principle of unity in the virtues and in the ethical life. The Sophists denied the existence of any such universal moral principle. Socrates looked for an element that was alike in all men, and he found it in *reason.* He concluded that the laws of the moral life and nature are rational and therefore true for all human beings.

What truth is there in the Socratic view? Socrates asserted that all action or conduct is determined and governed by intellectual insight. Virtue is a kind of knowledge. Ignorance is the cause of evil. He denied the state or condition which they termed "being overcome by desire." He disagreed with the Latin poet who said, "I see and approve the good but follow the bad." (*Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor.*) He believed that the intellectual life is indispensable for higher moral and ethical life.

The study of morals. To appreciate the great contribution of Socrates to the evolution of thought, it is essential to place oneself in the chaotic intellectual and moral situation of his day. Human relations had grown up through long centuries as a vast jungle of conflicting customs, habits, conventionalities, laws, restrictions, prohibitions, and taboos. These restraints were transmitted to the young by imitation, habituation, discipline, commandment, proverb, admonition, Aesopian fables, story, myth, and religious symbolism. Within the various social groups, the moral customs of each had been accepted and handed on as having divine sanction. Up to this time, no one had undertaken in a scientific way to sift and study this vast morass of precept and practice.

To show the superficial and contradictory thinking that flourished, one illustration may be cited. In the *Republic,* Plato gives the following different ideas as to the nature of justice that had grown up through ages of uncritical experience:

(1) Justice is to speak the truth and to pay your debts.

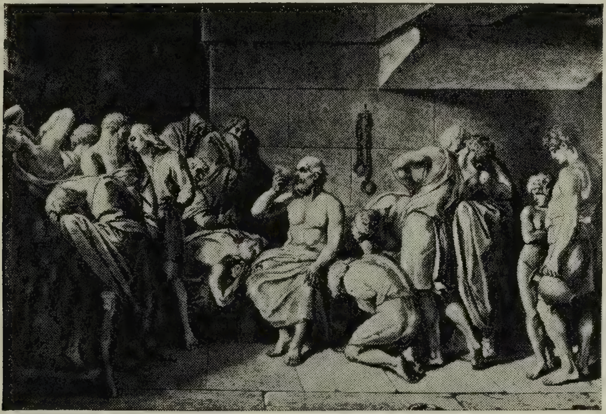
(2) Justice is the interest of the stronger.

(3) Justice is to do good to friends and evil to enemies.

(4) Justice is a compromise between doing and suffering evil.

It was the self-imposed task of Socrates to subject all such thinking to a merciless examination. Out of his rigorous discussions emerged the exact nature of the virtues, their essential attributes. Thus it was that Socrates sought to reach formal definitions. The strange fact is he strove to define ethical ideas, which, of all our notions, are the least susceptible of exactness and precision of analysis.

In all his efforts, Socrates must be credited with two great new ideas in the field of moral science. He was the first man to recognize that the intellect is an indispensable factor in any high level of ethical conduct. Again, another fact stands out in clear light: Socrates was the first man who tried to form a philosophy of the ethical life. His mind demanded a clear understanding of the nature of morals. It was his theory of ethics that led Plato to delve deeper, in order to relate the ethical nature of man to the physical and intellectual nature of the universe.



SOCRATES DRINKING THE HEMLOCK.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

The significance of the condemnation of Socrates. Athens was by no means given to intolerance; as a matter of fact, its people were unusually friendly to novelties and innovations of all sorts. How then is the condemnation of Socrates to be explained? The indictment against him read:

> Socrates is guilty because he does not acknowledge the gods which the State acknowledges, but introduces new divinities; he is guilty because he corrupts the youth.

Numerous attempts have been made to account for the voting of the death penalty against this strange figure.

To understand the situation that brought about the charges against him and the vote of condemnation, one must look at the religious and educational situation of the day, for the martyrdom of Socrates was an educational event. First, it must be recalled, Athens had been defeated by Sparta in 404 B.C. The Athenians felt that the favor of the protecting divinities of the city had been alienated, and there must be some cause for their disfavor. What better explanation need be sought than the prevailing atheism of the day? To be sure Socrates himself was an exceptionally religious man, scrupulous in worshiping the gods; but his method of teaching made men skeptical and unfaithful to the ancient divinities of the city.

The second charge explains more clearly the wrath of his fellow citizens: Socrates "corrupts the youth." His most notable disciples were notoriously lacking in the old-fashioned patriotism on which rested the defense of the city. Alcibiades, one of his most intimate followers, was a rank traitor, wholly incapable of steady loyalty to any cause. His brother, Critias, another disciple, was almost as bad, and both were bitterly hated by the Athenian democrats. Plato, too, especially in his later years, proved disloyal, advocating Spartan totalitarianism as the ideal form of government instead of the democracy of Athens. Xenophon was equally lacking in loyalty and not only became a traitor to his state but educated his three sons in Sparta. Thus the leading disciples of Socrates turned out to be lacking in those civic virtues that were most essential for the defense of Athens.

The trouble was that Socrates had sought to develop the excellences of man as a universal being rather than the qualities of the mere citizen. On the one hand, cosmopolitanism conniving with skepticism had weakened the *esprit de corps* of the Athenians and had led to their bitter defeat. On the other hand Spartan unity and training had proved its superiority over the loose and vacillating cultural training of Athens. The Athenians attributed their downfall to the education introduced by the new teachers, of whom Socrates was considered the leader. Feeling that someone must be blamed for their humiliation, they laid the responsibility upon him. There was still another cause for their hostility. Many individuals nursed a deep-seated grudge because of the biting irony of his dialectic encounters; moreover, his young followers imitated him by quizzing them to their confusion and disgust. Such, to the Athenians, were clear evidences that his influence had corrupted the youth.

The method of Socrates. The method of Socrates was as unique as his personality was striking. He did not reach conclusions, but he conducted investigations. He vehemently declined to be called wise (σοφός *sophos*) but coined the word *philosopher* (φιλόσοφος), lover of wisdom, to designate his attitude. He did not try to convey truth to students but endeavored to challenge each to think consistently and comprehensively for himself. Socrates was the symbol and representative of an age that was afire for new ideas. He yearned for clarity, understanding, insight, and general concepts as the mystic yearns for immersion in the Universal.

Before subjecting Socrates' method to critical examination, it should be stated that the florid and bombastic language and erratic notions of the sophists had succeeded only in accentuating the lack of clearness of ideas in all the higher spheres of thought at that time. Men in the highest ranks of life were incessantly wrangling about justice, self-control, and the good, without clearly and accurately discriminating the meaning of these terms. The paramount necessity for doing this was the fact that these virtues were the very ends set up by the public as the objectives of education. If these ideas were not clearly conceived, how was it possible to attain them? It was precisely this confusion of thought that made Socrates painfully aware of the need for more accurate thinking and called his genius into action. He failed, however, to see the profounder depth of knowledge to which his method ultimately led.

When Socrates in his dialogues with others professed ignorance, it was no mere artifice, nor trick of method to lure his antagonist into illogical blundering. The Socratic irony was undoubtedly due to a sincere desire to reach definite conceptions. He was by no means in the position of the modern instructor who uses the conversational method fully conscious all the time of what he wishes the student to see. Socrates was an investigator sailing unknown seas with a general idea of his goal, but without a definite chart.

Socrates did not seek to elicit answers to questions for which formal preparation of set lessons had already been made; it was not a recitation of knowledge secured second-hand, but a discussion of live issues. His method was that of reflection upon or self-criticism of the results of experience. It was a logical or dialectical examination of propositions and the testing of their truth or falsehood by their congruity or incongruity with other truth, or with experience.

Socrates wrote nothing. He even disparaged reading and writing in comparison with talking and remembering. It was his conversational method and not his results, which constitute the basis of his enduring fame. For information on his methods, two sources remain to our day: the writings of Plato, and the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon. Both of these men were followers of the celebrated sage, but each colored his account of Socrates by his own individuality. Xenophon has probably given a more accurate account of the actual procedure of Socrates. One of the best examples of his method is the dialogue with Euthydemus. Socrates had heard that this talented young fellow had collected many writings and was preparing to engage in public affairs, but that he refused to receive instruction from anyone. Gradually Socrates intrigued the interest of Euthydemus, finally won his attention, and engaged him in the following conversation:

> Have you ever considered whether it is possible for a man who is not just to be eminent in that art? I have certainly, replied he; and it is not possible for a man to be even a good citizen without justice. Have you yourself, then, made yourself master of that virtue? I think, said he, Socrates, that I shall be found not less just than any other man. Are there then works of just men, as there are works of artisans? There are, doubtless, replied he. Then, said Socrates, as artisans are able to show their works, would not just men be able also to tell their works? And why should not I, asked Euthydemus, be able to tell the works of justice; as also indeed those of injustice; for we may see and hear of no small number of them every day?
>
> Are you willing, then, said Socrates, that we should make a delta on this side, and an alpha on that, and then we should put whatever seems to us to be a work of justice under the delta, and whatever seems to be a work of injustice under the alpha? If you think that we need those letters, said Euthydemus, make them. Socrates, having made the letters as he proposed, asked, Does falsehood then exist among mankind? It does, assuredly, replied he. Under which head shall we place it? Under injustice, certainly. Does deceit also exist? Unquestionably. Under which head shall we place that? Evidently under injustice. Does mischievousness exist? Undoubtedly. And the enslaving of men? That, too, prevails. And shall neither of these things be placed by us, under justice, Euthydemus? It would be strange if they should be, said he. But, said Socrates, if a man, being

chosen to lead an army, should reduce to slavery an unjust and hostile people, should we say that he committed injustice? No, certainly, replied he. Should we not rather say that he acted justly? Indisputably. And if, in the course of the war with them he should practice deceit? That also would be just, said he. And if he should steal and carry off their property, would he not do what was just? Certainly, said Euthydemus; but I thought at first that you asked these questions only with reference to our friends. Then, said Socrates, all that we have placed under the head of injustice, we must also place under that of justice? It seems so, replied Euthydemus. Do you agree, then, continued Socrates, that having so placed them, we should make a new distinction, that it is just to do such things with regard to enemies, but unjust to do them with regard to friends, and that toward his friends our general should be as guileless as possible? By all means, replied Euthydemus. Well then, said Socrates, if a general, seeing his army dispirited, should tell them, inventing a falsehood, that auxiliaries were coming, and should by that invention check the despondency of his troops, under which head should we place such an act of deceit? It appears to me, said Euthydemus, that we must place it under justice. And if a father, when his son requires medicine and refuses to take it, should deceive him, and give him the medicine as ordinary food, and, by adopting such deception should restore him to health, under which head must we place such an act of deceit? It appears to me that we must put it under the same head. And if a person, when his friend was in despondency, should, through fear that he might kill himself, steal or take away his sword, or any other weapon, under which head must we place that act? That, assuredly, we must place under justice. You say, then, said Socrates, that not even toward our friends must we act on all occasions without deceit? We must not indeed, said he, for I retract what I said before, if I may be permitted to do so. It is indeed much better that you should be permitted, said Socrates, than that you should not place actions on the right side. But of those who deceive their friends in order not to injure them (that we may not leave even this point unconsidered), which of the two is the more unjust: he who does so intentionally or he who does so involuntarily? Indeed, Socrates, said Euthydemus, I no longer put confidence in the answers which I give; for all that I said before appears to me now to be quite different from what I then thought; however, let me venture to say that he who deceives intentionally is more unjust than he who deceives involuntarily.

There then followed discussion as to what things are good, with the same result. Then Socrates attacked the question of democracy and Euthydemus became utterly confused.

He went away accordingly, in great dejection, holding himself in contempt, and thinking that he was in reality no better than a slave.

Of those who were thus addressed by Socrates, many came to him no more; and these he regarded as too dull to be improved. But Euthydemus, on the contrary, conceived that he could by no other means become an estimable character than by associating with Socrates as much as possible; and he in consequence never quitted him, unless some necessary business obliged him to do so. He also imitated many of his habits.

When Socrates saw that he was thus disposed, he no longer puzzled him with questions, but explained to him, in the simplest and clearest manner, what he thought that he ought to know, and what it would be best for him to study.[36]

V. THE BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY

The educational problem became central. It is customary for scholars, historians, and writers on the history of philosophy to approach this era from their respective points of view. This narrowness leads to misinterpretation and distorted emphasis. The central principle, the motivating idea in the later Periclean Age was educational. This was true for dramatists, philosophers, and statesmen. The sophists were teachers primarily and only secondarily investigators of ethical concepts, literary critics, or philosophers. Socrates, as he himself claimed, was an educator of youth, not a professional philosopher. Plato was an educational thinker first, but in order to solve the educational problem as he saw it, he was obliged to become metaphysician, political economist, psychologist, and ethical thinker. The educational point of view sets the confusion of this era into rational order.

The Periclean revolution produced the need for a more elaborate knowledge and a more efficient technique in every walk of life. This need emerged so suddenly that the old education failed to prepare the youth for the new conditions. The days of simplicity in the industrial arts and in the concerns of war and the state were gone. Rank amateurs, however intelligent, could no longer perform these services efficiently. The day of expert practitioners and specialized workers had come. The chief trouble arose from the complete lack of any agencies to train young men in the technique of generalship, statecraft, domestic economy, and political leadership. Athens had become a pure democracy and, as a democracy, had to have leaders who were equipped not only to formulate new policies, but to persuade the people to adopt some course of action. For example, a general not only had to lead the army efficiently, but he had first to persuade the people that his plan of campaign would prove to be the most advantageous one.

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[36] Xenophon, *The Memorabilia of Socrates*, translated by Rev. J. S. Watson. New York: Arthur Hinds & Co.

New educational problems. Out of the socio-political conditions emerged a number of pressing educational problems which challenged the deepest thinking of the best citizens of Athens. There were five of these problems:

(1) Is virtue, or, to use a more modern term, is civic efficiency teachable? This is equivalent to the question: Can good citizens be formed by instruction? The discussion of this question raised the deeper problem of the nature of virtue itself. Is it the gift of the gods? The result of heredity—or of habit? Does it come from instruction? Events had made the Greeks conscious that intelligence is an actual force in the world. It produces order and control. The problem arose as to the relation of intelligence to virtue. If the good are happy, does intelligence help us to be good? This profound inquiry formed the central problem of all Greek thought from the fifth century onward. The sophist declared virtue teachable. Socrates maintained that intelligence is a prerequisite to goodness of all kinds. Plato decided that the higher virtues depend upon instruction because they are due to intelligence. Xenophon, on the contrary, thought intellectual instruction unimportant. Isocrates did not believe justice and wisdom could be transmitted by instruction, and neither did Aristotle.

(2) The question next in importance was whether education is a family or a state function. On this problem, the Greek world became sharply divided. In the early days every Greek state was an organism in which the citizen lived and had his whole being; he never felt any antagonism between his own interest and that of the state. There was complete subordination of the individual will to the will of the community. Sparta was the most perfect embodiment of this totalitarian policy. Athens, on the contrary, favored tribal and family life. The decisive victory of Spartan arms over the Athenians signalized the superiority of the Spartan type of government and training over the Athenian. Pericles had boasted "We live at ease. Our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries." He pitted the democracy of Athens with its system of private education against the totalitarian policy of Sparta with its rigorous system of regimentation. Athens lost.

The inevitable conclusion was that virtue or civic efficiency is an affair of the state and can be inculcated only by a public system of education. Private or family education does not promote state *esprit de corps*.

Because of these experiences, the question of the relation of the state to education became a major issue for the first time in the history of institutional life. Plato and Xenophon became ardent advocates of state education. Aristotle followed in their footsteps. Isocrates believed in the control of the Areopagus over education, but he substituted the panhellenic ethos for the city state as the object of patriotic devotion.

(3) With the new need for a more adequate general education than the youth received in the elementary music school, this problem arose: What should constitute the curriculum of this secondary education? Should it be general or specialized? The sophists believed the natural sciences and language arts were the best preparation for higher studies. Isocrates, the leading educator of this period, thought rhetoric was the best subject. Plato, as an idealist and believer in formal discipline, advocated mathematics, astronomy, and harmony.

(4) In the field of higher instruction there was a sharp division of opinion. Some believed in philosophy; others in rhetoric and oratory; some in military training. Which should it be?

(5) What should be the new educational ideal or objective? Here again great diversity of opinion arose. Plato believed the ideal life must be spent in the pursuit of the true, the beautiful, and the good, and consequently he favored the ideal of the scholar who devotes his time to knowledge. Aristotle agreed that the scholar's life is happy, but it is not the best. Numerous substitutes were offered in place of civic patriotism as the center of character cultivation. Xenophon advocated the Spartan system; Isocrates urged loyalty to panhellenic culture. The Stoics introduced the religion of rationalism and a life of self-control; the Epicureans advocated personal pleasure, but it must be self-indulgence with discretion. Each of these had its votaries; but no one of them became dominant. The situation is well summarized by Jebb as follows:

> In the normal Greek conception society and the state were one. The man had no existence apart from the citizen; morality was inseparable from civic virtue. But meanwhile new intellectual and moral needs had come into being to which the limited elasticity of the state-life could no longer respond; and on the other hand Greek democracy had

passed the point up to which, organized as it was, it was capable of a healthy growth. The individual had begun to draw more and more away from the state. Instead of the citizen's duty being the standard of spiritual life, the needs of individual development became the measure of what could reasonably be expected from the citizen. The most striking proof of this is the decay, almost disappearance, of a virtue which had its roots in the idea of the state—readiness for personal self-sacrifice. Active love of one's own city—the central instinct of healthy Greek life—begins to merge in contemplative citizenship of the world.[37]

The new era produced much discussion of these educational problems. Only four of the great theorists on education can be discussed here, the reactionary Xenophon, the chief teacher Isocrates, and then at greater length, Plato and Aristotle.

Xenophon (430–355 B.C.). Xenophon was primarily a soldier of fortune and a journalist, very fastidious about dress and deportment. He possessed but shallow intellectual gifts; and although he displayed a certain many-sidedness of character, he never rose above the mediocre. His greatest work was the *Memorabilia* in which he portrays the teaching of Socrates. He was not a good biographer, however, for his vanity warped and distorted all his perceptions, and his lack of insight rendered his work superficial.

Xenophon lacked patriotism. He fought against his native city and was banished for treason. During the greater part of his life he lived in exile. If all these things are true, why spend time studying his ideas? Because he may be taken as a type of many in Athens who at the time were dismayed at the trend in events, and who proposed to remedy the troubles by a changed system of education. He is a thoroughgoing reactionary, a conservative who harks back to the "good old days," and the old training. In his *Oeconomicus* he pictured the education of women; in the *Cyropaedia* the education of boys and young men; in the *Memorabilia* he described the instruction of Socrates.

Doctrine of the state. As a young man, Xenophon was a follower of Socrates, but after reaching manhood he spent scarcely any time in his native city. He was totally averse to the democratic institutions and training of the Athenians. Spartan training was for him the ideal form of education and government. Most of his life was passed in company of Spartan soldiers on foreign campaigns, and when he settled down, he made his home close to Sparta.

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[37] Jebb, R. C., *The Attic Orators*, Vol. II, pp. 15–16. London: Macmillan and Company, 1876.

The fact of the matter was that Xenophon lacked the intelligence necessary for comprehending the intellectual revolution of the time. Like all conservatives who have little discernment, he was wanting in clear insight into sociological phenomena. With Aristophanes and others he attached the blame for existing conditions to the new education, which was at that very moment laboring heroically to bring a new era to birth. The actual cause of the bad social and political conditions lay mainly in the weakness of the old education itself. This same education, they now proposed to restore as a remedy.

In casting about for a new and more satisfactory view, Xenophon was attracted by Sparta. She was at the head of the Greek civilization so far as military power was concerned. What was more natural than to consider her rigorous system of education the cause. It was in complete accord with his reactionary tendencies, and his military and sporting inclinations. Accordingly, in place of the loose system of private education which appeared to be flat failure, he decided in favor of a strict military system supported and controlled by the state.

In the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon set forth his scheme of education. His fundamental principle was that education is the business of the state; it is not for the sake of the individual, but solely for the common good. The city square contains the government buildings which are divided into four parts. One part belongs to the boys, one to young men, the third to the men of mature years, and the last to the old men who are past the age of military service. All are required to report to their quarters every day; the youth guard the buildings at night. Over each of these groups there are twelve officers, one from each tribe of the city. Those who preside over the boys and over the youth are selected because of their educational ability. The education of the boys is along the line of self-government. Xenophon stated that they go to school to learn justice, just as in other places they go to learn to read and write. A sense of gratitude, self-control, obedience to officers, temperance, courage, and endurance were the virtues sought.

Young men of sixteen or seventeen are to be trained for military service. For ten years they act as a guard to the government buildings. They are to be taken on hunting expeditions as a preparation for war. Most of the time is to be spent in acquiring skill in the use of arms, and in military evolutions. In this plan is contained the idea for the ephebic college that some years later was established in Athens.

In his scheme of education, Xenophon omitted all reference to letters. Though a prolific writer himself, he did not provide the youth with literary training. How far he stood from his master Socrates! How slightly he appreciated the intellectual progress of the day! We do not hear a word of the Socratic doctrine of identity of knowledge and virtue. Further, he rejected music in the narrow sense.

Education of women. The attitude of Xenophon toward womanhood and the education of girls may be gathered from the conversation of Socrates, to which reference has already been made.[38] We can easily understand the viewpoint of Xenophon from the pious, commonplace reason which he assigns for the sphere of woman's life and education. "Endeavor by all means," Ischomachus tells his wife, "to do in the best possible manner those duties which the gods have qualified you to do, and which custom approved." When men of ordinary ability wish to defend the present order, they usually ascribe it to divine sanction. The gods have made woman weaker than man; therefore she should give herself exclusively to household duties. The ordering of the house, the care of the younger children, instruction of the servants—such are the limits of woman's work and of her education. Xenophon rejected every other feature of Athenian education except that of their narrow training of women; in this he adhered to Athenian custom.

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.). Isocrates was the most successful professional teacher of antiquity, and one of the few who had a definite theory of education. He was born in Athens. His father was wealthy and provided him the best training obtainable. As a young man he was a favorite of Socrates, who prophesied his greatness; but he also received instruction from several of the leading sophists.

Isocrates did not engage in political activity as might naturally be expected of one so gifted. He frankly confessed the reason: "Nature denied me force for action, and gave me but imperfect talents for speech."[39] Though he was the most illustrious rhetorician of the day, his weak voice precluded a career on the public platform. Having lost his fortune, he set up a school near the Lyceum in 492 B.C. There he taught rhetoric and wrote political pamphlets until his death at the age of ninety-eight.

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[38] See page 284 of this text.

[39] Jebb, R. C., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 115.

His school was the most celebrated in antiquity. Students flocked to him from all parts of the world. He counted among them statesmen, generals, and even kings. Cicero declared that the eloquence of all Greece "was trained and perfected" under his instruction. His students became the most brilliant orators, advocates, statesmen, philosophers, historians, and teachers of rhetoric. In 351 B.C. a contest of eloquence, open to all Greece, was held at Halicarnassos in which every competitor who presented himself had been a pupil of Isocrates. So celebrated was his school that a book was compiled with the title *The Disciples of Isocrates.*

Theory and practice of education. Isocrates was more than a skillful technician. He had a clear view of what to aim at, and he chose with precision the means to attain this end. Two principles were emphasized in his theory and practice of education.

(1) The first principle was this: the power of oratory does not rest on mere rules or technicalities of rhetoric. He despised as deeply as Plato the rogues who employed the subtleties of rhetoric merely to win an argument or persuade a jury. Public speech, he contended, must find its power in rational ideas and knowledge. When speaking of the Athenians he evaluated the old education and its results in the most laudatory terms.

> They were characterized in all things by the unselfish spirit. They were thrifty of the resources of the state; they were sensitively loyal to its honour and to its interest in their personal conduct and in their legislation. Political parties, political clubs, they vied only in benefits to the city. Thus were formed the men who, surpassing the captors of Troy, vanquished Asia; men whose merit transcends all that has been said or sung of them.[40]

But while the old education had performed admirable service, he was aware that knowledge had increased in volume and that this knowledge was necessary for the accomplishment of life's ends.

(2) The second principle of Isocrates was that education must be practical in the higher sense of the term. Oratory was not a mere embellishment, but a precision instrument for practical use in the larger political affairs of the civilized world. His cur-

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[40] Jebb, R. C., *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 155.

riculum was broad, but, like his master, Socrates, he had no concern for knowledge for its own sake. He stated his position as follows:

> Geometry, astrology, eristic dialogues are good for the young, if only as employing them; but they do not make practical men. By an educated man I understand one who can deal with all that comes upon him day by day: who is honest and mannerly in society; who rules his desires; who is not spoiled by good fortune.[41]

(3) Isocrates was more than a technical rhetorician; he was a practical idealist who desired to raise rhetoric and oratory to a genuine art. He held as much in contempt those teachers who claimed too much for their instruction as he did those who used oratory for low purposes.

> He held that not only may prose be artistic but that the utterance of rhetoric may be, ought to be, a work of art as complete and as substantive as the utterance of poetry; that it has its own ascertainable laws of rhythm and of harmony; and that the artist who having mastered these laws, addressed himself to the treatment of a great subject, had with him a power, beside and beyond the strength of his cause or of his genius—a power coming to him, as to the poet, through his art, and springing from an essential music latent in language which his art has shown him how to bring upon his ear.[42]

We see from this statement that the best of the teachers of rhetoric was fully aware of the value of combining art with the useful. He knew that Greek oratory by its use of rhythm produced subtle effects—which elude the duller sensibilities of modern speakers and audiences.

(4) The great objective of Isocrates was Hellenic unity. All the resources of knowledge and of the rhetorical art were to be employed in this noble cause. This unity was to be a spiritual or cultural order and not merely one of blood. He emphatically stated,

> A man is not considered in the fullest sense a Hellene merely because he is of Hellenic blood, unless, further, he bears the stamp of the Athenian mind.[43]

Isocrates possessed a passionate admiration for his native Athens and for the culture of all the Greeks. He devoted his talent through his long life to the unification of the Greek world against barbarian influences. His ideal of the educated man was one who mastered the art of rhetoric in order to spread liberty and Hellenic culture throughout the world.

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[41] Jebb, R. C., *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 115.
[42] Jebb, R. C., *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 55–56.
[43] Jebb, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

Weakness of moral training in old Athens. The older Athenians did not rely on laws to make good citizens, for they clearly understood the true relation of citizenship to character. They realized that civic virtues are not due to mere instruction or to information. For the cultivation of character they relied upon family discipline, respect for their elders, supervision by the court of the Areopagus, *esprit de corps,* and devotion to the common welfare. When these influences ceased to function, individual interests multiplied, and patriotism declined.

In spite of many excellences in the old education, moral conditions in Athens and all over Greece degenerated. The sea was infested with pirates, the land by marauders. Traitors were admired for their cleverness. The citizens, once the first to fight for the city, remained at home—while the army was recruited from foreign mercenaries. Fighting became a profession, but the spirit of sacrifice for the public welfare was dead. The people were content to sponge on the bounty of the state.

Having forsaken their civic ideals, which were their real deities, their strength was sapped, and the Greeks lost their political independence to peoples no more vigorous and even less intelligent than themselves, but possessing a stronger spirit of unity. Individualism, treason, and love of ease, destroyed the city-states. It is a familiar fact to students of human progress that the spirit of man cannot find permanent satisfaction in any small and unchangeable organization. Thought and action perpetually expand and, as a consequence, demand an environment commensurate with their larger grasp in which to function. Isocrates, Plato, and the Stoic, each in his own way, saw the necessity of a more comprehensive organization of mankind. Alexander the Great made the first attempt to universalize the Hellenic spirit and the humanistic culture which it produced. But the Greek was never sufficiently broad in his sympathies or in understanding human relations to evolve the larger unity that could stabilize life. Thus Greek civilization went down because there was no inner principle, no commanding ethos of thought and feeling. This failure offers a clear warning that the human spirit is universal in its scope and must have a social ideal commensurate with its inner potentialities.

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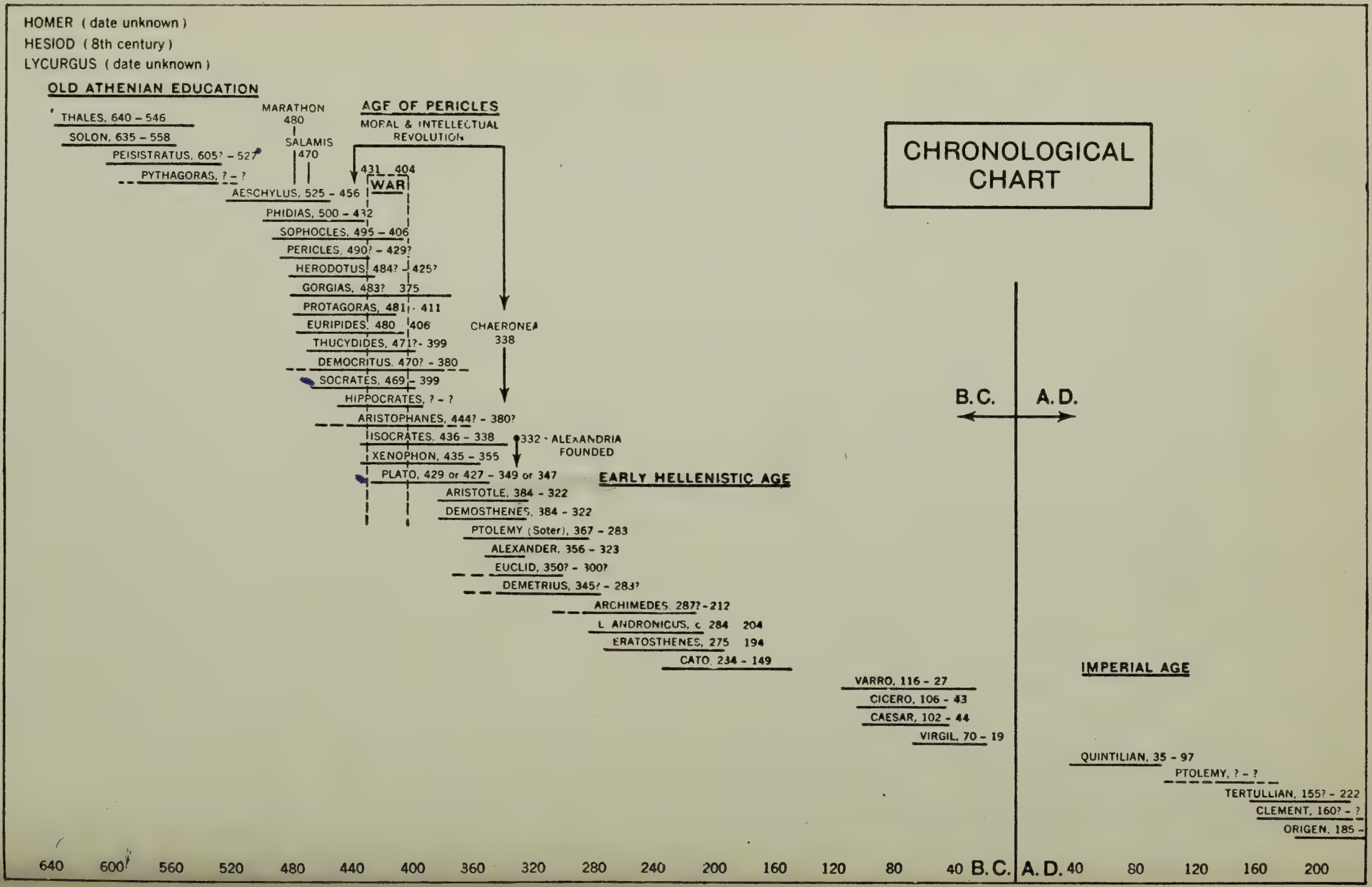


CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

8

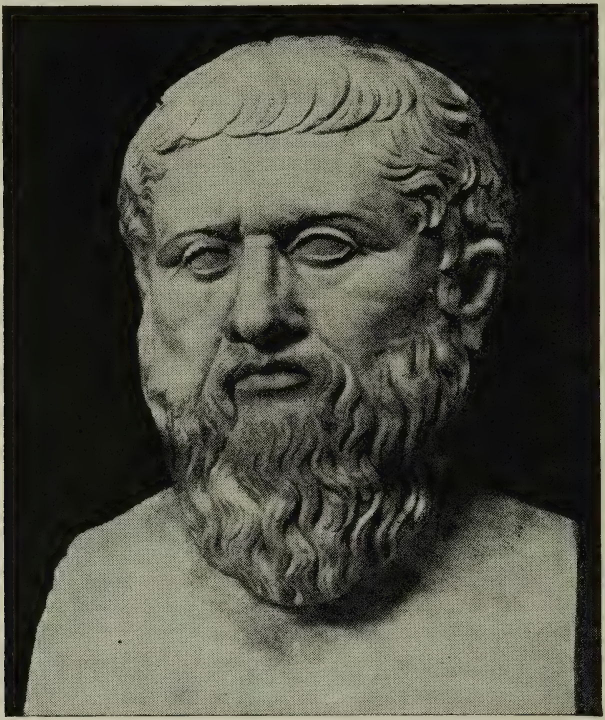
Plato, the First Educational Philosopher

I. INTRODUCTION

The greatness of Plato. There has always been phenomenal interest in the writings of this ancient sage who died twenty-three centuries ago. For fifteen hundred years they dominated the intellectual life of mankind. We may easily explain this tribute from earlier generations on the ground that Plato had something of value to offer them. But it is truly remarkable to find that in an age as enlightened as ours, and so different in character, men still turn to Plato with avid interest. Every year finds additions to the voluminous literature about him, and within the last several years a number of popular editions of his works have come from the press at prices so low that any student can afford his complete works in the best translation. The youth of today evidently find a remarkable satisfaction in the dialogues of Plato, and it may well be doubted whether any other work is so frequently used as a required text or as a reference work in so many college and university courses, as the *Republic.* Students of philosophy, psychology, ethics, government, sociology, and education are familiar with it as with no other work. If any one book should be required in a liberal education, this would be selected.

Life and training. Plato was born in Athens in 427 or 429 B.C., the year of the death of Pericles. Athens had reached the zenith of its power and wealth, and had become the center of art, culture, literature, and philosophy. In the brain of Plato was stored the funded capacity of his ancestors, Codrus and Solon, the two most renowned lawgivers of early Athens. To this splendid inheritance wealth and social position were added. In his personality, therefore, he represented the highest Athenian talent.

Of Plato's education little is definitely known. Undoubtedly, it was the best offered in Athens along the traditional lines of music and gymnastics. His extraordinary familiarity with Homer and other poets, with music, sculpture, and painting indicate a background of early experience in all these lines.



PLATO.—*Courtesy, Holkham Library.*

Trained by his father, Ariston, who was a distinguished athlete, he had won victories in wrestling at Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus, and is even stated, though with less probability, to have won the Olympic crown.[1]

Among Plato's boyhood teachers was Cratylus, a disciple of Heraclitus, whose philosophy of flux and change is one of the greatest systems in ancient and modern philosophic thinking.

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[1] Gardiner, E. Norman, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 128. London: Macmillan and Company, 1910.

But from these few facts one can scarcely forecast the greatness of the man.

The disciple of Socrates. As a young man Plato attached himself to Socrates and for eight or ten years was one of his most intimate attendants. This attachment was highly incongruous. Socrates was over sixty years of age at the time; Plato was a young fellow of twenty or less. Socrates was of common birth; Plato belonged to one of the most distinguished families in the city. Socrates was extremely poor; Plato was wealthy. Socrates wore ragged clothes and no sandals; Plato was fastidious. Plato was as handsome in figure and countenance as Socrates was ugly. Plato was educated in all the graces of the day; Socrates had only the elements of culture attained by the poor. In spite of these many incongruities the young man formed an inseparable attachment for the ragged philosopher whom he later made the central figure in all of his dialogues, save one.

Epochs in Plato's career. Plato's career can be most effectively studied by tracing the evolution of his thought from stage to stage through the eighty years of his life.

The Socratic Period. A number of Plato's dialogues are short discussions of ethical questions such as Socrates loved to investigate. The writings are highly dramatic and are marked by a youthful and vigorous style; imagination, too, is bold and creative. The purpose of these discussions is similar to the aim of Socrates. Only questions of ethics are discussed, and the works end by showing that the virtues are fundamentally the result of knowledge.

Through association with Socrates, Plato became aware of the educational plight of Athens. He shared the master's view that accurate knowledge, especially knowledge of ethical truth, was the most essential need of the day. But this youthful thinking of Plato was upset by two events. First, on the external side was the condemnation and death of Socrates. This tragedy had the most momentous effect upon the young devotee. It led him into voluntary exile, for his well-known association with Socrates made it dangerous for him to remain in Athens. The other circumstance was the ripening of Plato's own ideas. It gradually dawned upon him that virtues are not isolated qualities, but are related to the totality of an individual personality and also to the world as a whole. Before the question of the teaching of virtue could be settled, it was necessary to reach a deeper understanding of the nature of virtue itself. In concluding the discussion of the origin of virtue in his dialogue, the *Meno,* Plato expressed this forward-looking note:

> We shall never know the certain truth until before asking how virtue is given, we inquire into the actual nature of virtue.[2]

Thus it was that Plato came to see that the inculcating of virtue is a problem involving more than teaching certain forms of prudential knowledge.

Exile and studies abroad. Judging it prudent to withdraw from the surcharged atmosphere of his native city after the death of Socrates, Plato spent the next ten years in voluntary exile. But the time was not wasted; he used it as the opportunity for an extended sojourn in every important center of learning. He went first to the home of Euclid in Megara, which was not far away. There he became acquainted with the idealistic and abstract theories of the Eleatic philosophers. Next he went to Egypt, the most ancient and traditional fountain of learning in the world. There he came into contact with the beginnings of human culture along all lines. He made a lengthy stay at Heliopolis, the hoary seat of religion and priestly lore. The division of labor practiced in Egypt made a profound impression on his mind, and Egyptian methods of education engaged his special interest.

At some time during these years he visited Italy and learned at first hand the ideas of the Pythagoreans. These deepened still further his admiration for mathematics and his conviction in favor of a system of regimentation of both young and old. He apparently spent considerable time at the court of Dionysius of Sicily, where he interested himself in matters of government.

These years of travel were of the greatest benefit to Plato. His varied contacts enlarged his thinking so that he was the best-informed individual of his day, having learned at their sources all the great systems of philosophy, the sciences, history and government. With this comprehensiveness of experience at the age of forty, Plato returned to Athens fully prepared for a great career in some field. What was that career to be? Academic, political, or literary?

A reformer of government and the social order. When Plato returned to Athens, he might have plunged into political activity or have aspired to celebrity as a dramatist. He was admirably fitted for either career. But the political life of Athens had become so degenerate that he declined to soil himself with demagogy, and drama offered little means for social reform.

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[2] Plato, *Meno,* Jowett's Translation, § 100; compare also *Laches,* § 190.

It has been a universal tendency on the part of writers to classify Plato as a philosopher, a political and social reformer, and to suppress or at least minimize the fact that he was primarily an educator. The truth is, he began to study education with Socrates, and it was the problem of education that led him to the broader fields of philosophy.

> It may be conjectured that when he emerged from the purely Socratic phase of his earlier years Plato gave himself to the study of contemporary methods of education and to the elaboration of an educational system of his own, and that it was in this way that he came to the metaphysical speculations of his maturity.[3]

Only in recent years have students of Plato come to appreciate the importance of education in the expansion of his philosophy.

Strange as it must have seemed to his aristocratic friends, Plato established a school in the environs of the old gymnasium known as the Academy. He did not, however, take up teaching for its own sake, but rather because he perceived in education the best means for social and political reform, one which was, after all, directly in line with the best Greek tradition. When Sparta in early times had fallen into a degenerate condition, Lycurgus took the situation firmly in hand and resolved the whole business of government into the upbringing of youth. In a somewhat similar way, Codrus and Solon had reformed the political life of Athens.

Plato had come to feel that the most essential task of the statesman is to make the citizens better men. Judging by this criterion, he declared Socrates was superior even to Pericles himself as a statesman. In the light of this ideal, Plato chose to work out a system of state education that would realize the supreme values of human life. Accordingly, his first step was to found an academy for the education of young men in mathematics, philosophy, government, psychology, sociology, and education. As a result of his teaching and thinking he gave the world a general philosophy embracing a new form of government, a new social order, and an educational system upon which these were to rest. Plato furnished the first comprehensive system of philosophy, which became the forerunner of all later idealistic theories. Because of his acquaintance with all the scientific views and theories of the day, he was superbly equipped to formulate the first great system of thought. His philosophy has always been of paramount interest because he viewed the world without the prejudices that distort the ideas of later thinkers. His thought has had a profound influence upon government, religion, and education throughout the succeeding ages. Abstract and transcendental though it is, no student of education can afford to be ignorant of its nature and significance.

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[3] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Article, "Sophists," Eleventh Edition.

II. THE PLATONIC IDEALISM

Plato's philosophy in general. Greek religion, as we saw, was mythological; the first philosophers confined their speculations to the explanation of nature. The Sophists and Socrates, who succeeded them, directed interest to man and the chief products of man. Plato began his thinking with the educational problem of the teachableness of virtue, but he soon discovered that to solve the educational problem he must understand the nature of man and of the world, and the relation of one to the other. With great boldness he outlined theories that still retain the admiration of mankind. To present his philosophy is, however, a difficult task: first, because it is exceedingly abstract; and, second, because he contented himself merely with formulating broad, general principles. He did not elaborate a dogmatic and final system, but merely projected some transcendent ideas and ideals, leaving the individual to form his own conclusions.

Doctrine of knowledge. The question as to what is true knowledge had early been raised by the Sophists and others. Some of these thinkers asserted that the objects of sense are veridical, but others pointed out that many things our senses tell are true turn out to be false. Socrates held that genuine knowledge does not come through the senses, but exists inherently in the mind or reason.

1. *True knowledge is innate.* On one occasion, to illustrate his view of knowledge, Socrates called before a group of his followers a small slave boy who had never been taught, and was, therefore, wholly ignorant. By skillfully plying him with questions, Socrates proved that this untutored lad had correct ideas in regard to many of the fundamental facts of geometry. This demonstration made an indelible impression on the mind of young

Plato. From it he derived the most basic aspect of his philosophy, the doctrine that true knowledge is innate. This doctrine means that knowledge does not come to the soul at birth, nor yet does it arise after birth. Knowledge is inherent in the very nature of the soul itself. From this thought, Plato concluded that the soul existed before the body, and that during this prenatal existence it learned all that it knows in this world. Such was the origin of the doctrine of innate ideas that has played such a profound role in ancient and modern philosophy.

2. *What knowledge is innate?* Plato recognized three kinds of knowledge. First, the knowledge that comes through the senses, such as color, sweetness, and roughness. Such knowledge is not innate, nor is knowledge that comes from the senses genuine knowledge, for the things of the senses are not real. A second kind of knowledge is that of opinion about things. This is a matter of guessing at truth, but such opinion or forming of hypotheses, while valuable so far as it goes, is not positive knowledge nor is it innate. The third or true knowledge is that which cannot be doubted. It is positive and must be accepted by every normal mind. Such knowledge is innate in the mind or reason. All mathematical truth is of this character. Furthermore, all general concepts or ideas and all absolute and abstract ideas belong to this class. Among these ideas are absolute equality, beauty, goodness, justice, and holiness; none of these ideas are acquired through experience. These ideas do not come from the senses any more than the idea of a perfect circle comes from the senses. No man has ever seen a perfect circle. Yet every mind capable of mathematical thinking has a clear idea of such a circle. It is a possession of the mind itself and is not due to the many circles known in experience. All such ideas are innate; for they are back of the objects of sense because they were already inherent in the mind prior to any experience whatsoever.

3. *Doctrine of forgetfulness and reminiscence.* If true knowledge is innate, two problems naturally arise. Why is it that infants do not exhibit such knowledge at birth, and again, how is such knowledge recalled? To the first of these questions, Plato could give only an unsatisfactory answer. It was his custom when confronted with a difficulty which he could not explain to take refuge in a myth. To this end he invented the following theory: the soul possessed knowledge of reality in a former state of being. At birth when the soul joins the body it is overtaken by

forgetfulness. Being born into the body temporarily benumbs the higher capacities of the soul, and causes it to forget that knowledge which it brought with it from the celestial regions.

How then is such knowledge, knowledge of the highest things, recalled? It is brought back to the mind by a process of reminiscence. The mind of the child does not recognize absolute beauty, justice, and other ideas of this kind. However, when reason awakens, the mind recalls its forgotten treasures. In other words, an object is known by the coincidence of two processes (a) a sensory process arising from the object, and (b) a reinstatement of the concept or general idea already in the mind.

This doctrine of innate ideas was fundamental to all Plato's philosophy. If the assumption is granted, it brings up a number of new and perplexing questions that carry one far from ordinary lines of thought. Willing as one might be to avoid such metaphysical speculations, it is impossible for the student of philosophy or of education to do so. But before discussing these problems, it will be best to inquire how these general ideas, this innate knowledge, came to the soul in the first place: that is, in the preexistent or prenatal state?

The ideal as the real. Plato recognized the existence of two worlds, the world of ideas and the world of the objects of sense. Both exist, but the one is real, and the other is only a copy or a shadow; in other words, it is merely phenomenal. The ideal world, that is to say, the world of thought or ideas, alone is real. It is timeless, spaceless, and unchangeable. It is the world of mind or pure thought, a world of abstract ideas or forms. How did Plato get such a conception?

Socrates had spent his life trying to work out a series of concepts or definitions of each of the virtues. Plato took these definitions, or intellectual concepts, and did three things to them. First, going beyond the field of ethics, he expanded the number of concepts to include all possible generalizations and all possible abstract ideas. He included all ideas of abstraction such as equality, beauty, goodness, justice, holiness, and harmony. Moreover, he included concepts of all natural objects such as horse, cow, tree, bed, table, and every class of objects that is thought of in general terms. Second, Plato separated these ideas from the human mind as such, and placed them in a supersensible or supernatural world. All these ideas or ideals or absolute and general concepts are supposed by Plato to have a true and genuine existence apart from the things of earth. They are entities in themselves, spiritual objects, real things. Again, being ideal forms, each is absolutely perfect. They never change, never decay, never cease to be. Third, Plato conceived all these perfect ideals as uniting to form an organic whole, a "World of Ideas." Ideas do not exist apart, or separate from one another, but are related in a divine order or perfect mind. Each idea is good in itself; but, at the same time, it helps to realize the one supreme idea, the idea of "the Good." Accordingly the "Idea of the Good" comprehends and unifies all other ideas. Plato considered the "World of Ideas" to be the mind of God. Ideas are God's eternal thoughts; they are the models or fixed forms after which the things of earth are patterned.

In this doctrine of ideal reality, Plato gave the proudest challenge that has ever been hurled against crude materialism. He denied that matter is a reality. High above the world of the senses, that is, of individual things, he envisaged a world of pure thought, of ideal objects perfect in form and beauty. That is the real and abiding world; all else is shadow or appearance.

The world of sense. What becomes of the ordinary world of things? Do things not exist? Plato made a distinction between reality and existence. Shadows, illusions, images reflected in water or in a mirror, forms created by imagination such as hobgoblins, fairies—all these exist, but they are not real. The entire world of sense objects exists only as a copy or a shadow of the real world. For illustration, the table is only a poor, imperfect copy or imitation of the ideal table that exists in the divine mind.

The Greeks never shared the Hebrew conception that the world was made or created out of nothing by the absolute fiat of an Absolute Will. On the contrary, they conceived that gross matter, or physical substance, has always existed. Their thinking was dominated by the experiences of the artist and manufacturer. These men accept the raw materials from which they mold a vase, carve a statue, or build a house. To the raw materials, they contribute a new order, a new shape or form in accordance with some idea or image in their minds. In like manner the Greeks conceived that the external world was formed by a supernatural mind. Matter was there to begin with, but some power molded mountains, rivers, trees, and all other things into the present cosmic order. It was Plato's view that before this world was formed, the forms of objects already existed in the divine mind as perfect models according to which the individual things were to be patterned. These forms or ideas are perfect in themselves, that is to say, they are ideal and perfect beings. Such is Plato's doctrine of idealism. It holds that true reality is thought and, therefore, it is spiritual and perfect. True and perfect being is ideal, that is to say, it is thought alone without any mixture with materiality.

Over against the ideal world, which is perfect and eternal, stands the material world, the world of sense. In it nothing is perfect, nothing abiding, nothing ideal. Everything is in space and time; everything changes, decays, and ceases to be; nothing has permanency. It is imperfect because it is made out of matter, and also because it is a copy, a mere shadow. Furthermore, for Plato, matter is the source of all evil and depravity, the cause of all imperfection.

The student may wonder what these strange and airy speculations have to do with education. While the fuller implications of Plato's idealism have hardly been made known as yet, it may be suggested that his theories of knowledge, reality, and evil are of the greatest significance in understanding man and his being and life on the earth. This thought will become clearer as we progress with his philosophy.

Before passing from Plato's theory of the two worlds, the one of pure ideas and the other of appearance or phenomena, it is worthy of note that he succeeded in a most remarkable way in bringing together all the systems of philosophy held up to his day. The idealism of the Eleatics, the "change" of Heraclitus, the atomism of Democritus, and the doctrine of *nous* (νοῦς) or mind of Anaxagoras, all find a place in Plato's philosophy. This was the first great, comprehensive effort to understand man, nature, and God. The fact that it has had an incalculable influence on human thinking ever since it was written is evidence of its profound significance.

Plato's psychology. Man is an epitome of the universe, partaking of two elements, of soul-life and body. His body is of the material world and has all the defects of matter. Plato was the first to make a clear-cut distinction between soul and body, the subjective and objective. Up to this time this distinction had been very vague.

The soul consists of three distinct parts or levels. The lowest level or element of the soul consists of the appetites or desires—or what today are called instincts or drives. These represent all the striving elements in man's nature and are innumerable. This part of the soul includes all those desires that seek for bodily satisfaction or for the possession of some object. They have their seat in the belly. Man shares this level of soul-life with the whole animal world.

The second element of soul-life is that of courage or spirit. This, too, man shares with the animals, more especially with the higher animals. It is this factor that makes the "spirited" horse or dog. It is the source of the elementary virtues of courage, hardihood, endurance, aggressiveness, and fierceness. Its seat is the heart, from which we derive the idea of "being heartened," *i.e.*, encouraged or stimulated to action.

Both the soul of appetite and the soul of courage belong to the body and partake of its nature. They are born with the body, grow with the body, decay and die with it. In this respect man is the same as the higher animals which partake with him of these levels of soul-life.

The highest soul is reason. It is the principle of intelligence or rationality, and proudly traces its lineage to another world. Reason is a divine or supernatural element and has no affinity with the body. To the soul of reason, the body is a prison house, a dungeon that drags it downward. This is the real soul that comes "from afar, trailing clouds of glory from heaven which is our home." Reason survives the dissolution of the body and is immortal. It has its earthly dwelling place in the head or capitol, the most dignified part of the body. Plato was, therefore, one of the few ancients who believed that the brain is the seat of the mind.

The soul of reason was created by God, and before birth it had its abode in the ideal world. In the pre-existent state it came into contact with the world of true reality where it acquired its knowledge of ideal and absolute being. Stripped of all mythology or fancy this means that Plato believed human reason is part of the divine reason that constitutes the essence of the universe.

Method of learning. The method by which the soul came to know the world of ideas or the "Idea of the Good" can now be answered. It was by contemplation or visioning (θεωρεῖν, *theorein,* to look at), that is to say, by theorizing. Plato was unable to imagine any other method of acquiring ultimate truth than the analogy of the seeing eye. But it was the eye of the soul before it is born into this world that beheld true being, and not the sensuous eye of the body. Plato firmly believed that human reason attained a genuine knowledge of the ultimate reality of the universe before it came to live in the body. Thought alone is real, and man's highest life is that of knowing and envisaging ultimate truth. Accordingly, the life of reason is man's supreme vocation. This alone assures a happy, serene, and perfect life.

Plato's doctrine of ethics. Plato began his career with Socrates in the investigation of the teachableness of virtue, that is, the cultivation of civic efficiency by means of instruction. Finding it necessary to study the nature of virtue, he broadened his field of investigation until the entire range of reality was included. But throughout all his search for exact knowledge of ultimate reality, and of the nature of the soul, Plato always remained the educator and moralist. He believed the highest reality is the "Good," and that everything in the universe must be made to contribute to it.

Plato conceived that the moral life consists in the possession of certain qualities or virtues. The possession of these makes the individual patriotic and happy, and the state prosperous. These virtues or "Goods of the Soul" as he terms them, are courage, justice, temperance, quickness of apprehension, memory, and magnanimity. They have their basis in the psychological nature of man. Each faculty or element of the soul has its own corresponding virtue or worth, or what is now called "function." For the appetites, the important virtue is temperance or self-control. The virtue of the heart is will or courage. Where this is developed normally, the individual shows fortitude and bravery. Self-control and courage are the most fundamental virtues for individual and civic life.

Since the soul of reason is the highest and noblest element in man, its special virtue or function is most naturally wisdom. With the aid of the spirited element, reason must establish its rule over the appetites. The right relationship or unity of the several elements composing man's complex nature will be brought about by the cultivation of a final virtue known as justice. It is this capacity which accords all other faculties of the soul their own proper function. Justice demands that the restless appetites that make up man's lower nature be curbed, that courage be active, and that wisdom govern.

Plato agreed with Socrates that pleasure is the highest good, and that from each of the functions of the soul there comes a special kind of pleasure. The appetites furnish pleasure through the senses, bodily movements, and by acquiring material possessions. There is a higher sort of enjoyment that arises from overcoming an opponent and from winning popular applause.

But there are pleasures of a still nobler character, the pleasures that flow from the exercise of thought and reason. These pleasures are the highest because they come from the activity of the reason in knowing the supreme reality of the universe. The soul of reason is the noblest element in man, and the object of its contemplation is the Good, or the being of God. The thrill or pleasure that comes from knowing the Good is the greatest and most lasting of all pleasures. The supreme Good is not the pleasure of the moment, but of the whole life; not the pleasure of any one function, but of the whole man, the perfect harmony of all functions.

The source of evil. One of the chief tests of any system of philosophy is its explanation of the nature and origin of evil. Plato thought that the material world is in direct opposition to the world of the idea or of the Good. This world is the source of all evil and as such is subject to change, decay, and death. One cannot find anything made from material substances that is perfect or ideal because such substances limit or restrict the expression of the idea. The human body partakes of all the weaknesses and deprivations of the material world. This is the reason the appetites war against the mind and degrade the soul. The body is worse than a prison house, for it not only confines, but, in addition, it depraves the reason. This teaching, accepted by early Christian thinkers, became a fundamental tenet of Christian theology and led education to take a hostile attitude to the human body. Plato's doctrine of the body as the source of all evil was greatly misinterpreted; but, having gained a strong foothold in human thinking, it passed down through the centuries with blighting results.

Theory of government. According to the best Greek tradition, government and education were largely identical. The great reformers of government, Lycurgus and Solon, based the state upon the discipline of the young. Plato did not choose to risk the uncertainty of political leadership in temperamental Athens, but devoted himself to the creation of two imaginary and ideal states, the one in the *Republic*, the other in the *Laws*. The *Republic*, written when his literary and philosophic capacities were at their best, is not only one of the world's greatest masterpieces, but its first great Utopia. It happens also to be the first historic discussion of the philosophy of government. The writing of the *Republic* grew out of the idea that education is the primary function of the state. The breakdown of education and the consequent decline of civic efficiency had brought sharply to attention the need for state control of education in Athens. Down to this time the Athenian government had contented itself with only a general supervision over the training of its youth. The state furnished the aim, but left the details of education to the jurisdiction of the family. The defeat of Athens by totalitarian Sparta demonstrated the superiority of a rigorous system of state military training. Plato, as well as Xenophon, discovered in the Spartan training a superior means for procuring civic efficiency and a better form of government.

Modern education begins with the individual. It considers his potentialities, his interests, and his rights. It aims to promote private success, for the individual must become an independent and free personality. Greek education arose out of the need of the city-state to perpetuate itself by training its citizens to defend it and administer its affairs. The ancients were primarily concerned with training citizens who would act for the public good. Individuals were but the tools that the state used for the attainment of its own ends. Plato accepted this traditional point of view in the ideals of the state which he portrayed in the *Republic* and in the *Laws*.

The origin and composition of the state. The state is a form of human association. It grows out of the fact that men have needs and also capacities commensurate to meet these needs. In the traditional period of Athens there was no division of labor. The citizen was farmer, soldier, judge, and many other things. Versatility or all-sidedness had always been the Athenian ideal. Plato's experience in Egypt had turned him against the pantomimic and amateur performances of the Greeks and induced him to espouse the specialization of Egyptian civilization.

According to Plato, the state is an organism or personality, just as much as the individual. It has all the faculties of the individual writ large. Everything that is found in the individual is found in greater measure in the state. How could one explain the emergence in society of some quality which did not appear in individuals? The psychology of the individual, therefore, finds an exact parallel in the composition of the state. As already explained, the soul is composed of three faculties: the appetites, spirit, and reason. Corresponding to these faculties, the state is composed of three classes of people: first is the vast body of people in whose nature the appetites are predominant; second, the "guardians," or army of defense—or police, corresponding to the soul of courage and control; and last, there is the ruling class in whom the rational element is predominant.

People of the lowest class of society, because of their own predilections and interests, are given over to the production, manufacture, and transportation of goods. They conduct all the menial vocations, including commerce. They seek and find their greatest happiness in gain and in sensuous pleasures. In their tastes they are low-minded and fleshy. Their activities are degrading to the soul, and war against its highest aspirations. This class corresponded to the slaves. They were accorded no rights in the state, and though they were tolerated, they were held in strict subordination and control. This class is by far the largest. All individuals who do not possess intellectual and moral fitness of a marked degree are degraded to this rank, even if they be the offspring of the higher classes. On the other hand, children of this lower class who exhibit great ability will be trained for the higher service of the state. The most fundamental principle of Plato, the principle of justice, demands that individual capacity wherever discovered shall be fully recognized.

The second class constitutes both a police force for the maintenance of order within the state and also a standing army for defense and attack. Plato's state, following the Greek pattern, was relatively small in size; in fact, he never thought his ideal of political organization could be larger than the city-state.

The highest estate comprised a small group of citizens to whom was committed the conduct of the government. It was their prerogative to make all the laws and to determine education. To Plato belongs the credit of proposing the rule of philosophers. Those who had the highest intellectual insight and most exalted moral character were in advanced years selected as members of this ruling oligarchy.

In the social organism as a whole, that is to say, in the state, justice orders the right relations of each class, and grants to each its proper sphere of action. The function of justice, whether in the individual or in the state as a whole, must seek the welfare and harmony or health of the organism. If the whole is functioning healthfully, the parts will be in health. Plato did not believe there is any possibility that the best interests of the individual and those of the state could ever seriously conflict.

The family. Plato was the inveterate enemy of the family as are all communistic thinkers. He shared the Spartan intolerance of the tender sentiments, and of the individualizing tendencies of family life. To his mind, the welfare of the state outweighs all the values of family association. Evidently he harbored a special grudge against the family, for which he must have had some good reasons. During the old Athenian period the family had failed in the training of children, and fathers of the most prominent families frequently had sons who went sadly astray. The failure of the old education and government in Athens, according to Plato, was, therefore, due to the failure of parents to inculcate the virtues that form the underpinning of the state.

Deep in Plato's memory was also the terrible fact that the totalitarian state of Sparta had crushed easy-going Athens. He was in his early twenties when this calamity fell upon his native city. The conflict was between a closely organized, well-trained state and a motley crowd of Athenians who trusted to their resourceful wits rather than to strict military discipline and training. Plato never forgot that lesson, and from it deduced a fundamental principle of government which was set forth in the *Republic* and again in the *Laws*. His conclusion was that family training cannot be trusted; the good of the state demands public control of the breeding, nursing, and the training of children. Only among slaves was ordinary family life to be permitted. To Plato more than to any other man, we owe the doctrine of state control of education. It was his views together with those of Xenophon and, perhaps, Aristotle that later led to the adoption of the ephebic military training in Athens.

Woman's place. Plato's ideas of the position of women in the state are of much interest. Never married, he generalized on a comparison of male and female animals. He believed females have the same fundamental nature as males, though they are not so strong or so well-endowed. Woman is not different in quality, for she has precisely the same capacities as man, but being weaker she has the various qualities in a lesser degree. True to his principle of natural capacities, he admits women to all the offices and work of the state alongside of man. His position was as follows:

> I conclude then, my friend, that none of the occupations which comprehend the ordering of a state belong to a woman as woman, nor yet to man as man; but natural gifts are to be found here and there, in both sexes alike; and, so far as her nature is concerned, the woman is admissible to all pursuits as well as man; though in all of them the woman is weaker than the man.[4]

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[4] *Republic*, § 176.

As a bachelor, he possessed no adequate appreciation of distinctive feminine qualities.

Eugenics. Marriage of citizens was to be absolutely regulated by the state; only those individuals whom the state should select for this purpose were to be brought together on occasion to procreate offspring. Plato aimed to apply the same principles of breeding that are applied in the securing of special traits in pure-blooded animals. He had in view an attempt at breeding a human stock that he imagined would be ideal. Furthermore, the children thus artificially bred were the property of the state; they were nursed by state nurses, and should never know their own parents. The children born in any one month would have for their mothers all those women who bore children in that particular month. Plato had no conception of the family as a unit of social organization, nor of its educational function. His system would deprive the child of all those experiences of human tenderness that have contributed so greatly to the higher evolution of the race.

Private property. Plato condemned private property. This was another of the practices of the Spartan government from which he borrowed so much of his political philosophy. Plato's state was, therefore, communistic or socialistic so far as the citizens themselves were concerned.

In Plato's view, as already noted, the state is a living organism, possessing all the functions and capabilities of real personality. What the cells are to a body, individuals are to the state. It possesses a life of its own in and through individuals, and because of this superior life it controls individuals. It must be noticed further that for Plato the interests of the organism are supreme, and those of the individual subordinate. The state is a divine agency with a divinely ordained end or function. It exists for the purpose of realizing the Good upon the earth after the pattern of absolute justice. It has, accordingly, ethical ends. Plato had always in view the vision of the ideal world. The Good will be realized by securing justice, which is the highest virtue in the Platonic code of morals.

III. PLATO'S THEORY OF EDUCATION

A. *General Principles.* The subject of education is introduced in many places in Plato's dialogues. In his earlier, shorter dialogues it appears in the discussion of the teachableness of the virtues. In his two greatest works, the *Republic* and the *Laws,* education forms a major theme. In some of the other dialogues it is a subordinate topic. In one way or another it formed the background of practically all that he thought and wrote because of the exalted value he placed upon it. He considered education "the first and fairest thing that the best of men can ever have."[5]

The safest interpretation of Plato's theory is that his ideas underwent an evolution throughout his long lifetime of investigation and reflection. In the *Republic* he presented an ideal state and an idealistic and intellectualistic view of education. In the *Laws,* written in old age, he dropped his idealism and reverted to extreme conservatism. It is clear that he had come to doubt that the acquisition of knowledge would produce the moral results he had at first expected. In his early days he called ignorance "the greatest of diseases."[6] But after the change took place in his views, he declared,

> Entire ignorance is not so terrible or extreme an evil, and is far from being the greatest of all; too much cleverness and too much learning, accompanied with an ill bringing-up, are far more fatal.[7]

Thus toward the end of his long life he no longer regarded ignorance as "the worst of diseases."

It is easy to look upon Plato's theory of education as a purely imaginative or idealistic fiction elaborated to fit his dream-city, and, therefore, out of all touch with existing educational conditions. Such an attitude misses most of its vital associations with the historical drama that was being enacted in actual reality in contemporary Hellenic life. That Plato projected an ideal state in order to escape from a melancholy situation which he bitterly resented can scarcely be denied. He was, as he suggested, "the spectator of all life and all existence." Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to plant his feet upon the solid earth and to traffic with actual circumstances. Throughout his discussions, he had always in view the degenerate conditions of the time, and he aimed by his proposals to bring about the reformation of Athenian life and society. For this reason, he followed the best Greek tradition and resolved statesmanship into the philosophy and art of education. As he saw it, the primary business of the statesman is not to make laws but to make the citizens better.

Definition of education. Plato accepted the common understanding of all antiquity that education is a process of moral training. It is the voluntary effort of the older generation to pass on to the younger the good habits of living and the wisdom gathered from experience. One passage more noted than others may be cited as stating Plato's definition of education:

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[5] *Laws,* § 644.

[6] *Timaeus,* § 88.

[7] *Laws,* § 819.

> Now, I mean by education that training which is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of virtue in children; when pleasure and friendship, and pain, and hatred, are rightly implanted in souls not yet capable of understanding the nature of them, and who find them, after they have attained reason, to be in harmony with her. This harmony of the soul, taken as a whole is virtue; but the particular training in respect of pleasure and pain, which leads you always to hate what you ought to hate, and love what you ought to love, from the beginning of life to the end, may be separated off; and, in my view, will be rightly called education.[8]

But he made a significant addition to all previous thinking on education. In his lifetime the Greeks had become profoundly aware of the possibilities of the rational faculty and of knowledge. Plato saw that this rational faculty that was just then emerging into human experience does not function in childhood, but that it appears first of all in adolescence. For this reason, Plato defined education as that training which is in full harmony with the rational life when it does appear.

Is virtue teachable? In the introduction to his translation of the *Meno,* Jowett has a strange comment: "This dialogue," he wrote, "is an attempt to answer the question: Can virtue be taught? No one would either ask or answer such a question in modern times." Yet, strange as it may seem, this was the supreme problem in Greek thought, both philosophical and pedagogical. The Sophists set themselves up as teachers of civic morality, but destroyed all moral sanctions in their extreme individualism. Socrates solved the problem by the identification of virtue and knowledge. By skillful dialectic, he reduced the leading virtues, courage, temperance, justice, and wisdom to cases of knowledge. To his way of thinking, the following syllogism was convincing:

Knowledge can be taught
Virtue is knowledge
Therefore, virtue can be taught.

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[8] *Laws,* § 653. According to Professor John Burnet, "This is the best account of the training of character that has ever been given and should be engraved in the heart of every educator." *Aristotle on Education,* p. 49, *n* 1. Cambridge University Press, 1905.

The problem of the teachableness of virtue dominated Plato's long career, and formed the focal point for all the wealth of his genius. It continued to be the motive that directed the thinking of that entire age of philosophical endeavor down into Christian centuries.

While the problem would not be stated in just the same terms today, the essential difficulty that challenged the interest and intellectual insight of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, not to mention those of lesser caliber, was no useless or inane inquiry. It would be a curious and grotesque freak of mental development if an age of such remarkable intellectual insight and power had expended its best energies in discussing a question that was either meaningless or trivial. Today, to be sure, we frame the question somewhat differently, but its essential likeness is easily discoverable. The problems of relating knowledge and the rational function to the moral and social life of humanity, of developing moral character of the highest grade, and of adjusting the individual to the social organism, must ever be the central problems of educational philosophy.

During early manhood, while dominated by the Socratic influence, Plato accepted the Socratic position in regard to virtue. He, too, identified virtue and knowledge, and asserted that no man will err of his own free will. In the *Protagoras,* one of his early dialogues, Plato defended the Socratic view. In the *Meno,* written later, a more critical view is reached. The statement of the question with which this dialogue opens exhibits the change in Plato's standpoint:

> Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue is acquired by teaching or by practice; or if neither by teaching nor by practice, then whether it comes to man by nature, or in what other way? [9]

The *Meno* concludes in a doubting or skeptical mood. In the interval between the two dialogues, the *Protagoras* and the *Meno,* Plato had been impressed by the strange observation that no genuine teachers of virtue could anywhere be found. Men of greatest virtue and ability, who were leaders in the state, had sons given over to licentiousness and depravity. Plato mentions four in the *Meno,* and in another dialogue he had previously mentioned others. Similarly, where the youth had been placed under the tuition of men of known integrity, these had failed in inculcating virtue. Why should men who had given their sons the most careful education and home training fail so utterly in imparting to them a virtuous character? Evidently Plato had become convinced that virtue cannot be true knowledge, or it would be communicated to the youth; that it is not a science, but only the result of shrewd guesses at the truth. At the conclusion of the dialogue he throws out the suggestion that virtue may be a special gift of the gods, but that, in any case, it will be necessary to pursue the investigation further in order to discover the real character of virtue.

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[9] *Meno,* § 70.

> To sum up the inquiry, the result seems to be, if we are at all right in our view, that virtue is neither natural nor acquired, but an instinct given by God to the virtuous. Nor is the instinct accompanied by reason. . . .
> Then, Meno, the conclusion is that virtue comes to the virtuous by the gift of God. But we shall never know the certain truth until, before asking how virtue is given, we inquire into the actual nature of virtue.[10]

Here, then, is the starting point of Plato's philosophy, the comprehensive search for the nature of virtue.

The *Republic*[11] is the continuation of his investigation into the virtues begun by Socrates. In this celebrated work, Plato mobilized all the resources of philosophy to elucidate the nature of virtue. In the discussion of the nature of justice, the ideal state is gradually revealed, and it is discovered to be founded upon the psychological nature of man and in harmony with absolute or ideal reality.

We have already learned that the first two of Plato's four cardinal virtues, temperance and courage, are related to the irrational faculties. They are "formed in the soul in the course of time by habit and exercise." The production of these two virtues is a result of habituation or practice. The term *habituation* expresses the process of training in a clearer manner than any other. Habituation involves, first of all, *a certain natural endowment or inclination.* Second, it signifies *an exercise of the volitional functions,* either voluntarily and freely or under the compulsion of another. From the repetition of the action there comes into existence a fixed tendency to perform that activity, which is ordinarily termed habit.

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[10] *Ibid.*, § 100.

[11] By some mischance, the primary title given by Plato to this work has been overshadowed by the secondary, the ethical by the civic. Plato termed it "Justice," but it has usually gone under the name of the "Republic."

According to this revised conclusion of Plato, these primary virtues are due to the control of the individual, and for their production in a people there must be the organization of a stable government. Moreover, the cultivation of these virtues in the youth must take place in early life before the rational faculty has emerged into action. Plato looked upon the forming of right habits of temperance and courage as the foundation on which intelligence could be built.

Temperance and courage are directly connected with the soul of courage and the will. This spirited or active element or faculty, as we have already seen, consists of the appetites and passions. From this faculty arise temperance, ambition, the love of honor, reverence, rivalry or the love of strife and contest, the passion of anger, and determination, that is to say, all the emotive or active and spirited elements of man's being. What Plato conceived in such a crude way is in our psychology the *emotional and volitional function.*

The first virtues, then, are due to habit and not to intelligence. Activities that result in pleasure are repeated; those that result in pain are inhibited. Pleasure and pain are the means employed by education as well as by nature for controlling the early behavior of children. "They are the forms," said Plato, "under which virtue and vice are originally presented to them." Such is the first step in Plato's solution of the vexing problem of the teachableness of virtue.

We come now to the other two, the so-called higher virtues, wisdom and justice. These are related directly to reason. Here is the doctrine of Socrates that virtue is knowledge. If one knows the right, and reason is performing its special function of government, the individual will do what is right.

According to Plato, the most important part of education is the awakening of the rational nature and the securing to it of the sovereignty over the life. In his opinion, a soul in which reason is active is a better and nobler soul than one which is still dwelling in the cave,[12] and has never come up into the sunlight and looked upon absolute realities. It is a higher moral state to know the right, and do the wrong voluntarily than to be wholly ignorant of the right and to do it involuntarily. It is a higher state of good manners, to use a modern illustration, to eat with one's knife and know that this is socially outlawed than to do the same not knowing it to be wrong. Better is it to tell a lie consciously and wittingly than to lie and be unconscious of your falsehood. The guilt lies in ignorance, which in Plato's view is the great disease of the soul. To know good and evil is a higher or nobler condition than to remain in a state of innocency and ignorance. Man, knowing good and evil, even though doing the wrong, is on a higher moral level than the animal that has no moral sensibility whatever.

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[12] See Plato's famous and interesting parable of the cave, *Republic*, Book VII.

How shall the enlightenment of the individual take place? How shall the reason be awakened to a knowledge of divine truth? The process by which the youth are to be trained to temperance and courage was carefully outlined by Plato for the education of the guardians of the state. In this we find the older Athenian training readjusted to his own views.

> Education is the constraining and directing of youth towards that right reason, which the law affirms, and which the experience of the eldest and best has agreed to be truly right.[13]

From this quotation it is evident that Plato viewed education as it has been universally viewed until the present generation, as the activity of parents, teachers, and society to alter, from without, the natural course of development within the child. In a word, the beginning of education is discipline in right conduct.

Function and objectives of education. No philosopher or thinker has taken greater pains to clarify the function and objective of education than Plato. Education was for him no mere incident of social existence, but an essential function of the cosmic order. He believed there are two kinds of mind, the empirical and the rational,[14] that which begins with parts and proceeds to wholes, and that which begins with wholes and moves toward the parts. Plato was an idealist who believed in placing the end above the means, the whole above the part.

1. The first objective was state unity. Plato's state had as its purpose the destruction of individualism, which had become rampant in contemporary Athens. The city had become the focal point of all that was good and all that was bad, but it had lost its own soul by its inability to distinguish between the two. In the *Republic,* Plato discussed the nature of justice and its effects

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[13] *Laws,* § 659.

[14] *Republic,* §§ 527–528.

within the soul of the individual and within the state. His final position was that justice is that relationship that makes for the harmony and welfare of all members, whether they be the parts of an organism or the units that compose the state.[15]

The relation that should exist, according to Plato, between the individual and the state is set forth in the following remarkable statement:

> The ruler of the universe has ordered all things with a view to the excellence and preservation of the whole, and each part, as far as may be, has an action and a passion appropriate to it. Over these, down to the least fraction of them, ministers have been appointed to preside, who have wrought out their perfection with infinitesimal exactness, and one of these portions of the universe is thine own, unhappy man, which, however little, contributes to the whole, and you do not seem to be aware that this and every other creation is for the sake of the whole, and in order that the life of the whole may be blessed; and that you are created for the sake of the whole, and not the whole for the sake of you. For every physician and every skilled artist does all things for the sake of the whole, directing his effort toward the common good, executing the part for the sake of the whole, and not the whole for the sake of the part.[16]

The most important application of Plato's principle was in regard to the unity of the state. The first objective of education must be to develop *esprit de corps,* that is, the sense or feeling of community life, for the state is superior to the individual. Every citizen must be trained to dedicate himself unreservedly to the state and to forego private interests. In this view, Plato has followed the Spartan ideal of social solidarity. But he went far beyond the elementary Spartan ideology in that he made the state a personality that combined within itself all the factors of body and mind.

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[15] It seems curious that Rousseau, the greatest advocate of individualism in history, should praise Plato's *Republic* as "the finest work on education ever written." Perhaps the circumstances under which these two men wrote may account for their apparently conflicting views. Plato saw his native city defeated in war and degraded in morals because of uncontrolled individualism. To check this disintegrating tendency, he advocated the establishment of a centralized government. But while on the one hand he proposed to destroy individualism ruthlessly, he made *individuality* the basis of the state. Every man must serve the state with undivided devotion, yet each will do so according to his own peculiar capacities. Rousseau was confronted by a totally different set of circumstances: a state absolutely dominated by a tyrannical monarch and the people mere vassals for the realization of his whims; and a social system in which artificiality was carried to the extreme. The only cure for this condition, Rousseau conceived, was the absolute liberation of the individual. But though Rousseau in the *Émile* made the greatest plea for individualism ever known, he was not ignorant that absolute individualism is a sheer impossibility.

[16] *Laws*, § 903.

2. His second objective was to develop virtue or civic efficiency. Education should accomplish this by instilling habits of temperance, courage, and military skill into the youth. These were the traditional virtues, but they were no longer a sufficient qualification for the new and more complex forms of public service and of social life. With the increased complexity of government there was need of greater efficiency along all lines. Plato aimed to prepare for the higher duties of civil and social life by imparting to the youth accurate knowledge of the nature of government and of absolute truth.

3. The result of years of reflective thinking had led Plato, as we have seen, to the conclusion that the essence of the universe is rationality. Reason is potentially present in the soul of the child. To exalt the intellect above the sensibilities and the soul above the body, by awakening the rational faculty, is the most distinctive work of education. The function of education is, therefore, to establish the rule of reason in the growing life of the child.

> We exercise (authority) over children, and then refuse to let them be free until we have established in them a principle analogous to the constitution of the state, and by cultivation of this higher element have set up in their hearts a guardian and ruler like our own, and when this is done they may go their ways.[17]

4. Another function of education is the development of the aesthetic sensibility. Education must aim to produce a love of the true, the beautiful, and the good. The higher soul must learn to place the ideal above the actual, the abiding above the transient, the eternal above the temporal. The child is naturally a creature of low appetites; he must become a man with passionate interest in ideal reality.

5. The great complexity of man's being requires that the various elements shall be harmonized. Body and mind, the life of habit and the life of reason, the lower and the higher, the individual interests and the interests of the state—all must be combined to make a unified whole.

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[17] *Republic*, §590.

> He who mingles music with gymnastics in the fairest proportions and best attempers them to the soul, may be rightly called the musician and harmonist in a far higher sense than the tuner of the strings.[18]

The supreme task of the educator consists in the harmonizing of the personality of the individual.

6. Another function of education is to make it unnecessary to multiply the laws to infinite details. *Education must be a substitute for state regimentation and innumerable laws,* and for the petty regulation of morals and manners.

> If our citizens are well educated, and grow into sensible men, they will easily see their way through all these, as well as other matters which count, such, for example, as marriage, the possession of women and the procreation of children.[19]
>
> Thus educated they will invent for themselves any lesser rules which their predecessors have altogether neglected. I mean such things as these: when the young are to be silent before their elders; how they are to show respect to them by standing and making them sit; what honour is due parents; what garments or shoes are to be worn; the mode of dressing the hair; deportment and manners in general.[20]

In other terms, the work of education is to produce a self-governing individual whose intelligence settles the details of conduct.

7. In addition, it is the function of education to teach children to live together in harmony. The school should be the greatest humanizing and socializing agency. On this Plato wrote:

> True education, whatever that may be, will have the greatest tendency to civilize and humanize them in their relations to one another, and to those who are under their protection.[21]
>
> Man, as we say, is a tame or civilized animal; nevertheless, he requires proper instruction and a fortunate nature, and then of all animals he becomes the most divine and most civilized; but if he be insufficiently or ill educated he is the most savage of earthly creatures.[22]

Education a state function. According to Plato, education is the primary function of the state. Therefore, the philosophy of education forms the heart of any discussion of government. The failure of the old Athenian education was due to the fact that it was almost solely in the hands of the family. The victory of Sparta was due to the solidarity of its people, a solidarity which had its foundation in the control of education by the state. In striking contrast to the strict Spartan training was the loose system of education in Athens.

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[18] *Ibid.,* § 412.
[19] *Ibid.,* § 423.
[20] *Ibid.,* § 425.
[21] *Ibid.,* § 416.
[22] *Laws,* § 766.

Plato in the *Republic* and the *Laws* required that the education of citizens should be completely under the control of the state. As he planned his system, all children without exception belong to the state, for family life endangers the unity of the body politic. All children who are to become citizens must be compelled to be educated in public schools, and to insure the best interests of the state, education must be the same for all. Only commonality of life and experience will produce that *esprit de corps* which forms the soul of the state. No individual should have a will of his own apart from the interests and common will of the state. Service to the state must be compulsory.[23]

In Plato's ideal state only the children of citizens are to be educated. He was aware, nevertheless, that sometimes the sons of great men are lacking in ability, and also that sometimes, sons of lower class parents may be gifted. Special ability must be recognized, and, for this reason, there will be provision for the transfer of individuals from one class of society to another. He stated this in the delightful figure of speech which follows:

> If the son of a golden or silver parent has an admixture of brass and iron, then nature orders a transportation of ranks, and the eye of the ruler must not be pitiful toward the child because he has to descend in the scale and become a husbandman or artisan.[24]
> Upon the guardians was imposed the duty of degrading the offspring of the guardians when inferior, and of elevating into the rank of guardians the offspring of the lower classes when naturally superior. The intention was, that, in the case of the citizens generally, each individual should be put to the use for which nature intended him, one to one work, and then every man would do his own business.[25]

B. *Nature of the educational process.* Plato recognized two kinds of education: (1) the education for practical affairs, received by the artisans and trade classes and (2) education for service to the state. The first "aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength, or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice." "This kind of education is mean and illiberal, and is not worthy to be called education at all." [26]

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[23] *Republic*, §§ 519–520.
[24] *Ibid.*, § 415.
[25] *Ibid.*, § 423.

Education is training in virtue. The real and only genuine education according to Plato's view, is the "education in virtue from youth upwards, which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship, and teaches him rightly to rule and how to obey."

In this education of the citizen, two levels are to be recognized: a lower level for the fundamental virtues, and a higher level in conformity with the rational nature.

The fundamental process of early education is the inculcation of moral attitudes and habits. The right means for this are discipline and music. In his maturer thinking, as we have already seen, Plato adopted the view that the virtues of self-control or temperance, courage, and obedience to the state are not taught by means of intellectual instruction. They are acquired, as are all arts and skills, by means of practice.

Their acquirement is dependent on the habit-forming capacity. Social approval plays a large part in furnishing the proper motivation. Moreover, rhythm has a peculiar power in fixing the right impression. Discipline and music-poetry are the primary means of training. As Plato grew older, he emphasized more and more the forming of right habits by regimentation. In the *Laws,* this form of training became the chief aspect of the process.

> The great principle of all is that no one of either sex should be without a commander; nor should the mind of anyone be accustomed to do anything, either in jest or earnest, of his own notion, but in war and in peace he should look to and follow his leader, even in the least things being under his guidance; for example, he should stand or move, or exercise, or wash, or take his meals, or get up in the night to keep guard and deliver messages when he is bidden.[27]

As to the higher virtues, they are derived from the functioning of the rational faculty. Since wisdom, knowledge, and justice are dependent upon reason, the problem that confronted Plato was that of relating the cultivation of character to intelligence or reason.

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[26] *Laws,* § 643; compare also the *Sophist,* § 229.
[27] *Ibid.,* § 942.

The great conversion. The question now arises: How is the intelligence, which remains dormant in childhood, to be awakened into action? This, Plato held, is to be accomplished by a conversion from the life of sense to the love of ideal reality, from ignorance to knowledge. The process involves the turning about of the soul from the downward path to an upward path, from low interests and loves to high interests. He termed it "the divine release of the soul from the yoke of custom and convention," to the freedom of the rational life. This change is of the greatest importance.

> The process, I said, is not the turning over of an oyster shell but the turning round of a soul passing from a day which is little better than night to the true day of being, that is, the ascent from below, which we affirm to be true philosophy.[28]

The conversion is to be accomplished, strange as it may seem, by the study of arithmetic. It is the peculiar function of this subject, as Plato conceived, to bridge over from the world of concrete objects, *i.e.*, the many, to the world of abstract thought, the concept, the universal, *i.e.*, the one.

> Arithmetic has a very great and elevating effect, compelling the soul to reason about abstract numbers, and rebelling against the introduction of visible or tangible objects into the argument.[29]

What Plato means is that the lower life is sensory and empirical, and the higher life is rational, idealizing, and universal. The lower life is established upon custom or habit, the higher life is based on a knowledge of eternal principles. The means which brings about the ascent from the one level to the other is mathematics. Arithmetic and geometry are used on the empirical level for solving practical problems, but they are also used on the higher level for purely abstract thinking. Because of this dual function, mathematics becomes the very best means for bringing about the conversion of the soul. How mathematics can accomplish this change will be discussed later.

Compulsion. Plato insisted upon compulsory training for all children who were to become citizens. This rule applied equally to boys and girls. But he was opposed to compulsion in learning, and he was aware that anything learned under coercion is painful. "No one will love that which gives him pain, and in which after much toil he makes little progress."[30] Compulsion on the lower level of bodily exercise or the acquiring of good habits is not harmful; but compulsory learning is injurious to a healthy mind.

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[28] *Republic*, § 521; compare also *Ibid.*, §§ 518–519; *Laws* § 957.
[29] *Ibid.*, § 525.

> A freeman ought not to be a slave in the acquisition of knowledge of any kind. Bodily exercise, when compulsory, does no harm to the body; but knowledge, which is acquired under compulsion, obtains no hold on the mind. Then, do not use compulsion, but let early education be a sort of amusement; you will then be better able to find out the natural bent.[31]

Plato's condemnation of compulsion in learning must be understood to apply only to young children. For those who are older he believed fully in the principle of formal discipline. Moreover, those who are selected for the highest offices are to be required to continue their studies until they become dialecticians.

Compulsory intellectual training on the higher level was necessary for those who are to run the state:

> The business of us who are the founders of the state will be to compel the best minds to attain that knowledge which we have already shown to be the greatest of all—they must continue to ascend until they arrive at the good.[32]

Creativity. Creative activity has come to the front in recent years as a distinctive method of education, and this conception is now being employed along every line of activity taught in the schools. Plato discussed the creative process with reference only to poetry. The poet, he declared, produces his works by inspiration of the gods and the Muses. He does not depend on conscious art or technique, but is inspired and possessed; that is to say, he sings because of an inner compulsion.

> For the poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him; when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless and is unable to utter his oracles. Many are the noble words in which poets speak concerning the actions of men; but like yourself when speaking about Homer, they do not speak of them

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[30] *Ibid.*, § 486.
[31] *Ibid.*, § 537.
[32] *Laws*, § 519; compare also ***Republic***, **§ 525.**

> by any rules of art; they are singly inspired to utter that to which the Muse impels them, and that only; and when inspired one of them will make dithyrambs, another hymns of praise, another choral strains, another epic and iambic verses—and he who is good at one is not good at any other kind of verse: for not by art does the poet sing, but by divine power.[33]

Without this divine effluence, the mind of the poet is as commonplace as any mind. Industry and effort cannot bring the poetic afflatus. It does not come from the application of the rules of art or a knowledge of technique; the poet's inspiration is akin to madness. The rhapsodists had not the genius for creation, but they recited the poetry of others by divine inspiration just as the poets whom they imitated.

It is not at all strange that Plato discussed creativity only in relation to poetry, and gave the process no broad application in education. He recognized that poetic creation is a nonrational process and does not conform to the rules of intelligence. But there was a still deeper reason for his attitude.

In Plato's view, education is confined to the recapitulation of truth already known. All genuine knowledge is innate, having been derived from observing or contemplating pure being in the world of the ideal; that is to say, it belongs to the structure of the mind itself. Knowledge, therefore, is fixed and unchangeable. It consists of photostatic copies of the universal and ideal objects that constitute reality, and these photostatic copies are deposited in the soul itself during its pre-existent life. According to Plato, knowledge neither grows, nor is it created; it is merely recalled.

The origin of lawlessness. Confronted with the moral degeneracy of the Athenian people, Plato sought to discover its causes and to suggest a remedy. He concluded that the greatest enemy of the state is lawlessness or licentiousness. This evil originates in the departure from the simple ways of the forefathers.

The first cause of the licentious spirit is the changing of the plays and games of children. Of this Plato said:

> When plays are ordered with a view to children having the same plays and amusing themselves after the same manner, and finding delight in the same playthings, the more solemn institutions of the state are allowed to remain undisturbed. Whereas if sports are disturbed, and alterations are made in them, and they constantly change and the

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[33] *Ion*, 534.

> young never speak of having the same likings, or the same established notions of good and bad taste, either in the bearing of their bodies, or in their dress, but he who devises something new and out of the way in figures and colours and the like is held in especial honour, we may then say that no greater evil can happen in a state; for he who changes the sports is secretly changing the manners of the young.[34]

From this it is clear that children who seek innovations in their games grow up with a spirit of dislike for the fixed rules of moral life. They became revolutionists.

> These children who make innovations in their games, when they grow up to be men, will be different from the last generation of children, and, being different, will desire a different sort of life, and under the influence of this desire will want other institutions and laws; and no one of them reflects that there will follow what I just now called the greatest evil to states. . . . Frequent changes in the praise and censure of manners are the greatest of evils.[35]
>
> Little by little this spirit of license, finding a home, imperceptibly penetrates into manners and customs; whence issuing with greater force, it invades contracts between man and man, and from contracts goes on to laws and constitutions, in utter recklessness, ending at last, Socrates, by an overthrow of all rights, private as well as public.[36]

Another source of license was found in music and poetry. Here are two difficulties, the one from change, and the other from a more subtle cause. Of changes in poetry Plato wrote,

> The poets themselves introduced the reign of vulgar and lawless innovation. . . . Ignorantly affirming that music has no truth, and whether good or bad, can only be judged of rightly by the pleasure of the hearer. And by composing such licentious works, and adding to them words as licentious, they have inspired the multitude with lawlessness and boldness, and made them fancy that they can judge for themselves about melody and song. . . .[37]

From innovations in music arise: first (1) "disobedience to rulers"; then (2) escape from "the control and exhortation" of parents and elders; then (3) "contempt of oaths and pledges"; (4) disregard of all law; and last (5) "rebellion against God."

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[34] *Laws*, § 797.
[35] *Ibid.*, § 798.
[36] *Republic*, § 424.
[37] *Laws*, §§ 700–701.

Not only did Plato fear changes in the poetry and music, but he was painfully aware that the ancient poetry, which had nourished the very roots of Greek life, was destructive to the moral life. He indicted poetry on two charges: first, it told heinous lies about the gods; and second, it produced mimics. The trouble arose from the imitativeness of the Athenians. Whatever they read in their poetry they acted out in their conduct. As a consequence, the immorality of the gods, described in the poetry which they read and chanted, came to fill their minds with images of evil and habits of action that were bad.

Plato a uniformitarian. The net result of Plato's investigation made him a thoroughgoing uniformitarian. He believed that the *esprit de corps* of the city demanded absolute regimentation in thought and action. The legislator, he declared,

> Has only to reflect and find out what belief will be of the greatest public advantage, and then use all his efforts to make the whole community utter one and the same word in their songs and fables and discourses all their life long.[38]

Plato decided to tolerate no changes in the regimen of youth; early education must consist in discipline—that is, in a fixed, unalterable system of training for implanting moral habits. When once the system of training has been formulated, no changes are to be permitted. In order to carry out this program he proposed:

(1) That the environment in which children are brought up should show nothing ungraceful or immoral and should remain unchanged.

(2) A drastic censorship must be exercised over the morals and manners not only of the young but of every citizen.

(3) The ancient poetry must be thoroughly expurgated of all suggestion of evils and falsehood; even Homer was to be excluded for his lies about the gods. Songs must conform to set models. Poets who invent new rhythms and melodies are to be firmly but courteously escorted out of the city-state.

> This is the point to which, above all, the attention of our rulers should be directed—that music and gymnastic be preserved in their original form, and no innovation made. They must do their utmost to preserve them intact. . . . Any musical innovation is full of danger

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[38] *Ibid.*, § 664.

> to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited . . . when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them.[39]

(4) Versatile gentlemen who practice pantomime are also to be excluded.

(5) The plays and games of children must not be altered. Plato lavishes praise upon the Egyptians because they permitted no changes in the form of their dances. He pointed out that their ancient painters and sculptors had portrayed the same dances that were used in his day.[40]

(6) Censorship of painting, sculpture, and architecture is to be established.

(7) Reverence for antiquity must be inculcated.

(8) The ritual for religion must remain fixed and unaltered.

Education of women. Plato maintained "the general inferiority of the female sex." In his ideal state there is no qualitative difference between the sexes. "All pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also, but in all of them a woman is inferior to a man." Some women are gifted in medicine, others in music, others in gymnastics and military exercises, and still others in philosophy. "Men and women alike possess the qualities which make a guardian; they differ only in their comparative strength or weakness." [41]

As men and women share the same qualities so far as the activities of the state are concerned, it follows that they are to have the same education. Women must be taught music, dancing, gymnastics, and even military exercise just as the men. Plato maintained that gymnastics, horsemanship, and fighting are suitable for women as for men.[42]

In order to insure the unity of the state there must be a common way of life. This common way of life requires "common children and common education" and services to the state on the part of both men and women.

C. *The course of study.* Plato has much to say about the curriculum, and his ideas are of interest both from a philosophic and historical point of view. With prophetic vision he forecast the curriculum with considerable accuracy for more than fifteen centuries. His philosophic insight into the basic principles of child activities was the most profound until the advent of Comenius in the seventeenth century. For elementary education he accepted the traditional Greek curriculum of gymnastics and music, but he gave both of these new interpretation. Then, above this he erected a new course of study for secondary and higher education.

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[39] *Republic*, § 424.

[40] *Laws*, § 656.

[41] *Republic*, §§ 455–456.

[42] *Ibid.*, § 452 and § 466; *Laws*, § 804; compare also § 805, § 807, and §§ 813–814.

Gymnastics, dancing, and athletics. Gymnastics had been practiced in Athens for the sake of physical fitness, participation in the great contests, and preparation for military service. Plato saw in it still other values. The traditional idea that gymnastics was for the body and music for the soul was far too simple. For music affects the body as well as the soul, and gymnastics affects the soul as well as the body. Plato was profoundly impressed with the observation that those peoples who pursued music without gymnastics became soft, cowardly, and sensual. Those who pursued gymnastics without music became brutal. Combined with music in right proportion, gymnastics imparts spiritual tonicity and creates harmony of the personality.

Dancing is a branch of gymnastics, but is also related to music. There are two forms of dancing, the war dance and the dance of peace. The war dance is in armor either light or heavy. In the pyrrhic dance, the youth "imitates the modes of avoiding blows and missiles by dropping or giving way, or springing aside or rising up or falling down."[43] Plato recognized two types of the dance of peace:

> One sort of dancing imitates musical recitation, and aims at preserving dignity and freedom, the other aims at producing health, agility, and beauty in the limbs and parts of the body.[44]

The chief peace dances were the choral dances. Here the interest centered in expressing through movements the most exalted activities and virtues of the soul.

For professional athletics, Plato had no sympathy whatever. This training was designed solely to prepare young men to win the prizes at the great Greek games, and did not aim at a well-ordered education. By Plato's day, physical education had already begun to degenerate.

The origin of music. Plato attributed the origin of music to the spontaneous or nonpractical activities of life. Leisure from toil on the one hand, and a surplus of energy on the other, incite men to play, sing, and dance. It is then that the gods take humans to be their dance-mates and share with them the exciting pleasures of free and happy existence. For untold centuries, the Greeks had engaged in such spontaneous activities. Poetry was a concomitant development of rhythm, tone, and dancing, and together with these produced all the other gentler arts of humanity. From this combination came the term "music." Religious sentiments too were involved. Man's sense of the divine and his urge to worship were connected with the expression of his spontaneous activities. "Good songs," Plato declared, "were heaven-born." Music in this comprehensive sense was the product of man's free spirit, and out of music evolved the literary and dramatic genius of the Greeks.

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[43] *Laws*, § 815.
[44] *Ibid.*, § 795.

Music, poetry, and literature. What the Old Testament was to the Hebrew, and the Bible to Christendom, music-poetry was to the Greeks. Apollo and the Muses, who represented the free and joyous spirit of man, were the originators of these arts which graced and entranced the hours of leisure. Plato traced to them the origin of the entire intellectual life. They form the beginning of all education; learning poetry by heart constituted the chief part of the old Greek education. Plato accepted this traditional practice. "Our guardians," he declared, "must lay the foundation of their fortress in music." Singing and dancing were the chief marks of the educated man.

> The uneducated is he who has not been trained in the chorus, and the educated is he who has been well trained. And the chorus is made up of two parts, dance and song? Then he who is well educated will be able to sing and dance well?[45]

Speaking of the poets and poetry, Plato said,

> All mankind declare that the youth who are rightly educated should be brought up in them and saturated with them; some insist that they should be constantly hearing them read aloud, and always learning them, so as to get by heart entire poets; while others select choice passages and long speeches, and make compendiums of them, saying that these ought to be committed to memory if a man is to be made good and wise.[46]

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[45] *Republic*, § 424.

[46] *Laws*, §§ 810–811.

Rhythm. Music, poetry, dancing, and gymnastics are bound together by rhythm, which is fundamental to all. Plato believed that different emotions express themselves in quite different rhythms as well as in different words. Temperance is expressed by certain simple rhythms; courage by rhythms of another kind.

> As there are rhythms of temperance and courage, so there are rhythms of meanness, cowardice, sorrow, lewdness, and insolence.[47]

Thus, because of their rhythms, it came about that the nobility of character which Plato sought to inculcate was best expressed by noble hymns to the Gods. In other words, good character expressed itself in a certain type of poetry accompanied by a certain tone.

> Rhythms and music in general are imitations of good and evil characters in men. Must we not, then, try in every possible way to prevent our youth from even desiring to imitate new modes either in dance or song?[48]
>
> The movement of the body has rhythm in common with the movement of the voice, but gesture is peculiar to it, whereas song is simply the movement of the voice. And the sound of the voice which reaches and educates the soul, we have ventured to term music. And the movement of the body, when regarded as an amusement, we termed dancing; but when extended and pursued with a view to the excellence of the body, this scientific training may be called gymnastic.[49]
>
> Then, again, the teachers of the lyre take similar care that their young disciple is temperate and gets into no mischief; and when they have taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the poems of other excellent poets, who are the lyric poets; and thus they set to music and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children's souls, in order that they may learn to be more gentle, and harmonious, and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action; for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm.[50]
>
> We ought not to seek out complex systems of metre, or metres of every kind, but rather to discover what rhythms are the expression of a courageous and harmonious life; and when we have found them, we shall adapt the foot and the melody to words having a like spirit, not the words to the foot and melody. . . . Then, I said, we must take Damon into our counsels; and he will tell us what rhythms are expressions of meanness, or insolence, or fury, or other unworthi-

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[47] *Republic*, §§ 399–400.

[48] *Laws*, § 798; see also § 655.

[49] *Ibid.*, §§ 672–673.

[50] *Protagoras*, § 326.

ness. . . . Grace or the absence of grace is an effect of good or bad rhythm. Good and bad rhythm naturally assimilate to a good and bad style.[51]

These two harmonies I ask you to leave; the strain of necessity and the strain of freedom, the strain of the unfortunate and the strain of the fortunate, the strain of courage and the strain of temperance; these I say, leave.

And these, he replied, are the Dorian and Phrygian harmonies.[52]

All our three choruses [53] shall sing to the young and tender souls of children, reciting in their strains all the noble thoughts of which we have already spoken, or are about to speak; and the sum of them shall be, that the life which is by the gods deemed to be the happiest is also the best.[54]

The mathematical sciences. The Sophists evolved the traditional music-poetry curriculum in the direction of grammar and rhetoric. They were particularly interested in preparing students for oratory and public leadership. Plato, on the other hand, was more interested in philosophic studies and social reform. As already stated, he recognized two levels of human life and education; the lower level of motor and sensory activity; and the higher level of rational thinking. Habituation is the proper education for the first level, and instruction for the second.

Inasmuch as he considered reason to be the supreme element in the composite nature of man, and the knowledge of ideal reality its ultimate aim, it was necessary to find some study that would quicken the rational faculty. At this point his thought was influenced in greatest measure by the Pythagorean theory of number and form. It was this theory that evolved music along the lines of mathematics and philosophy and showed for the first time the vital relation between the two. This insight convinced Plato that the mathematical branches are the greatest instrument for the awakening of the rational nature.

Plato harbored a most exaggerated idea of the effect of arithmetic upon the soul. He saw in it a universal aid, "a something which all art, science and intelligence use in common." [55] It is, so to speak, a master key that unlocks all doors. Arithmetic is necessary for practical life and all the common arts.

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[51] *Republic*, § 400.
[52] *Ibid.*, § 399.
[53] Choir of children; choir of young men under 30 years of age; choir of men 30–60 years of age.
[54] *Laws*, § 664.
[55] *Republic*, § 522.

> No single instrument of youthful education has such mighty power both as regards domestic economy and politics, and in the arts, as the study of arithmetic.[56]

It is essential, too, in the conduct of military activities, and in the calculation of time and of the seasons of the year.

Mathematics is the subtle means by which man comes to recall ideal reality. The greatest value of arithmetic operates in the intellectual sphere where it performs three great functions. First, it is the only subject that furnishes man with positive truth—truth that can never be doubted, but is the same for every mind. "Those arts into which arithmetic and mensuration enter, far surpass all others . . . in accuracy and truth."[57] The second advantage of arithmetic is its power in converting the soul, to which reference has already been made. It turns the soul from the downward path to the upward path, from the things of sense and material life to the things of the mind and eternity. It is the one subject that assists the mind up the steep ascent from concrete objects, to the *one,* or concept, as the object of generalization. It, therefore, assists the mind in genuine thinking.

> All arithmetic and calculation have to do with number?
>
> Yes.
>
> And they appear to lead the mind towards truth?
>
> Yes, in a very remarkable manner.
>
> Then this is knowledge of the kind for which we are seeking, having a double use, military and philosophical; for the man of war must learn the art of number or he will not know how to array his troops, and the philosopher also, because he has to rise out of the sea of change and lay hold of true being, and therefore he must be an arithmetician.
>
> That is true.
>
> And our guardian is both warrior and philosopher?
>
> Certainly.
>
> Then this is a kind of knowledge which legislation may fitly prescribe; and we must endeavor to persuade those who are to be the principal men of our state to go and learn arithmetic, not as amateurs, but they must carry on the study until they see the nature of numbers with the mind only; nor again, like merchants or retail-traders, with a view to buying or selling, but for the sake of their military use, and of the soul herself; and because this will be the easier way for her to pass from becoming to truth and being.
>
> . . . I must add how charming the science is and in how many

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[56] *Laws,* § 750.

[57] *Philebus,* § 57.

ways it conduces to our desired end, if pursued in the spirit of a philosopher, and not of a shopkeeper!

How do you mean?

I mean, as I was saying, that arithmetic has a very great and elevating effect, compelling the soul to reason about abstract number, and rebelling against the introduction of visible or tangible objects into the argument . . .

Then you see that this knowledge may be truly called necessary, necessitating as it clearly does the use of the pure intelligence in the attainment of pure truth?

Yes, that is a marked characteristic of it.[58]

Formal discipline theory. The third value of mathematics lies in the power it gives. Plato originated the theory of formal mental discipline, the transference of power. The study of arithmetic makes the child brighter, quicker, and more retentive.

And have you further observed that those who have a natural talent for calculation are generally quick at every other kind of knowledge; and even the dull, if they have had an arithmetical training, although they may derive no other advantage from it, always become much quicker than they would otherwise have been?

Very true, he said.

And indeed, you will not easily find a more difficult study, and not many as difficult.[59]

Above all, arithmetic stirs up him who is by nature sleepy and dull, and makes him quick to learn; retentive, shrewd, and aided by art divine, he makes progress quite beyond his natural powers.[60]

D. *Organization of public education.* Plato, as already stated, was a firm believer in the totalitarian theory of the state; also, as we have seen, he held that education is the chief function of government. All children who are to be citizens are compelled to receive training at the hands of the state. The state provides the teachers, the various buildings, and controls the curriculum and methods of instruction. Family influence and training are entirely eliminated.

E. *Administration and supervision.* The general charge of educational affairs is to be in the hands of a superintendent or "director" of education. "Of all the great offices of state this is the greatest." [61] This officer was to be elected by the magistrates from among the best citizens of the state and had to be over fifty years of age. He was to hold office for a period of five years, and he had as assistants a director of music and a director of gymnastics. In addition to these, there were other assistants and superintendents of music contests, gymnastic contests, and directors of choruses. These officers were always in pairs, one for the boys and another for the girls. To qualify for office, they must be trained in the science of government and education.

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[58] *Republic*, §§ 525–526.
[59] *Ibid.*, § 526.
[60] *Laws*, § 747.
[61] *Ibid.*, §§ 765–766.

Division of labor. Plato first learned of the division of labor in Egypt, where it had been in operation for many centuries. This fact accounts for his separation of the people of the state into three classes. But of much greater weight was his theory that nature endows each individual with special aptitude along some one particular line. For this reason he believed,

> Every individual therein ought, in accordance with nature, to do the one work which belongs to him.[62]

Such a policy prevents the scattering of one's powers, which constituted a weakness of contemporary Athenian life. But Plato carried this idea to an extreme, for every man was to have only one art; citizens who practiced two were to be punished, and foreigners who undertook to practice more than one were to be expelled from the state.[63]

Periods of instruction. A system of training and instruction was outlined by Plato for the guardians and magistrate classes. This was divided into a number of periods according to the stages in the development of life.

Idea of development. In spite of the view that all knowledge is innate, Plato does not utterly reject the obvious facts of growth and development. The body grows before the mind; the irrational soul of appetites and spiritedness precede the emergence of the rational soul. Consequently, temperance and courage must be developed before wisdom and justice, and interest in play and music precede the emergence of reason. The activity of the senses in perception assists the awakening of reason and makes for the recall of innate knowledge of the Good. Development of the mind or rational being comes slowly, and above all it must not be forced. But "when reason comes," the youth ought to find that his former training was wholly in harmony with his new and higher life.

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[62] *Republic*, § 173.
[63] *Laws*, § 847.

Infancy. This period was to extend from birth to three years. The child was to be well nourished and to experience as little pain and pleasure as possible. He is a creature of appetite and spirit but not of reason.[64] He is not to suffer from fear.

Nursery. This period extends from three to six years of age. Plato declared, "The most important part of education, is right training in the nursery."[65] The education of children at this period was to consist of play, fairy tales, mother goose, and simple amusements. Plato described it in this manner:

> At three, four, five, and even six years, the childish nature will require sports; now is the time to get rid of self-will in him, punishing him, but not so as to disgrace him. . . . Children at that age have certain natural modes of amusement which they find out for themselves when they meet. And all the children who are between the ages of three and six ought to meet at the temples of the villages. . . . The nurses are to see that the children behave properly and orderly.[66]

The elementary school. This period was to begin at six. Boys and girls were to be separated, and both must live in state dormitories. Plato did not have a very exalted conception of boy nature, and he paid his respects to boy's unruly character in no uncertain terms.

> Of all the animals the boy is the most unmanageable, inasmuch as he has the fountain of reason in him not yet regulated; he is the most insidious, sharp-witted, and insubordinate of animals. Wherefore he must be bound with many bridles.[67]

He was particularly impressed with the spontaneous, wild, and uncoordinated movements of the young, both of animals and children. He believed that something was necessary to introduce harmony and control into the disconnected behavior of the young.

> Man alone attains mastery over his passions and disconnected movements of the body and voice. I was speaking at the commencement of our discourse of the fiery nature of young creatures: I said that they were unable to keep quiet either in limb or voice, and that they called out and jumped about in a disorderly manner; and that no other animal attained to any perception of order, but man only. Now the order of motion is called rhythm, and the order of the voice, in which high and

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[64] *Ibid.*, §§ 792–794.

[65] *Ibid.*, § 643.

[66] *Ibid.*, § 794.

[67] *Ibid.*, § 808.

> low are duly mingled, is called harmony; and both together are termed choric song.[68]

It is in this period when movements and vocalization are spontaneous, uncoordinated, and wild that the music-poetry-dance program is essential. Rhythm and melody bring control and order for the first time into the youthful organism.[69] The period of elementary education as outlined in the *Republic* was devoted to music, play, religion, and morals, together with letters and mathematics. In the *Laws,* Plato postponed literary instruction until the age of ten to thirteen years. He states: "A fair time for a boy of ten years old to spend in letters is three years." [70] Younger boys are to substitute the beginnings of military training for letters. Horsemanship and the use of weapons of warfare are also to be taught this early in life. But Plato goes to a revolting extreme. As young dogs are given bloody meat to whet their desire, so young boys are to be brutalized by being taken to see the actual slaughtering of the battlefield. Plato in his older days had come to believe that fighting is a serious profession and an art that requires a long period of training. Light gymnastics were to be a part of this training. Gymnastic and military exercises, Plato explained, are to be graded to suit the three states of development, "boys," "beardless youths," and "men." [71] In the *Republic,* when Plato was not yet so much obsessed with militarism, he proposed that the child give great attention to mathematics.

> Calculation and geometry and all other elements of instruction which are a preparation for dialectic, should be presented to the mind in childhood.[72]

These branches, begun so early, were probably to be continued up to the time of formal gymnastics and military training.

The instincts that guide the child at this stage are pain and pleasure, fear, desire for approval, shame and reverence, and finally love and hate. Great care must be taken that the children do not hear improper stories. Moreover, nothing ugly or in-harmonious must be permitted in the physical environment; for the things a child sees and hears leave a lasting impression for good or ill.

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[68] *Ibid.,* §§ 664–665.

[69] It is interesting to note that Plato adopted the music-poetry-dance program as the coordinating means rather than the manual-industrial program of the advocates of the so-called "activities program" of today.

[70] *Ibid.,* § 810.

[71] *Ibid.,* § 833.

[72] *Republic,* § 536.

The middle school. In the *Laws,* Plato set forth the training at the time of puberty. This was confined to the study of instrumental music.

> The age of thirteen is the proper time for him to begin the lyre, and he may continue at this for another three years, neither more or less and whether his father or himself like or dislike the study, he is not to be allowed to spend more or less time in learning music than the law allows.[73]

This, then, was training in instrumental music during the period from thirteen to sixteen. Apparently it accorded with the general Athenian practice. But in Plato's more ideal scheme of education the subjects of the elementary school were to be continued throughout this time.

In the *Laws,* Plato prescribed quite a different form of training from what he set forth in the *Republic.* He had in his old age come to doubt the value of so much intellectual training. He cuts literary instruction to the minimum, and says not a word about the idealistic value of mathematics, dialectic, and the higher music. In the *Republic,* the child begins his letters at six; in the *Laws,* at ten. Moreover, no effort should be made to attain high efficiency in literary lines. The children, he declared in the *Laws,*

> ought to be occupied with their letters until they are able to read and write; but the acquisition of perfect beauty or quickness in writing, if nature has not stimulated them to acquire these accomplishments in the given number of years, they should let alone.[74]

Gymnastic period. Two or perhaps three years are now to be given to strenuous gymnastic, accompanied by military training. After being hardened by gymnastics, the young man is given a thorough training in arms and military life for about two years. So rigorous will this be that no intellectual training ought to accompany it. Military exercises and gymnastics were largely identified by Plato. They include horsemanship, archery, hurling of weapons, the use of the shield, fighting with heavy armor, military evolutions, movement of armies, and encampment.

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[73] *Laws,* § 810.
[74] *Ibid.,* § 810.

Higher training. The age of twenty was the dividing line for the young citizens. By diagnostic tests, the most promising young men and women were to be selected for the ten-year course in scientific studies. Before this age, the various sciences were to be introduced to children in a general way only. Plato recognized that the chief development of the young men at this period was in seeing the inner relationship of facts to one another. They felt the need of the correlating or integrating of all their thinking. The new course laid the emphasis upon the systematization of the various sciences. On this point he declared,

> The sciences which they learned without any order in their early education will now be brought together, and they will be able to see the natural relationship of them to one another and to true being.[75]

Higher officer's course. From thirty to thirty-five, those who have been selected to become higher officers were to study dialectic and the higher philosophy. This course included theory of knowledge, ethics, psychology; but we can be assured that along with these were all those subjects discussed in his later works, such as harmony, metaphysics, government, law, and education.

Practical life. From thirty-five to fifty, men who had been elected as officers were to serve the state on active duty.

Philosophers. At fifty, the chief officers were to be relieved from active service to the state, and henceforth they were to give their attention solely to the study of true being.

Platonic System of Schools

Age	*School*	*Special development or studies*
Birth to 3	Infancy	Bodily growth, sensory life, no fear; child reacts to pleasure or pain.
4 to 6	Nursery	Play, fairy tales, nursery rhymes, myths, get rid of self-will.
6 to 13	Elementary school	Play, poetry, reading, writing, singing, dancing, religion, manners, numbers, geometry.
13 to 16	Instrumental music	Play the cithara, religious hymns, memorize poetry, arithmetic (especially theory).
16 to 20	Gymnastics and the military	Formal gymnastics and military training. No intellectual training.

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[75] *Republic*, § 537.

Platonic System of Schools—Cont'd

Age	*School*	*Special development or studies*
20 to 30	Sciences	Coordination of reason and habits; interrelating the physical sciences.
30 to 35	Dialectic	Philosophy, psychology, sociology, government, law, education.
35 to 50	Service to State	
50 to end	Philosophers	Higher philosophy.

Attitude toward the practical arts. The practical arts are excluded from Plato's system of education. Only slaves practice such arts, in which the apprentice system is followed. Like all other Greeks, Plato shared the prejudice against the practical arts. In his eyes, they were vulgar and unfit for a gentleman. "All the useful arts were reckoned mean by us." "No citizen can be an artisan." Three evils were attached to these arts. First, they distort the body; second, they keep the individual from enjoying the leisure necessary for the higher things of the soul; third, no man can practice a manual craft and have the necessary time to attend to the duties of the state. Plato would deal severely with any citizen who engages in a practical art. He declared, "If any citizen incline to any other art than the study of virtue let them punish him with disgrace and infamy." [76]

Members of the artisan and trader or slave class, by far the largest class in number, were to be excluded from participation in any affairs of state. Plato contemptuously declined to prescribe a system of training for these people. They were to follow the traditional family life. The boy was brought up to follow the father's occupation; the girl to engage in the household activities of the women. Everything was learned by imitation, for all their training was merely a matter of forming right habits.

Conclusion. In Plato, the Greek spirit of idealization reached its zenith. The coordination of human flesh at its best with perfect mind and noblest aspiration produced the highest and best product of Hellenic genius. It was complete harmony of thought and expression. Form and matter for the first and last time formed a perfect match. It embraced in its broad scope all sexual love and passion, love of beauty in nature and in the human body, with love of spiritual beauty in soul and character—all these sublimated in the supreme love, the love of absolute beauty, absolute truth, and the ultimate Good. Art, which combines in one movement the expression of emotion, thought, and action in the effort to realize the highest conceivable ideal, was given its supreme expression.

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[76] *Laws*, § 847.

After Plato, the analytic and specializing spirit broke down the Greek harmony of life into striving for partial objectives. The "Good enough" was accepted in place of the "Best." Idealization, religious zeal, and the insatiable striving to reach perfection rapidly declined. Pragmatism, hedonism, cynicism, and specialism henceforth directed the fate of Greek culture. Music in its original, *ensemble* form became the lost chord of the Hellenic spirit.

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9

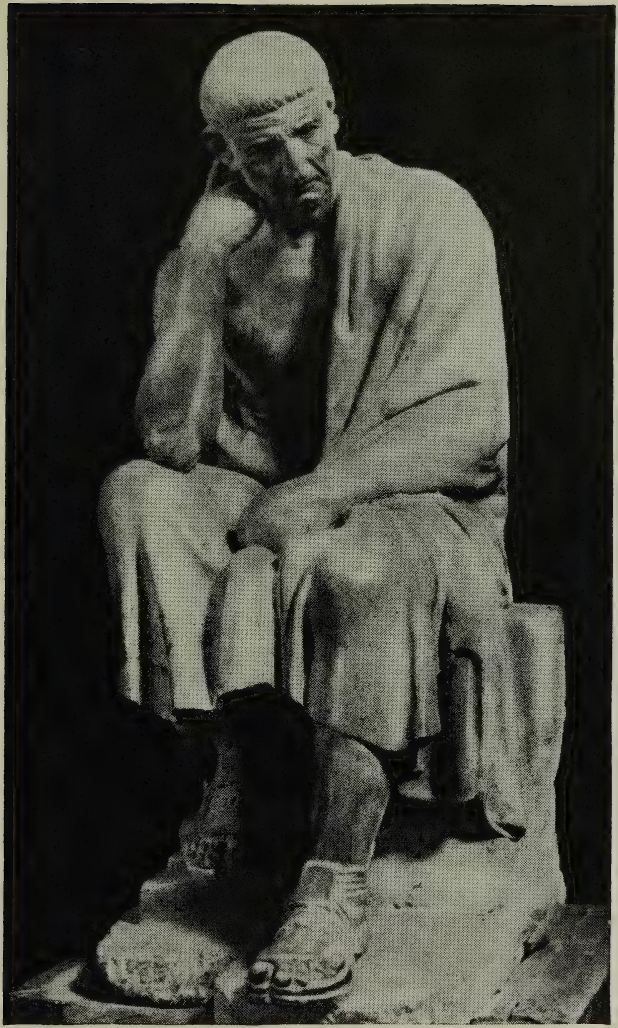
Aristotle and the Cultivation of Character

Introduction. Aristotle's general philosophy and theory of education are peculiar in that neither strongly influenced contemporary Greek life. It was not until fifteen centuries had passed that his ideas took profound hold. But when they did come into vogue, they completely dominated the scholastic interests of Europe for several hundred years. From the standpoint of method, especially that of formulating and systematizing knowledge, he was the first and greatest of the ancient encyclopaedists and the culmination of Hellenic creative thought. During the Middle Ages, Aristotle was looked upon as the most learned man that ever lived. So extraordinary was the veneration paid him that some wit humorously suggested that God created man, but left it to Aristotle to make him intelligent. The Roman Catholic Church declared his works authoritative in the fields of philosophy and science.

I. HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS

Sketch of his life. Aristotle sprang from a family of physicians, his father and ancestors, for some generations, having been members of the medical profession. He inherited, therefore, the scientific tradition, and was familiar from childhood with nature and with laboratory methods of learning. His early scientific bent was still further advanced by his studies in Plato's Academy. From these facts, we see that it was entirely natural for Aristotle to become the greatest biologist of the ancient world.

Aristotle came to Athens at the age of 17 and remained for 20 years under the tuition of Plato. So diligent was he as a student, that Plato called him the "Reader," a term that most accurately characterized his type of mind. Although Aristotle



ARISTOTLE.—*From Tritsch, W., "Olympias," Societäts Verlag.*

always thoroughly respected his great teacher, he did not always agree with him, assumed an independent attitude in reaching philosophical conclusions, and on several matters criticized his views rather caustically.

On the death of Plato in 347 B.C., Aristotle left the city of Athens for twelve years, while he sojourned in Asia Minor and

Macedonia. During this interval he undertook the instruction of Alexander from the time he was thirteen to the age of sixteen. What may have been the effect of the impact of Aristotle's mighty intellect upon the adolescent Alexander excites our curiosity. That it broadened his horizon can hardly be doubted, for Alexander always held his erudite tutor in profound respect. In 335 B.C. at the age of 49, Aristotle returned to Athens, and established a school of higher learning. Here he taught for thirteen years, or until the last year of his life. He died at 62.

General nature of his philosophy. In Aristotle, philosophy became comprehensive in scope, and scientific and systematic in method. So important, indeed, was the diversity between the intellectual character of the two great thinkers, that it has been said everyone is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. Plato was intuitive, artistic, and prophetic; Aristotle was discursive, and coldly analytic. The immediate perception of truth in the one contrasted strongly with the studied reflection of the other. Plato always sought for unity in his ideas; Aristotle gave attention to the manifold aspects of phenomena. The former looked only to the universal; the latter was interested chiefly in the particular. It was always the empirical and the actual that solicited and guided Aristotle's speculations. His entire philosophy is an impartial description of facts so far as they had been ascertained. Aristotle's mind like a "candid camera" reproduced reality with accurate detail; Plato painted an idealized and sublimated picture. Aristotle's encyclopaedic system merits the name of philosophy chiefly on the ground that it comprehended the world in its totality and synthesis; it carried the process of inductive research to the farthest extent in his day. He was both a thoughtful observer and a collector of information; because of the comprehensiveness and synthesis of his learning, he may be called a great philosopher.

As a scientist Aristotle was encyclopaedic. He established a number of sciences with little or no assistance from predecessors. He was the originator of deductive logic, which remains to this day practically as he left it. To Aristotle we trace also natural history or biological science, empirical psychology, and the science of rights. He greatly advanced various other sciences, which he systematized in his encyclopaedic works.

The basic motive of the two great philosophers was quite different. In Plato, the prime motive that directed his investigations was the rebuilding of the shattered social structure of his beloved city. He aimed at practical and even radical reform. Aristotle was the advocate of knowledge for its own sake and not the reformer of politics, the school, and social life. He dealt with education and the state, but only because these took their places as departments in the broad sweep of his comprehensive system of knowledge.

Writings. From the literary point of view, the writings of Aristotle are not as captivating as those of Plato. They lack the bold imagination, the artistic grace, and the dramatic movement. For the most part Aristotle's works consist of a dry recital of facts and his closely reasoned conclusions from these facts. Occasionally they are fragmentary, and always tedious. It is generally believed that his published works have been lost, and what we now possess are only the accumulated lecture notes and comments. At any rate, it is certain they lack the systematic amplification necessary for a complete understanding of his thought. His treatment of education is especially disappointing. He did not dignify the subject by devoting a separate treatise to its discussion, but scattered it throughout the *Ethics, Rhetoric,* and, more particularly, the *Politics.* This final work breaks off abruptly; his promise to discuss some features of education was never fulfilled; especially disappointing was his failure to leave any treatment of the education of the intellectual nature.[1]

The range of Aristotle's writings has scarcely an equal in all history. They embraced treatises on logic which have been known as the *Organon,* or instrument for the advancement and demonstration of science; a series of works on all the physical sciences that were then known, and a similar series on the biological sciences. He gave full attention to the social and philosophical sciences, psychology, ethics, and government. In addition he discussed poetry and rhetoric. Finally, his metaphysics gathers all fields of knowledge into one organic system. It is a question whether a more encyclopaedic intellect has ever shed its radiance upon mortals.

Aristotle's greatness did not consist in pre-eminent creative ability. He did not possess the insight and constructive imagination of his master, Plato. He had nothing of the poet, but only the mind of an observant scientist and systematic compiler. His method of approach to each subject was to discover first what other men had already said about the matter. He was an assiduous reader who gathered all theories and then chose what appeared to him the most plausible. His method was the source of his strength and weakness: of strength, because he took into account all sides of the question; of weakness, because he failed frequently to reconcile conflicting positions. Naturally, he made blunders, and in several instances he espoused positions that retarded the progress of science. For example, he rejected Plato's view that the brain is the seat of intelligence, an unpardonable error for a physician and biologist. He rejected the idea that the sun is the center of our astronomic system and thus prevented progress in this field for fifteen hundred years. His idea that heavy bodies fall with a velocity proportionate to their weight remained undisputed until disproved by Galileo in his experiments at the tower of Pisa. On many matters he adopted different views at different times, and never bothered to correct them.

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[1] The entire subject of Aristotle's writings is a matter of great controversy. The list of works given in the Library at Alexandria did not contain the name of a single work under the titles we have today. See the problems fully discussed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Edition.

II. GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

A. *An Organic Theory of the Universe.*

The four causes. The fundamental principle of Aristotle's philosophy is not really difficult to understand when rightly approached. It found its basic thought in the world of everyday affairs, the making of things—commonplace things, such as houses, potteries, ships, and so on. It was an analysis of the ordinary procedure of construction, according to which every intelligent worker proceeds in his craft or art.

In the production of any article, for example, a house, a vase, a ship, or any other object whatsoever, four factors are essential. To begin with, there are the crude materials of which the object is to be constructed, the wood, nails, stone, or clay, as the case may be. This factor Aristotle termed the "material cause." Every object in creation has some such material substance in its make-up. Second, there is the function which the object is to perform. The house, for example, should be a place in which to live, in the case of the vase, the function is to hold flowers or water, or just to be beautiful; the ship must float and carry passengers and goods. Now this governing idea or purpose had its origin in the mind of the artisan or engineer who designed and made the object. Furthermore, it must have been in his mind before anything else, for the entire process of construction begins with the purpose the particular object is to serve. Strange to say, this idea with which the whole constructive process begins is called "the final cause," as though it were the last thing to be considered. As a matter of fact, in point of time, it is not the last, but rather the first. It is called "final," however, because when the object is finished, the function is finally realized; in this respect, then, it is really the final or completing cause.

One may have a desire for a house; he may have the wood, bricks, nails, and all the other materials necessary for its construction; still he has no house. Before he goes further, he must decide just what kind of a house he wants. There are several different styles, but he can only make one specific kind. Before he begins he must have a clear idea in his mind as to its exact form. This mental image is closely related to the function the house is to perform; in fact, the special function will determine the shape or form the house is to have. We have here, then, a third cause, termed by Aristotle "the formal cause." So far we have the *material cause,* the *final cause,* and the *formal cause.*

But even yet there is no house. It is essential next that the carpenter use his saw, hammer, bit and brace, his chisel and other tools. Now, all these activities or processes of construction form a most necessary part in realizing the end, and they are denominated "the efficient cause."

By bringing all these four causes together, the house is finally realized and begins to function. In this process, we see a scientific analysis of creative effort in the field of practical industry. It shows how desire, imagination, will, and physical movement operate upon the common material substances about us to make the things we desire to carry out our purposes. It gives a genetic account of how purposes ripen into realized ends.

It will readily be understood that the last three causes, the "final," "formal," and "efficient," are inseparably linked. The purpose for which a thing is to be made determines what its form shall be, and the form determines the particular process to be followed in making it. Accordingly, Aristotle combines these three causes in the "formal cause." Thus we see two ultimate causes at work in the manufacturing of things, "the material cause" and "the formal cause," or in simplest terms, "matter" and "form."

Aristotle, as we saw, was descended from a long line of physicians and possessed a scientific turn of mind. He felt an absorbing interest in animal life, in plants, in the human body, and in all the processes of nature. The idea struck him that in all these processes and developments, one finds that there are at work the same series of causes which operate in the making of the house. How can this be the case? Let us consider as an example the process by which an egg becomes a chick.

In an egg there are two material substances, the white and the yolk. These substances are to be organized into a chick by the process of hatching. All the atoms of matter, which go to form bill, eyes, feathers, and all the other organs, and which are in the egg itself are the material cause of the chick. There is also present in some mysterious way the particular form or kind of chick which is to be; for there are many varieties of chicks, but only one kind can come from a particular egg. It is this inner "form" that somehow by its inherent power arranges the particles of matter into their proper positions so as to produce the chick. There are necessary, furthermore, in the process of hatching a certain degree of warmth, the right amount of moisture, and the turning of the egg from time to time. All these are part of the efficient cause. Thus we see that all four causes are present in the process of hatching a chick from an egg.

The chick is the "form" for the egg, the material substances are the "matter." One may generalize this process throughout all nature; the tree is the "form" for the acorn, the frog is the "form" for the tadpole, the man is the "form" for the child. The egg is the "matter," the chick is the "form"; the chick in turn is the "matter" and the chicken is the "form"; the chicken may be "matter" for the dinner which is the "form." The stones are the "matter," the house is the "form"; the house is the "matter," its use as a residence is the "form"; the use as residence is the "matter," the living is the "form"; the body is the "matter," the soul is the "form." One might go on with illustrations indefinitely. From these it is readily seen that "matter" is that which is "potential"; "form" is that which is to be actualized or realized. The egg is the "matter" because it has within it the potential chick, the nut is the "matter" for the potential tree.

Whatever has potentiality for something other than it now is, is "matter," and that which may develop from it is "form." Such was the chief principle of Aristotle's philosophy. It is clear, however, that he did not regard "matter" in the ordinary sense in which we are now accustomed to conceive it, nor as the materialists think of it. As he conceived it, "matter" is only potentiality. Ordinarily we think of "matter" as having come into existence when the world was created. The Greek conceived that it has always been in existence, but it had to be molded into things, or given form. Form and matter are correlatives; the one cannot exist in nature without the other.

According to Aristotle's conception, nature never produces anything aimlessly: she always has a definite purpose in view. In this idea he fully represented the general thought of the Greek world. This theory that nature is purposeful in all its operations is known as the theory of *teleology*. It not only dominated Greek philosophy but all thought down to recent times. It held the belief that the eye was created for seeing, grass for animals to eat, and trees to provide shade and fruits for man. Since the adoption of the modern theory of evolution, this notion no longer finds favor with either scientists or philosophers.

Aristotle's metaphysics. In order to explain this world of sense and concrete objects, Plato resorted to the supposition of a higher universe, the "World of Ideas" or of the "Good." The realities of Plato are rigid, transcendental, immaterial, that is to say, ideal entities, or general concepts. They exist in the divine mind in a supersensible world. Aristotle jibes at Plato for his ridiculous performance of accounting for the first story of a building by pointing out the second above it, which is even more difficult to understand, especially when the first story is only a shadow or mirage of the second. Aristotle, on the other hand, began with the world as people of common sense know it, or as it is. He attempted to explain the facts from the facts themselves. In the place of rigid and fixed realities which are ideal and transcendental, he exhibits the universe as a whole in a state of development of one thing from another.

Generalizing his conception of causation, Aristotle explained the whole universe as a development of matter and form. What the body is to the soul, the world is to "pure form" which is God. The form is always the higher; it is that for which matter exists. Form is the type, the genus; the universal exists in the particular, or individual object. For example, the egg is the individual, the form within it is the general or universal. This is the doctrine of immanence as opposed to Plato's transcendence.

Again, the form is the moving principle; it is the cause of the actualizing of itself. It exists before the material, just as the idea must be in the mind of the architect and builder before there can be the construction of the house. Now this process of matter and form might be conceived of as going on in a progressive series to infinity; but in reality, this cannot be the case. There must be some terminal or final end. God is that final end, the perfect form, and he cannot be the matter for something higher. He is absolute realization.

Idea of God. Aristotle had a very unique and beautiful conception of God's relation to the world. In his view, God does not create the world as a cabinetmaker makes a chair or the builder a house. God never moves or pushes matter about; yet he causes the world of matter to move. This idea of an unmoved mover appears exceedingly strange. Aristotle explained it in this manner. The world of matter looking up at God beheld his great beauty and perfection and desired so strongly to be like him that it was stirred within itself to become organized after the same pattern. Just as a lad worshiping some great hero is moved to become like him; or as an artist is moved in his emotions by an exquisite painting, so the material world feels an irresistible impulsion toward a cosmos by contemplating the ideal world.

B. *Aristotle's Psychology*

Soul and life identical. In general, Aristotle viewed the mental life from the naturalistic or, to be more specific, the biological standpoint. His theory is more articulate than that of Plato, who was too much under the influence of the metaphysical preconception of the existence of independent ideas. As Grote states, "Aristotle requires that a good theory of the soul shall explain alike the lowest vegetable soul, and the highest functions of the human or divine soul."[2] According to Aristotle's conception, life and soul are identical. Whatever has any of the properties of life has soul. Living creatures possess five qualities: internal movement, local motion, sensibility, desire, and intellect. Of the five, internal movement is common to every living thing without exception, and is the foundation of the other four. Not only man but plants and animals, therefore, partake of psychic life, but they do not possess it to the same degree.

Relation of soul and body. Plato made the same sharp distinction between soul and body that he made between the ideal and the material world. He did, however, concede that part of the psychological life is functionally related to the physical; that is to say, the appetitive elements of the soul are directly connected with the body. Aristotle rejected the separation of body and mind along with Plato's metaphysical dualism. He, thereupon, returned to the traditional Greek conception of the unity of the mental and physical. But naturally he replaced this naive and superficial idea of unity with a much more profound explanation.

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[2] Grote, George. *Aristotle*. p. 452. London: John Murray. 1883.

According to Aristotle, the soul is the animating principle that moves the body, the "form" by which the body is "actualized." Psychic life is the function, that is to say, the living activity for which and by which the body exists. In this sense there can be no real separation of the two, for the soul and body are not two separate entities, as Plato claimed. They are related as structure and function. They form two aspects of the one being, and are as inseparable as the concave and convex sides of a curved line. Aristotle stated the point in this way. The soul is not identical with the body, but cannot exist without it; not being a body, it is something belonging to or related to body, and for this reason it is in the body. The soul is diffused throughout the body as its functional activity or life. Aristotle recognized three levels or degrees of this soul-life, corresponding to the three souls of Plato.

Lower levels of soul-life. The most primitive type of soul is that which exists in all living objects, plants and animals alike. It is the only soul-life to be found in plants, and performs the functions of nutrition, growth, decay, and generation. In plants these functions are spread throughout the entire structure. As a consequence of the diffusion of these life functions, any part of a plant will reproduce the original form as a whole. Some low animal forms exhibit this same potentiality; but in most of the animals a process of differentiation takes place so that each particular function is performed by one organ only. This soul of the plant is designated the vegetative soul.

The second level. The capacity for sensation distinguishes the realm of the animal from that of vegetable existence. In a lesser degree, local movement is also a differentiating quality of animal life. Plants are stationary, and the forms of life along the border between the plant and the animal world have only indeterminate movement. In stating that perceptive power and movement are the chief qualities of the psychic life of animals, one must not forget that animals share the lower functions of psychic life with plants. Sensation or perception is an addition to these elementary functions, and is, therefore, higher than the vegetative soul.

Connected with perception is a most important element of psychic life which we know as desire or wish. This is sometimes called by Aristotle the "kinetic soul," because local movement is associated with it. The perceptive faculty is not possible without desire. "If sensation is added, impulse or appetite is also implied, for appetite includes desire, impulse, and wish." Sensations involve pleasure and pain, and wherever these are present, there is necessarily the pursuit of the object that gave the pleasure; that is to say, there is desire for its return. Pain is followed by avoidance of the object, just as pleasure is followed by pursuit. Aristotle did not distinguish impulse from desire. The two terms are used interchangeably as if they were identical. This point will be further discussed under the psychology of the ethical life.

Desire and aversion are the forces in the soul which cause movement and initiate conduct. On this point, Aristotle wrote:

> The one single moving force is the object of desire. For even if there were two moving powers, still they would produce movement in accordance with some common idea. As a matter of fact, however, reason does not appear to produce movement independently of desire. For volition is a form of desire, and when one is prompted to action in accordance with reason the action follows also in accordance with volition. But desire prompts actions in violation of reason. For appetite is a sort of desire. Reason, then, is in every case right, but desire and imagination may be right or wrong. It is, therefore, always the object of desire that excites action, and this is either the good or the apparent good—yet not every good, but only the good in conduct, and this practical good admits of variation.[3]

The causative or moving element, then, of the soul is impulse, or desire. It never acts without imagination, but may act independently of reason. Desires explain the origin of ends. What is desired is sought after, for desire always aims at some particular object, which forms an end for conduct. Perception, desire, and movement belong together and form the soul of animals.

Man's nature essentially active. "We exist by activity, *i.e.*, by living and acting." The most distinctive and at the same time most important point in Aristotle's psychology is this emphasis upon activities. The soul is a storehouse of potentialities that show themselves in impulses and desires. In turn, these desires produce movements or activities. In this conception of the soul as a principle of activity Aristotle showed remarkable insight into the evolutionary kinship of the animal soul and that of man.

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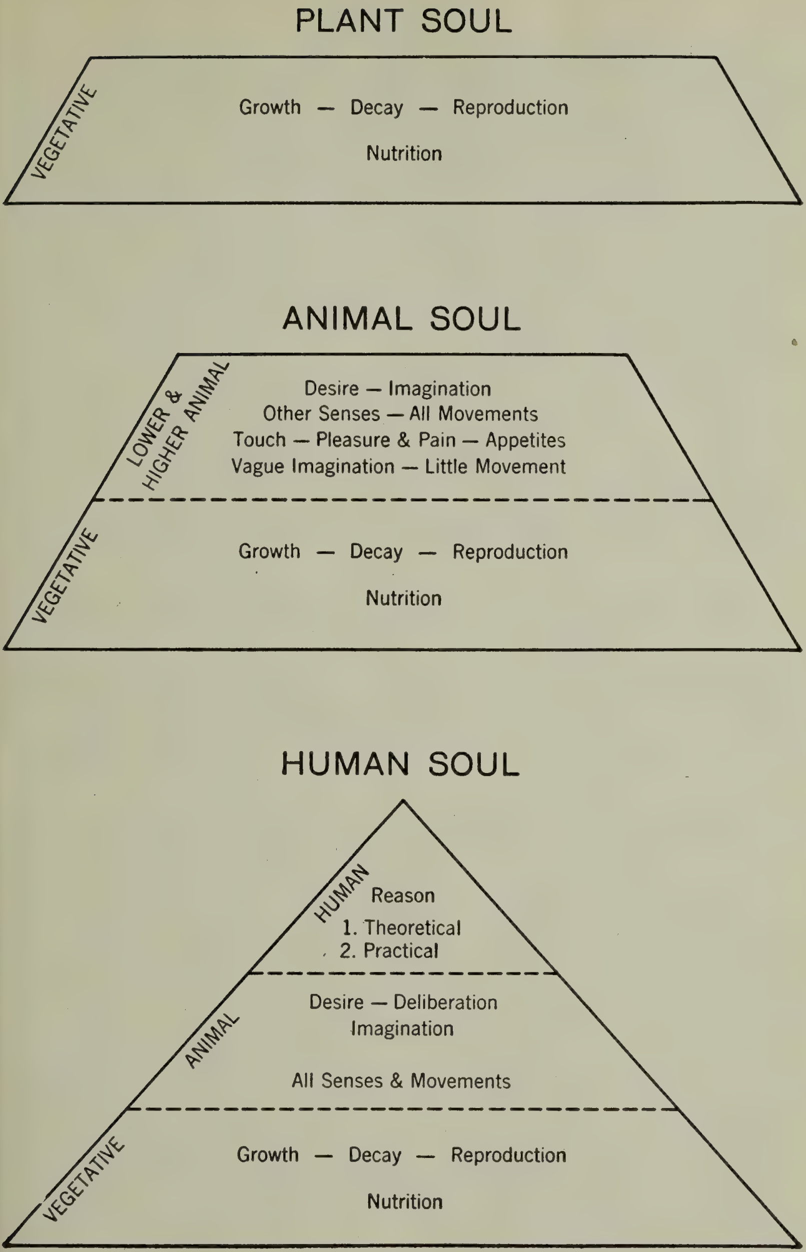
[3] Hammond, William Alexander (Translator), *Aristotle's Psychology*, p. 132–133. London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co., 1902.



PLANT SOUL

ANIMAL SOUL

HUMAN SOUL

VEGETATIVE
Growth — Decay — Reproduction
Nutrition
LOWER & HIGHER ANIMAL
Desire — Imagination
Other Senses — All Movements
Touch — Pleasure & Pain — Appetites
Vague Imagination — Little Movement
VEGETATIVE
Growth — Decay — Reproduction
Nutrition
HUMAN
Reason
1. Theoretical
2. Practical
ANIMAL
Desire — Deliberation
Imagination
All Senses & Movements
VEGETATIVE
Growth — Decay — Reproduction
Nutrition

Development of the Soul

He rightly regarded man as part of nature, and as exhibiting the characteristics of his natural origin. In this insistence upon the primary importance of man's activities and his kinship with the natural order, Aristotle's views are strikingly in harmony with the psychology and philosophy of education of the present day. In this respect, he anticipated our present conception of human nature as an organism that has inherited certain instincts or tendencies to action. Moreover, just as our present day psychology and theory of education are based upon the spontaneous activities of child nature, so also Aristotle based his philosophy of the cultivation of character upon the same principle.

The level of reason. Reason constitutes the highest element of the soul, the guiding and logical, or knowledge faculty. This faculty is never found in the animals; it is, therefore, the element that differentiates man from the animal kingdom. Aristotle distinguishes rather sharply two aspects of the rational nature, the practical or deliberative and the theoretical reason.

> The part of the soul which is possessed of reason has two divisions, of which one is the deliberate faculty, the other the faculty by which we know. . . . We deliberate about those things which depend upon us and our purpose to do or not to do. . . . Now science deals with the object of science, and this through a process accompanied with demonstration and reason, but wisdom with matters of action, in which there is choice and avoidance, and it is in our power to do or not to do.[4]

Reason, then, is like an Empress ruling in two distinct realms, the practical kingdom, and the theoretical kingdom. These two functions are so important that they must be more fully explained.

1. In the practical field reason functions with and accompanies desire, and forms volition. The object of desire appealing for action must submit its case to the practical reason which evaluates, deliberates, and decides. By "practical reason" Aristotle means the field of ethics or conduct; in other words, so far as it acts along "practical" lines reason judges what is good and what is bad, or what is prudent or imprudent in behavior. Wisdom, prudence, practical reason and ethics mean about the same thing.

2. As a purely theoretical function reason is always considered an intellectual activity that discerns for us what is true and what is false. In other words, the theoretical function is the source of higher knowledge. It has to do with eternal principles, philos-

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[4] *Magna Moralia*, Translated by St. George Stock, in *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. IX, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925.

ophy, and the divine. The distinction between the theoretical and the practical reason is of the greatest importance in understanding Aristotle's educational theories. The practical reason is the faculty of the moral judgment, and is the basis of the ethical as opposed to the cognitive or intellectual virtues.

Relation of the three levels of the soul. The three levels of soul life, the vegetative or nutritive, the sensitive-desiderative, and the rational, are not absolutely distinct and separate faculties as Plato thought. Their relation, as Aristotle conceived it, is peculiar. The lower can exist without the higher, but the higher cannot exist without the lower. Here is the explanation:

> Each higher variety of soul continues to possess all the faculties of the lower. Thus the Sentient soul cannot exist without comprehending all the faculties of the Nutritive, though the Nutritive exists (in plants) without any admixture of the Sentient. Again, the Sentient soul does not necessarily possess either memory, imagination, or intellect *(Nous)*; but no soul can be either Imaginative or Noetic, without being Sentient as well as Nutritive. The Noetic Soul, as the highest of all, retains in itself all the lower faculties; but these are found to exist apart from it.[5]

The relation of the lower functions to the higher, Aristotle explained as the relation of matter to form. If the higher exists, the lower must exist for the sake of the higher, or in order to realize the higher.

The highest faculty of all is the purely rational or contemplative. In this Aristotle agreed substantially with Plato when he held that the rational soul was most at home in the World of Ideas. All the lower functions lead up to rational activity.

Two parts are found in the rational faculty, the active and passive elements, corresponding to form and matter. In the passive part must be included all that the intellect receives, suffers, and does not create or bring forth. The entire passive part of the intelligence shares the fate of the body, that is to say, it is mortal.

The active intelligence is pure reason, which conceives truth that is universal and divine. It is not a function of the body, but an animation from deity. This is evidently the same as Plato's soul of reason that knows the World of Ideas. It is an actual being apart from the body, but must not be conceived as so many separate beings or reasons dwelling in individuals. It is one universal and absolute principle that exists before the soul and the body. This separate intellect is immaterial, impassive, imperishable, and eternal; without it the passive and perishable intellect cannot think. Some scholars believe Aristotle identified this principle of reason with God, the Supreme Being, but he did not make clear his explanation of this part of the rational faculty.

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[5] Grote, George, *Op. cit.*, p. 461.

C. *Aristotle's Political Philosophy*

His study of government. Plato's aim was to reconstruct Athens by means of a true philosophical theory. Aristotle's was more detached, for he was not greatly influenced by local patriotism. He endeavored to discover the best kind of government by means of inductive research, that is, through the study of the actual conditions of political life. To this end he examined the constitutional histories of over one hundred and fifty-eight states. He then wrote the *Politics* and also the *Constitution of Athens,* which came to light only a few years ago. In regard to the origin of the state, he concluded that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is naturally a political or social animal.

The nature of the state. The state is an organism like a living creature, and not a miscellaneous grouping of individuals. It exists by virtue of various functions which are performed by different classes of people. It is the highest of all institutions, and it alone can realize the highest good and happiness of man. Having decided that reason is the distinguishing faculty of human life, Aristotle believed that the state provides the institutional means for realizing the fullest and freest exercise of the rational faculty.

Aristotle recognized three main forms of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, or the republican form. The monarchial form, he argued, is the best with a good sovereign, but the most liable to abuse, because an individual is most apt to act in his own interest rather than on general principles. Similarly, oligarchy or aristocracy is apt to become abusive. The best form of government under most circumstances is democracy, though it too is liable to degenerate.

Relation of individual and state. The state exists before the individual and is essential for the development of the individual. There is no necessary conflict between the genuine interests of individuals and those of the state, because the good of the individual must be identified with the good of the state as a whole. To quote Aristotle's own statement: "Since the end of individuals and of states is the same, the end of the best man and of the best constitution must also be the same."[6] According to this view, the state is benefited when the individual's rational nature is developed. Nevertheless, the individual is not an end in himself, nor is his rationality developed for his own sake.

> Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole.[7]

The state molds the individual, for man is indeed "a political animal." When Aristotle calls man a "political animal," he is pointing out that he is a social being, and cannot live except in civil relations with his fellows; when perfected, man "is the best of animals, but when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all."[8]

Slavery. Aristotle divided the inhabitants of the state into two classes: citizens and slaves. This division he justified on the ground of nature.

> But is there anyone thus intended by nature to be a slave, and for whom such a condition is expedient and right, or rather is not all slavery a violation of nature? There is no difficulty in answering this question on grounds both of reason and of fact. For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule.[9]

Superiority and inferiority, rule and obedience originate in the very constitution of the universe. The end or final cause of anything, by the very nature of the case, must rule that thing. For example, the soul rules over the body, man rules over the animals, the male over the female. "It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right." Aristotle specifies why certain men are slaves: "The slave has no deliberative faculty at all." Again, he explained: "The slave is a living tool and the tool a lifeless slave." Certain men accordingly are doomed to slavery because they lack higher intelligence.

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[6] *Politica*, VII, 15.
[7] *Ibid.*, VIII, 1.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 2.
[9] *Ibid.*, I, 5.

Size of the state. Aristotle held that the state could never be very large. Its size is determined by a number of different factors. One is that in a well-ordered state all citizens should know each other's characters. This will enable them to conduct public affairs most harmoniously. It is most necessary that the state be a unity, and this unity must be achieved by educating the citizens: "The state . . . is a plurality, which should be united and made into a community by education."[10] Lastly, the size of the state is determined by the number of people who can work together in realizing the highest ethical ends of society.

Politics the highest art of life. The highest art of all, the mastercraft of human action according to Aristotle, is politics or statesmanship. It was instinctive among the Greeks to hold that the chief function of the state is to make its citizens good; for they were aware that the stability of the state depends entirely upon the character of its citizens. They were also aware that good laws do not make citizens good; but inversely, good citizens make and likewise keep good laws. Law and morals had such close kinship that the Greeks used the same word for both. Both Plato and Aristotle looked upon ethics or moral science as a branch or part of political science or statesmanship. Aristotle stated his view in this way:

> If one is to act successfully in affairs of state, one must be of a good moral character. The treatment of moral character, then, is, as it seems, a branch and starting-point of statecraft. And as a whole it seems to me that the subject ought rightly to be called, not Ethics, but Politics.[11]

Politics, in short, determines all other arts and sciences that ought to exist in a state, and makes use of them. The final end of politics must include all other ends and must realize the "Good for Man."

Ethics is not a branch of political science in general, but of that particular aspect of political science that has to do with the betterment of the citizens. Ethics is, therefore, the educational interest of the state, and as such it is the most important part of the science of education.

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[10] *Ibid.*, II, 5.

[11] *Magna Moralia*, I, 1.

D. *Ethical Theory*

The development of ethical theory. To appreciate Aristotle's ethical system it is highly important to keep in mind that for more than a century the question of man's moral nature had formed the central theme of Greek thought. The greatest trio of minds in all history in unbroken succession, Socrates—Plato—Aristotle, had bent their full powers of intellectual penetration to dissect the anatomy of virtue. The analysis of Aristotle climaxed this movement, and formulated the conclusion of Greek insight not only as to the facts of the ethical nature, but also as to the scientific method of cultivating it.

Ethics an art. The first question to be settled was, according to Aristotle, whether ethics should be classified as a science or as an art; for it must be one or the other. Man functions along two lines, as *a knower* and also as *a doer of deeds,* and *a maker of things.* His moral activity belongs in the one or the other field; it is either practical or it is theoretical. Aristotle concluded from a study of the facts that the moral nature belongs to the practical side; it is an art and not a science. As an art it must have an aim or purpose. The art of medicine aims at healing, that of building at constructing houses. What, then, is the aim or objective of the art of ethics? What is man's highest function? What is his special excellence as man? Or, as ethical action and education belong to Politics, the question may be stated in this form: What is the good that the state aims to produce? What is the highest of all practical goods?

The Universal Good. Plato and his followers answered these questions by declaring that there exists a "Universal Good," an archetypal Good in the world of true being. This Good, Plato believed, is timeless and perfect and has no connection with this world; the highest human good is to know and contemplate this divine goodness. Aristotle, on the contrary, did not think that such a knowledge of the universal good would make men better or happy; the good of Plato is merely an abstraction or general concept and as such wholly impractical and remote from human interest. Aristotle did not believe that concepts or universal ideas exercise strong influence over a man's conduct.

Happiness man's goal. Aristotle's view of happiness is one of the most prominent and characteristic of all his conceptions. Having classified living as an art, he sought for the end or objective that everyone seeks to realize. From the common agreement of all men, both learned and unlearned, he concluded that happiness is the one thing, the final purpose, which is universally chosen for itself alone. This he insisted upon throughout his ethical works. "Everything that we choose we choose for the sake of something else except happiness, which is an end."[12] Happiness is something complete and sufficient in itself—the ultimate end of all practical activity or conduct.

> What is the highest of all practical goods? As to its name there is, I may say, a general agreement. The masses and cultured classes agree in calling it happiness, and conceive that "to live well," or "to do well" is the same thing as "to be happy."[13]

The nature of happiness. Having determined that happiness is the aim of life, or the one thing that all men naturally seek, the next questions are these: What is the nature of happiness, and how shall it be realized? In order to answer these questions one must know definitely wherein happiness consists. At the start it is necessary to understand two important facts with regard to its nature:

1. Happiness is a complex and not a simple thing, for it is dependent upon innumerable activities, conditions, and choices. There is, therefore, danger of mistaking wherein happiness consists.
2. It must endure throughout the span of life and not during just one period of life, or for a short time.

> Happiness is the activity of a complete life in accordance with complete virtue. . . . We cannot ascribe happiness to an existence of a single day, or to a child, or to each of the ages of life.[14]

It will be noted that Aristotle found agreement only as to the name of the universal good, but not as to its nature. Neither the masses nor the philosophers "give the same account of it." "Different people give different definitions of it, and often the same person gives different definitions at different times." When one studies the facts of moral conduct as seen in the actual conduct of men, the situation is as confused as their theoretical ideas of the moral life. From the choices that men make of life Aristotle recognized three types of living that are usually chosen with a view to realizing happiness. These are:

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[12] *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 6.

[13] Welldon, J. E. C., translator, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, p. 5. London: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

[14] *Ethica Eudemia*, II, 1.

a. A life of pleasure or sensuous enjoyment.
b. A life of social-political activities. This is the most moral life.
c. A life of speculation or philosophic study. This is purely theoretical; it consists of that intellectual activity which we know as scientific research and of purely contemplative knowledge.[15]

The good or virtue of any object is the function it performs, or its particular excellence. The function or excellence of an ax is cutting; the good of a tree is that it furnishes shade or fruit. The good or virtue of man is conduct that brings happiness as the end. Happiness is, then, the highest good which all men naturally strive to realize. It is the one form of good that corresponds to the nature of man; because his possession of sensibility and rationality makes it necessary that his good should be in harmony with reason. "The function of man" is, therefore, an activity of the soul in accordance with reason, or, at least, not independent of reason.

> Happiness is an activity of soul in accordance with complete and perfect virtue.[16]
> Happiness is the realization and perfect exercise of virtue, and this not conditional, but absolute.[17]
> Happiness then is the best, noblest, and most pleasant thing in the world.[18]

Happiness an activity. Happiness must not be looked upon as a possession of the soul, nor is it a fixed or static condition attained once for all. Because living is an art or a continuous functioning of man as man, happiness must be a continuous activity. Aristotle frequently emphasized this idea of soul-activity.

> This being so, if we define the function of Man as a kind of life, and this life as an activity of soul, or a course of action in conformity with reason, and if the function of a good man is such an activity or action of a good and noble kind, and, if everything is successfully performed when it is performed in accordance with its proper excellence, it follows that the good of Man is an activity of soul in accordance with virtue or, if

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[15] "For there are practically three prominent lives, the sensual, the political and thirdly, the speculative."—Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 7; *Ethica Nicomachea*, I, 3.
[16] *Ethica Nicomachea*, I, 13.
[17] *Politica*, VII, 13.
[18] *Ethica Nicomachea*, I, 8.

there are more virtues than one, in accordance with the best and most complete virtue.[19]

Happiness due to virtue. But happiness is not just any sort of activity whatsoever. It must be some special kind of activity. It is the activity of a "good soul," namely, the activity in accordance with virtue and of right reason.

It is by nothing else than soul that we live. Virtue is in the soul. We maintain that the soul and the virtue of the soul do the same thing. But virtue in each thing does that well of which it is the virtue, and, among the other functions of the soul, it is by it we live. It is therefore owing to the virtue of the soul that we shall live well. But to live well and do well, we say, is nothing else than being happy. Being happy, then, and happiness, consist in living well, and living well is living in accordance with the virtues. This, then, is the end, and happiness is the best thing. [Happiness, therefore, will consist in a kind of use and activity. For we found that where there was having and using, the use and exercise are the end. Now virtue is a habit of the soul. And there is such a thing as the exercise and use of it; so that the end will be its activity and use. Happiness, therefore, will consist in living in accordance with the virtues.] Since, then, the best good is happiness, and this is the end, and the final end is an activity, it follows that it is by living in accordance with the virtues that we shall be happy and shall have the best good.[20]

The highest happiness a speculative activity. The highest form of happiness is a "speculative activity," *i.e.,* an activity which results from intellectual contemplation.

This conclusion would seem to agree with our previous arguments and with the truth itself; for the speculative is the highest activity, as the intuitive reason is the highest of our faculties, and the objects with which the intuitive reason is concerned are the highest of things that can be known. . . . We consider too that pleasure is an essential element of happiness, and it is admitted that there is no virtuous activity so pleasant as the activity of wisdom or philosophic reflection; at all events, it appears that philosophy possesses pleasures of wonderful purity and certainty, and it is reasonable to suppose that people who possess knowledge pass their time more pleasantly than people who are seekers after truth.[21]

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[19] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 16; see also p. 30.
[20] *Magna Moralia*, I, 4.
[21] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 335–336.

Conditions aiding happiness. The successful functioning of life, as of any other art, is dependent upon certain external conditions. Unless these are present there can be no genuine happiness. Among these conditions are health, friends, good children, wealth sufficient to insure leisure, social position, and so on.

1. Happiness depends on external goods.

> Being a man, one will also need external prosperity; for our nature is not self-sufficient for the purpose of contemplation, but our body also must be healthy and must have food and other attention. Still, we must not think that the man who is to be happy will need many things or great things, merely because he cannot be supremely happy without external goods; for self-sufficiency and action do not involve excess, and we can do noble acts without ruling earth and sea; for even with moderate advantages one can act virtuously.[22]

Again in another work Aristotle wrote:

> Happiness may be defined as well-being in conjunction with virtue, or as independence of life, or as the pleasantest and safest life, or as abundance of property and slaves with the power to preserve and make a practical use of them; it is pretty generally agreed that happiness is one or more of these things. Such then being the nature of happiness, it follows that its component parts are noble birth, many excellent friends, wealth, many good children, and a happy old age; also such physical goods as health, beauty, strength, stature, and athletic powers, and finally fame, honour, good fortune, and virtue.[23]

2. Happiness requires leisure in order to give opportunity for our highest capacities to function.

> The first principle of all action is leisure. Both are required, but leisure is better than occupation and is its end; and therefore the question must be asked, what ought we to do when at leisure? . . . But leisure of itself gives pleasure and happiness and enjoyment of life, which are experienced, not by the busy man, but by those who have leisure. . . . It is clear then that there are branches of learning and education which we must study merely with a view of leisure spent in intellectual activity, and these are to be valued for their own sake.[24]

It must be understood that by leisure Aristotle does not mean no activity of any kind, but rather time for use of the higher faculties of the soul.

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[22] *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 8.
[23] *Rhetoric*, Book I, Ch. V.
[24] *Politica*, VIII, 3.

Two kinds of activity: two kinds of virtues. It will be recalled from the discussion of psychology that Aristotle approved of Plato's division of the soul into two parts, the irrational and the rational. Each of these parts of soul-life has certain activities or functions that belong to it alone. With this distinction in function, Aristotle identified two kinds of virtues: namely, the moral virtues and the intellectual virtues. The moral virtues arise from the activities of the irrational element, and the intellectual virtues arise from the activities of the mind or reason. One of Aristotle's statements will be sufficient to show this important distinction:

> But of virtues or excellence there are two species, the moral and the intellectual. For we praise not only the just, but also the intelligent and the wise. . . . But since the intellectual virtues involve reason, they belong to that rational part of the soul that governs the soul by its possession of reason, while the moral belong to the part which is irrational but by its nature obedient to the part possessing reason.[25]

E. *The Psychology of Conduct*

The nature of moral action. What is the nature of moral conduct? This question lies at the foundation of Aristotle's ethical theory, and, what is more important, at the basis of his philosophy of education so far as the cultivation of character is concerned. To answer this question it is necessary to go more deeply into certain aspects of his psychology of conduct.

Nature. Aristotle laid great store by nature, for it supplied the foundations of his system of thought. Nature implants a desire for posterity, and determines a man's social status as master or slave. It gives freemen the right to rule, fits the young to obey, and the old to command. By nature, too, human beings are endowed with certain potentialities that may develop into habits or virtues. Animals lead a life of nature; but man, by virtue of reason, comes to transcend nature. Every creature exists by virtue of the activities peculiar to it alone. By nature each man is active with those faculties and about those things that afford him pleasure. What, then, is the source of these activities?

Impulse: the source of activity. All activities alike of men and animals have their original source in certain impulses of the soul. These impulses are tendencies to action or, to use a modern term, they are instincts. They are inborn and are, therefore, from nature. In a work that belonged to Aristotle, or received his sanction, we read, "What prompts us to action is impulse; and impulse has three forms—appetite, passion, wish."[26] But impulse by itself is blind; it must be associated with an image of an object. When this takes place, desire results, for "desire is not found apart from imagination."

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[25] ***Ethica Eudemia*, II, 1.**

In and of themselves, impulses are neither good nor bad, and they are neither virtues nor vices in the full sense of the term, although Aristotle sometimes used the expression "natural virtues." By this he meant that there exists "only the impulse to right without reason." Whether impulses lead to good or bad acts depends entirely on how they are controlled by reason. For example, an individual may by nature be strongly sympathetic. That is neither good nor bad in itself. All depends on whether he builds the habit of acting sympathetically at the right time, toward the right people, and under the right circumstances. It is a well-known fact that some people let their sympathies run away with them.

> All men think that each type of character belongs to its possessor in some sense by nature; for from the very moment of birth we are just or fitted for self-control or brave or have the other moral qualities; but yet we seek something else as that which is good in the strict sense—we seek for the presence of such qualities in another way. For both children and brutes have the natural dispositions to these qualities, but without reason these are evidently hurtful.[27]

Natural impulse is merely a blind inner urge to action. Without regulation or organization into right habits under the direction of reason, even the best of impulses will go astray.

The nature and function of desire. When impulse is accompanied by a perception of an object and consciousness of anticipated pleasure, the mental state is called *desire.* Desire is the cause of all movements in the animal world. It is an aspect of all animal life above the lowest forms. It is desire for an object and only such desire that can cause movement. If reason causes movement, it does so because of desire. The appetites that cause movement are also only forms of desire. So, too, wish is only a kind of desire. "It is always the object of desire that causes action. . . . Desire is the last or immediate cause of motion, and desire arises by means of perception or by means of imagination and conception."[28] From the study of the natural process of moral life it is clear that the understanding of a man's conduct will be mainly an inquiry into the nature of his desires—how they arise, how they are controlled, and how they find their way into action.

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[26] *Magna Moralia,* I, 12.
[27] *Ethica Nicomachea,* VI, 13.

Choice and will. Morality in its higher aspects is a matter of deliberation and choice. When a desire is deliberately approved or chosen, it becomes an act of volition. This is the fundamental product of moral judgment and moral conduct. Virtue, as we shall see in the section on education, is the habit that results from acts thus deliberately chosen.

The technique of self-control. The soul is moved to action spontaneously by impulses that express themselves in desires and appetites. But impulse, appetite, and desire must be brought under control if action is to be purposeful and lead to right ends. Three inner forces, pleasure, pain, and right reason, furnish the controlling power.

On the lower level of life, that is to say, the nonrational level, pleasure and pain are the chief means for controlling the impulses and appetites. The conduct of the child, not being directed by reason, must be controlled by praise and punishment.

> We ought perhaps next to discuss pleasure. For it is thought to be most intimately connected with our human nature, which is the reason why in educating the young we steer them by the rudders of pleasure and pain; it is thought, too, that to enjoy the things we ought and to hate the things we ought has the greatest bearing on virtue of character.[29]

On the higher level of moral life it is right reason or wisdom that governs the appetites.

> What is acting in accordance with right reason? And where are we to look for right reason? To act, then, in accordance with right reason is when the irrational part of the soul does not prevent the rational from fulfilling its own activity. For then only will the action be in accordance with right reason. For seeing that in the soul we have a lower and a higher level, and the lower is always for the sake of the higher, as in the case of body and soul, the body is for the sake of the soul, and then only shall we say that we have our body in a good state when its state is such as not to hinder, but actually to help and assist

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[28] *The Works of Aristotle, De Motu Animalium,* 701a, A. S. L. Farquharson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.

[29] *Ethica Nicomachea,* X, 1.

> the soul in accomplishing its own work; when, then, the passions do not hinder the mind from performing its own work, then you have what is done in accordance with right reason.[30]

It is then the function of wisdom or right reason to act as "a kind of steward of philosophy." By subduing the passions and appetites, she procures leisure and opportunity for reason to function. Virtue is doing what is good in accordance with right reason, or to state it in a better way, virtue is impulse and desire directed by reason to what is good.[31]

Two kinds of judgments. It has already been emphasized that Aristotle made a distinction between the theoretical and the practical reason. Both are reason, but the judgments made by reason in the one case are essentially different from those made in the other.

> Now intellect and truth as so defined are practical or moral. But the good and evil of the speculative intellect, which is neither practical nor productive, are *simple abstract* truth and falsehood, for the function of the intellect generally is the apprehension of truth; but the function of the practical intellect is the apprehension of truth in conformity with right desire.[32]

In the first case, the judgments have to do with the true and false. Such truths affirmed by the theoretical reason are certain, universally valid, and are felt to be necessary. In the other case, the judgments made by reason functioning in regard to practical matters are judgments concerning the good and the bad, or of the right means for the attainment of an end. Such judgments are always contingent or relative.

The two kinds of virtue. As there are two such different modes of functioning for the rational faculty, so there are two corresponding types of virtue: the intellectual and the moral virtues, or intellectual and moral excellences. 1. The intellectual virtues recognized by Aristotle are wisdom, intelligence, and prudence.[33] 2. The moral virtues, on the other hand, are courage, temperance, liberality and magnificence, high-mindedness and love of honor, mildness, truthfulness, urbanity, friendship, and justice.

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[30] *Magna Moralia*, II, 10.

[31] In the *Magna Moralia*, 7, a slightly different position is taken. Reason is not the principle and guide to virtue, but rather the feelings. "In children and those who live without reason" there springs up first "an irrational impulse to the right, and then later on reason must put the question to the vote and decide it."

[32] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

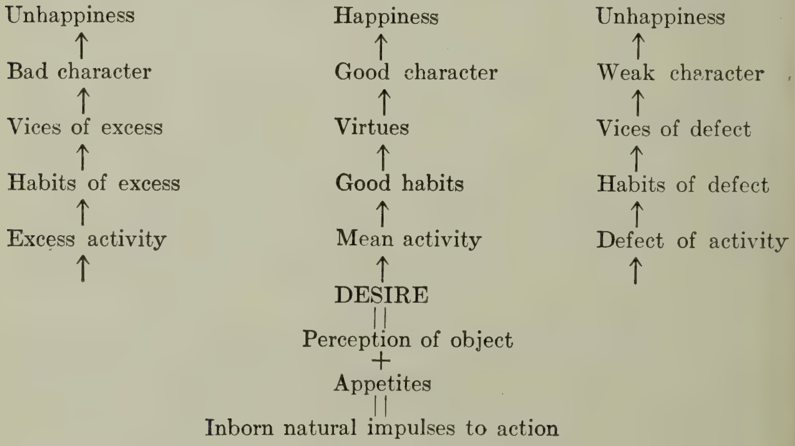
[33] Treated further on page 440 of this text.

Since the end or goal at which all action aims is happiness, the important question is the choice of the right means of attaining this end. This choice of means is made by the practical reason according to prudence. But the things chosen as the means are various activities, and these activities lead to the establishment of the moral virtues.

The moral virtues. Judgments that are morally good choose a mean between two vices: between the vice that comes from excessive action and the vice that comes from defective action.

> For instance, both fear and confidence and appetite and anger and pity and in general pleasure and pain may be felt both too much and too little, and in both cases not well; but to feel them at the right times, with reference to the right objects, towards the right people, with the right motive, and in the right way, is what is both intermediate and best, and this is characteristic of virtue.[34]
>
> For in everything it is no easy task to find the middle, . . . anyone can get angry—that is easy—or to give or spend money; but to do this to the right person, to the right extent, at the right time, with the right motive, and in the right way, that is not for every one, nor is it easy; wherefore goodness is both rare and laudable and noble. . . .
>
> It is not easy to determine both how and with whom and on what provocation and how long one should be angry; for we too sometimes praise those who fall short and call them good-tempered, but sometimes we praise those who get angry and call them manly.[35]

The Evolution of Character and Realization of Happiness


Unhappiness
Bad character
Vices of excess
Habits of excess
Excess activity
Happiness
Good character
Virtues
Good habits
Mean activity
Unhappiness
Weak character
Vices of defect
Habits of defect
Defect of activity
DESIRE
Perception of object
+
Appetites
Inborn natural impulses to action

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[34] *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 6.
[35] *Ibid.*, II, 9.

The Moral Virtues

Vices of excess action	*Mean*	*Vices of deficiency of action*
Foolhardiness	Courage	Cowardice
Licentiousness	Temperance	Insensibility
Prodigality	Liberality	Illiberality
Vulgarity	Magnificence	Meanness
Vanity	Highmindedness	Little mindedness
Boastfulness	Truthfulness	Self-depreciation
Buffoonery	Wittiness	Boorishness
Obsequiousness	Friendliness	Quarrelsomeness
Bashfulness	Modesty	Shamelessness
Envy	Righteousness	Malice

Definition and nature of virtue. Virtues are habits or attitudes which have become fixed in the individual as the result of past choices and actions. They are "states of character," or permanent dispositions to act in a certain way which result from deliberately choosing a mean between excess and defect. What the mean should be is determined by practical reason or as a prudent man would determine it. The result of the collaboration of native desires and practical reason is fixedness of purpose which may be called principles and which correspond to concepts in the intellect.

If we pass to the other faculties, we see that pursuit and avoidance in the appetite or desire correspond to affirmation and denial in the intellect; hence, as moral virtue is a state of deliberate moral purpose, and moral purpose is deliberative desire, it follows that the reason must be true and the desire must be right, if the moral purpose is good, and that what the reason affirms the desire must pursue. . . . Moral purpose then is the origin of action, *i.e.*, the original motive, but not the final cause; and origin or moral purpose is desire or reason directed to a certain end. Moral purpose then implies reason or intellect on the one hand, and a certain moral state on the other; for right action and its opposite in action are impossible without both intellect and character.

The mere intellect has no motive power; it must be intellect directed to a certain end; in other words, it must be practical. For the practical intellect governs the productive. . . .

The moral purpose then may be defined as desiderative reason or intellectual desire *i.e.*, as reason qualified by desire or desire qualified by intelligence; and it is this originative faculty which makes a man.[36]

Virtue as a state of character obliges the individual to desire a certain end, and the practical reason leads him to adopt the right means to realize that end.

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[36] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 179–180.

> With regard to the virtues in *general* we have stated their genus in outline, *viz.* that they are means and that they are states of character, and that they tend, and by their own nature, to the doing of the acts by which they are produced, and that they are in our power, and voluntary, and act as the right rule prescribes.[37]

From these considerations it is clear that an act is virtuous (1) when it is done by a man of good character, (2) done in a good way, (3) and for a good purpose.

Ethics not an exact science. It is important to note that Aristotle was aware that ethics cannot be an exact science. The very nature of the subject does not admit of accuracy in its judgments. Several times this note of wisdom, or pessimism, is repeated. Like all other arts, ethics is contingent and relative and therefore limited in its power to be exact. On this, Aristotle said,

> But it must be admitted at the outset that all reasoning upon practical matters must be like a sketch, in outline, it cannot be scientifically exact. We began by laying down the principle that the kind of reasoning demanded in any subject must be such as the subject matter itself allows; and questions of practice and expediency no more admit of invariable rules than questions of health.
>
> But if this is true of general reasoning upon ethics, still more true is it that scientific exactitude is impossible in reasoning upon particular ethical cases. . . . Still, although such is the nature of the present argument, we must try to make the best of it.[38]

Aristotle asserted that there is only one way of doing right but many ways of doing wrong. But in spite of the fact that our ethical judgments are not as exact as our judgments of mathematics, man must act and do the best he can under the circumstances. The reason can never be as positive of its conclusions in regard to what is right and what is wrong, as it can in regard to what is true and what is false.

III. EDUCATION

Works dealing with education. The moral aspects of education Aristotle elaborated in his works on ethics; the more practical aspects he treated in Books VII and VIII of his *Politics*. The discussion in the *Politics* ends abruptly before completing the subject of music. Evidently the final chapters of this work have been lost, or he failed to write out his other ideas on this subject. For this reason, we do not have the answer to many questions which he definitely promised to discuss.

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[37] *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 5.

[38] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

A. *Aristotle's Philosophy of Education*

1. *General Principles*

Education a function of government. The moral aspect of man's nature embraces ethics and education, both of which belong to the arts rather than the sciences. Ethics and education form part of the field of politics and are, therefore, functions of government. The welfare and security of the state demand that a definite and intelligent policy should be followed in the treatment of its citizens. The state can be prosperous and secure only when the citizens who carry on the government are wise in their judgments and happy in their conduct. "The best laws, though sanctioned by every citizen of the state, will be of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the constitution." Aristotle points out that intelligent action is needed, for character is a result of a definite plan.

> Virtue and goodness in a state are not a matter of chance, but the result of knowledge and purpose. A city can be virtuous only when the citizens who have a share in the government are virtuous, and in our state all citizens share in the government.[39]

This way of looking at moral life and education seems somewhat strange to us but did not seem so to the Greeks. We make a distinction between society and the state; they were conscious of no such distinction.

Education a political or social propaganda. In Aristotle's ideal state, political life is the controlling power in all social and moral affairs; it has everything to do with the education of the young.

> It is this that ordains which of the sciences should be studied in the state, and which each class of citizens should learn and up to what point they should learn them.[40]

Should the child be educated for world citizenship, for individual liberalization, or for national ends? Aristotle accepted the narrowest possible view: he believed in molding the young for the purpose of national ends.

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[39] *Politica*, VII, 13.
[40] *Ethica Nicomachea*, I, 2.

> The citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives. For each government has a peculiar character which originally formed and which continues to preserve it.[41]

We see in this another example of the lack of progressiveness in Aristotle. His ideal was a small city in which each individual is subjected to the totalitarian interests of the state. He approved slavery, the exposure of infants, birth control by abortion, a standing army, and education for social and political standpattism. For these reasons he advocated that education should "be one and the same for all."

> The training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole. . . . That education should be regulated by law and should be an affair of state is not to be denied.[42]

Following the example of Xenophon and Plato, Aristotle gave the Spartan system of regimentation his general endorsement. He did, however, criticize certain features of their system, especially the brutalizing of their children by excessive gymnastics and military training and the lack of intellectual culture.

Definition of education. Politics, embracing both ethics and education within its scope, is a comprehensive art that aims at the realization of the highest good which is the happiness of all citizens. Education is, therefore, classified as a practical and social art. Aristotle accepted Plato's famous definition[43] of education as the art of making children love what they ought to love and hate what they ought to hate. He wrote:

> We ought to have been brought up in a particular way from our very youth, as Plato says, so as both to delight in and to be pained by the things we ought; for this is the right education.[44]

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[41] *Politica,* VIII, 1.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] See page 362 of this text.

[44] *Ethica Nicomachea,* II, 3. Compare X, 1 and 9; also Welldon, *Op. cit.,* pp. 39, 315.

His approval of this definition and his frequent references to it justify the conclusion that it was to his mind the most satisfactory statement of the educational process.

The aim of education. The aim of education, according to Aristotle, was the same for the state and for human life generally: namely, happiness. This was to be secured by the harmonious functioning of all faculties. When we consider the full import of the term, we see that no more comprehensive or enlightening statement of the aim of education is possible. Aristotle specifically emphasized as its constituent elements: "health," "a goodly and numerous family," "fame and honor" as a citizen, wise use of leisure, good moral character, and the development of the intellectual faculties.[45]

2. *Educational Problems*

List of problems. It is interesting to examine the chief educational problems of the day as Aristotle saw them. These problems he listed in the following order:

a. Should education be a public or a private function?
b. "There is disagreement," he declared, "about the subjects" which the young should learn. "For mankind are by no means agreed about the things to be taught," regardless as to whether the end to be sought is virtue or the best life.
c. It was not clear whether education should be more concerned with the cultivation of the intellectual or the moral nature of the child.
d. "The existing practice is perplexing. No one knows on what principle we should proceed—should studies that are useful in gaining a livelihood, or such as promote virtue, or should the higher knowledge be the aim of training? All three positions have been advocated."
e. Again, although virtue was accepted as the end, there was no agreement about the means. For different persons,

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[45] A comparison of Aristotle's view of the aim of life and education and the seven-point aim of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, 1918, is highly suggestive. The Commission chose these terms: 1. Health, 2. Command of the fundamental processes, 3. Worthy home-membership, 4. Vocation, 5. Citizenship, 6. Worthy use of leisure time, 7. Ethical character. The most important differences are three: (1) The Commission would educate everybody; Aristotle would educate only the citizens; (2) The Commission had a broad view of vocations; to Aristotle the only vocation was all round service to the state; (3) Aristotle placed a greater emphasis upon intellectual culture than did the Commission.

starting with different ideas about the nature of virtue, naturally disagreed about the practice of it.

Such were the important problems of education in the order in which Aristotle listed them. His views on these problems will now be given.

3. *Aristotle's Positions on These Problems*

a. *Should education be public or private?* Aristotle was in full agreement with Plato and Xenophon that education is a function of the state. Should the state conduct the schools or delegate this function to other agencies? The following are his reasons for direct public control:

(1) The stability of the government depends on the kind of education given the young.

> The greatest safeguard for the permanence of any polity, greater than any we have hitherto mentioned, is one which is universally disregarded at present, viz., the education of the citizens in the spirit of the polity. For the wisest of laws, although ratified by the consentient voice of the whole civic body, are of no avail unless the citizens are trained by habit and education in the lines of the polity.[46]

Furthermore, the system of education followed by the state becomes the test of the soundness of the constitution.

> Legislators make the citizens good by forming habits in them, and this is the wish of every legislator, and those who do not effect it miss the mark, and it is in this that a good constitution differs from a bad one.[47]

(2) The city as a whole can have but one end; and all citizens must share this end, for they all belong to the state. Education makes for a community of interest and must be the same for all.

> As the end proposed to the state as a whole is one, it is clear that the education of all citizens must be one and the same, and the superintendence of it a public affair rather than in private hands, as it now is, when each individual superintends his own children privately and with such private instruction as he thinks good. The training in public business should itself be public.[48]

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[46] Welldon, J. E. C., Translator, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Second Edition, p. 379. London: Macmillan and Company, 1892.

[47] *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 1.

[48] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

(3) Private education results in a difference of education of rich and poor, which is detrimental to the state.

> Those who have too much of the goods of fortune, strength, wealth, friends, and the like, are neither willing nor able to submit to authority. The evil begins at home; for when they are boys, by reason of the luxury in which they are brought up, they never learn, even at school, the habit of obedience. On the other hand, the very poor, who are in the opposite extreme, are too degraded. So that the one class cannot obey, and can only rule despotically; the other knows not how to command and must be ruled as slaves.[49]

(4) To prevent revolution because of class conflicts there must be equalization of property, wealth, and honors, but even more necessary is it to equalize the desires of the citizens.

> It is not the possessions but the desires of mankind which require to be equalized, and this is impossible unless a sufficient education is prepared by the laws.[50]

To equalize desires in the hearts of the citizens it is necessary to equalize education by subjecting all the young to a strict regimen and uniformity of training.

(5) State control is necessary for public morale. What is habitual from youth upward, and is also required of everyone, however unpleasant it may be, will be borne with equanimity.

> It is difficult to get from youth up the right training for virtue if one has not been brought up under right laws; for to live temperately and hardily is not pleasant to most people, especially when they are young. For this reason their training and occupations should be regulated by law; for being customary they will not be painful.[51]

When all young citizens are brought up in the same manner, they learn to endure hardships without complaining.

b. *The question of the curriculum.* Aristotle began the discussion of the course of study in this way:

> The studies established at the present day are, . . . of an ambiguous character. We may say that there are four usual subjects of education, *viz.,* Reading and Writing, Gymnastic, Music, and fourthly, although this is not universally admitted, the Art of Design.[52]

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[49] *Politica,* IV, 11; Compare also V, 9.

[50] *Ibid.,* II, 7.

[51] *Ethica Nicomachea,* X, 9.

[52] Welldon, *Op. cit.,* p. 225.

(1) The subjects, reading and writing, Aristotle thought, should be taught for their utility. They are useful in making money, in the management of a household, in political life, and also because many other sorts of knowledge are acquired through them. Drawing is useful in judging works of art.

(2) Aristotle recognized several important principles in regard to gymnastic training. In the process of growth the earlier precedes and makes possible the later; consequently the culture of the body will precede that of the soul, and after the care for the body will come that of the appetitive life. The care of the body must be for the sake of the reason or the soul.

Some states which are wont to use too great severity injure and stunt the body. The Spartans brutalize their children in order to make them courageous. But the greatest courage is not obtained in this manner, as is seen from the fact that the Spartans were beaten both in gymnastics and in war. Nobility of heart is the highest courage. Parents who give their boys only gymnastics make brutes of them.

Because of the danger of excess in gymnastics, children from seven to puberty should be given lighter exercises in order not to strain them. Aristotle cites the fact that among the many Olympic victors not more than two or three had gained the prize as boys and also as men. Early gymnastic training was so severe that it weakened their constitutions. Furthermore, he recognized the reciprocal relation of strenuous muscular action and mental activity:

> Men ought not to labour at the same time with their minds and with their bodies; . . . the labour of the body impedes the mind, and the labour of the mind the body.[53]

Play should be refined and neither laborious nor languid. All games should lead to future vocations. It is the business of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to provide for the amusement of the children. After the advent of puberty, for a period of three years, there is to be no gymnastic training, but following this period up to twenty-one, severe gymnastic training will be given the youth.

Aristotle rounded up all of the recognized aims of physical education in the following statement: "The true ends of physical education are health, strength, agility, and manly beauty."[54] In addition to these it is a preparation for military training.

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[53] *Politica*, VIII, 4.

(3) Music was a subject in which Aristotle was not very much at home. He had no feeling for lyric poetry and no understanding of the coordinating function of music in the process of child development. Similarly, he did not properly evaluate the dance and dramatic representation. In regard to the effect of rhythm and melody upon education he could only refer the student to "philosophers who have had considerable experience of musical education." Aristotle's extreme analytical bent and intellectualistic outlook rendered him incapable of looking at music in the way that Plato did. In discussing the subject, it seems evident he had in view chiefly instrumental music.

However Aristotle, nevertheless, recognized four purposes for which people used music. Three of these purposes he approved; the fourth, which was pleasure or amusement, he did not value highly.

> We accept the division of melodies, proposed by certain philosophers, into ethical melodies, melodies of action, and passionate or inspiring melodies, each having, as they say, a mode corresponding to it. But we maintain further that music should be studied, not for the sake of one but of many benefits, that is to say, with a view to (1) education, (2) purgation . . . : music may also serve (3) for intellectual enjoyment, for relaxation and for recreation after exercise.[55]

(a) Because of its power over the emotions, that is, its ethical influence, music is an instrument of education.

> In mere melodies there is an imitation of character, for the musical modes differ essentially from one another, and those who hear them are differently affected by each. Some of them make men sad and grave—others enfeeble the mind, like the relaxed harmonies, others, again, produce a moderate and settled temper, which appears to be the peculiar effect of the Dorian; the Phrygian inspires enthusiasm. . . . Music has a power of forming the character, and should, therefore, be introduced into the education of the young.[56]

Children must be performers in order to be good judges of music. "Besides there seems to be a certain affinity between the soul and rhythms and scales." Music must not retard growth or degrade the soul. The study of music must not be such as to impede the child's subsequent activities nor to make his movements mechanical and unserviceable for military and civil exercises. The right rule for music study is not to burden the child with anything that is only wanted for professional performance or with "out-of-the-way marvels" of the technical performers. (b) So far as the cathartic value of music goes, Aristotle is not clear. Apparently it belongs in the field of psychotherapy rather than education.[57]

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[54] *Rhetoric,* I, 5; *Politica,* VII, 2, 6.
[55] *Politica,* VII, 7.
[56] *Ibid.,* VIII, 5.

(c) Music for the sake of leisure is a means of noble relaxation or "intellectual enjoyment of leisure."

> The rattle is a toy suited to the infant mind and (musical) education is a rattle or toy for children of a larger growth.[58]

Just what Aristotle meant by music as a toy is not clear, but evidently he had no lofty appreciation of its importance.

Like most of the educational reformers of this particular time and period, Aristotle had decided opinions of what musical instruments were best. All instruments that require great skill and were employed by professional musicians for pleasurable effects were condemned. The flute, which had become extremely popular after the Persian War, was singled out for special censure. It required too great a measure of skill. Its tones are too exciting and, therefore, do not contribute to the cultivation of moral character. Blowing the flute makes the face ugly. Again, one playing the flute cannot use the voice at the same time as Greek custom required. Finally, the flute contributes nothing to the mental life. It was used mainly by professionals. Aristotle concluded, "thus then we reject the professional instruments and also the professional mode of education in music." Professionalism is unworthy, for it contributes to pleasure merely rather than to personal improvement.

c. *Moral versus intellectual education.* The old moral training of the Greeks had began to crumble about a century before Aristotle. A difference of opinion arose as to what the new method of character cultivation should be. Aristotle stated the situation succinctly: "Some think we are made good by nature, others by habituation, others by teaching."[59]

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[57] Consult Susemihl, Franz, and Hicks, R. D., *The Politics of Aristotle*, pp. 641–656. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1894.

[58] *Politica*, VIII. 6.

[59] *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 9.

Socrates, the Sophists, and Plato had advocated the intellectualizing of education, and to this end a new curriculum had been introduced. The Sophists, who gave education this new direction, taught a variety of subjects, but placed special emphasis upon literature and rhetoric. Plato contended that education should take the direction of mathematics and philosophy.

Aristotle took decided issue with the view that intellectual instruction is a factor in making good citizens. As he saw the nature of the moral life, virtues are not acquired by instruction, nor by study of intellectual theories. Throughout his ethical writings, Aristotle reiterated his objections to academic rationalism. After making a careful psychological analysis of the nature of moral actions, he analyzed the weaknesses of mere theoretical knowledge in this way:

(1) Knowledge is of little or no value. Aristotle emphatically rejected the view that knowledge makes men good. "If it be a question of possessing the virtues," he declared, "the mere knowledge is of little or no avail." Knowledge of the good does not necessarily make one desire it. To those who already desire the good, knowledge will be of benefit in choosing the means for its realization. Thus, the function of knowledge is purely subordinate or accessory. Aristotle had no patience with one who believed that intellectual instruction could make men moral. He vehemently declared: "A person must be utterly senseless, if he does not know that moral states are formed by the exercise of the powers."[60]

(2) Moral instruction is ineffective. Persuasion and instruction are also futile unless virtue is already present.

> Argument and teaching, we may suspect, are not powerful with all men, but the soul of the student must first have been cultivated by means of habit for noble joy and noble hatred, like earth which is to nourish the seed. For he who lives as passion directs will not hear argument that dissuades him, nor understand it if he does; and how can we persuade one in such a state to change his ways? And in general passion seems to yield not to argument but to force. The character, then, must somehow be there already with a kinship to virtue, loving what is noble and hating what is base.[61]

(3) Theories of virtue are useless. Finally Aristotle points out that philosophic ethical theory is of no avail:

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[60] Welldon, J. E. C., Translator, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, p. 75.
[61] *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 9.

> Most people . . . take refuge in theorizing; they imagine that they are philosophers and that philosophy will make them virtuous; in fact they behave like people who listen attentively to their doctors but never do anything that their doctors tell them. But it is as improbable that a healthy state of the soul will be produced by this kind of philosophizing as that a healthy state of the body will be produced by this kind of medical treatment.[62]
>
> It is not enough to know the nature of virtue; we must endeavor to possess it, and to use whatever other means are necessary for becoming good. Now, if theories were sufficient of themselves to make men good, they would deserve to receive any number of handsome rewards. But it appears in fact that, although they are strong enough to encourage and stimulate youths who are already liberally minded, although they are capable of bringing a soul which is generous and enamoured of nobleness under the spell of virtue, they are impotent to inspire the mass of men to chivalrous action; for it is not the nature of such men to obey honour but terror, nor to abstain from evil for fear of disgrace but for fear of punishment; for, as their life is one of emotion, they pursue their proper pleasures, and eschew the pains which are opposite to them. But of what is noble and truly pleasant they have not so much as a conception, because they have never tasted it. Where is the theory or argument which can reform such people as these? It is difficult to change by argument the settled features of character.[63]

d. *Should education be liberal or practical?* The question whether education should be practical or liberal and cultural came to the front in Athens just as it comes today. Aristotle stated it in this way: "Should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should the highest knowledge, be the aim of our training; all three opinions have been entertained." As to practical activities, Aristotle divided occupations into liberal, and illiberal, or vulgar.

> Any occupation, art, or science which makes the body or soul or mind of the freeman less fit for the practice or exercise of virtue is vulgar; wherefore, we call those arts vulgar which tend to deform the body, and likewise all paid employments, for they absorb and degrade the mind.[64]

The Greeks felt an irreconcilable conflict between the common vocations or trades and service to the state, which was the real business of the citizens. All handicrafts as such were the work of slaves. Three objections were made to all such occupations.

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[62] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 42–43.
[63] Welldon, J. E. C., *Op. cit.*, pp. 343–344.
[64] *Politica*, VIII, 1.

(1) They deprived the individual of the time necessary for performing his duties as a citizen.

> In a well-ordered state that the citizens should have leisure and not have to provide for their daily wants is generally acknowledged.[65] The citizen must not lead the life of mechanics or tradesmen, for such life is ignoble and inimical to virtue. Neither must they be husbandmen, since leisure is necessary both for the development of virtue and the performance of political duties.[66]

(2) Again, toil robs a man of the leisure that is indispensable for engaging in the ideal interests such as science and fine arts which are the genuine vocations of the soul as opposed to the appetites of the body.

> Nothing is more absolutely necessary than to provide that the highest class, not only when in office, but when out of office, should have leisure and not disgrace themselves in any way.[67]

(3) The vulgar vocations distort the body so that the laborer is no longer the model of physical perfection.

In spite of his prohibition of the practical vocations, Aristotle was constrained to admit some useful training:

> There can be no doubt that children should be taught those useful things which are really necessary, but not all useful things. . . . And to young children should be imparted only such kinds of knowledge as will be useful to them without vulgarizing them.[68]

A certain amount of snobbishness was inherent in the Greek conception of happiness, for according to their view only the relatively rich and fortunate could really enjoy life. There was no happiness, culture, nor good for the slave class. The compatibility of a life of toil and hardship with the highest satisfaction and perfection was unthinkable to the Greek. This snobbish attitude was characteristic of the entire Greek world throughout its history. Even Aristotle, most learned of them all, was totally lacking in general sympathy. "The multitude," he said, "strikes us as utterly servile in their preference for the life of beasts."

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[65] *Ibid.*, II, 9.
[66] *Ibid.*, VII, 9.
[67] *Ibid.*, II, 11.
[68] *Ibid.*, VIII, 2.

e. *The method of moral education.* The acquisition of virtue or good character was the central problem of Greek educational philosophy, and Aristotle frequently addressed his thinking to it. He attacked quite aggressively the false ideas as to how moral states, virtues, and good character are acquired, and carefully defined the only method of acquiring them.

Three factors in education. Three factors enter into the acquisition of virtue or the cultivation of character: nature, habit, and reason which involves instruction. To quote Aristotle on the point:

> There are three things which make men good and virtuous; these are nature, habit, rational principle. In the first place, everyone must be born a man . . . ; so, too, one must have a certain character, both of body and soul. . . . Wherefore nature, habit, and rational principle must be in harmony with one another.[69]

The contribution of nature. It is necessary to understand that virtues and morality are not directly furnished by nature. All that nature furnishes is the raw materials, that is to say, impulses out of which good actions and habits may be developed.

> It is also plain that none of the moral virtues arise in us by nature. . . . Neither by nature, then, nor contrary to nature do the virtues arise in us; rather we are adapted by nature to receive them, and are made perfect by habit. . . . Of all the things that come to us by nature we first acquire the potentiality and later exhibit the activity.[70]
> Nature's part evidently does not depend on us, but as a result of some divine cause is present in those who are fortunate.[71]

Theory of child nature. The phenomena of child nature and growth could not escape the very complete circumspection of the great encyclopaedist. He had several things to say on the subject, but did not give it systematic discussion. To discover his views one must piece together the individual statements scattered throughout his various treatises.

(1) Children, Aristotle contended, are like animals. This similarity of children and animals was seized upon, for it fitted beautifully his theory of organic development. First, he pointed out, both are dominated by their appetites and emotions: "Children and brutes pursue pleasures," he declared.[72]

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[69] *Ibid.*, VII, 13.
[70] *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 1.
[71] *Ibid.*, X, 9.
[72] *Ibid.*, VII, 11.

> Children, in fact, live at the beck and call of appetite, and it is in them that the desire for what is pleasant is strongest.[73]

Again, he stated: "Children live by emotion." [74] And, "Children and lower animals share in voluntary action but not in choice." [75] By such expressions Aristotle indicated that children pass through a low or animal stage of existence. They are emotionally unstable and the prey of appetite during this prerational stage of development.

(2) Children have higher potentialities. But while children exhibit the characteristics of animals, they differ from the animal in that they have potentialities that lead them to a higher level of existence.

> In many children may be observed the traces and seeds of what will one day be settled psychological habits, though psychologically a child hardly differs for the time being from an animal.[76]

In several of his works, Aristotle discussed the fundamental emotions or desires that constitute the innate equipment of the human soul. It is not necessary to mention all of these, for the list is long. Those that have special significance for education are shame, imitativeness, emulation, the desire to excel, rhythm, honor or reputation, and wonder or the desire to know. All these are especially active in the nature of the child.

(a) Imitativeness is especially important.

> Imitation is natural to man from childhood, one of his advantages over the lower animals being this, that he is the most imitative creature in the world, and learns at first by imitation. And it is also natural for all to delight at first in imitation.[77]

(b) Emulation or the desire to have as much success as one's equals is a powerful motive in childhood and youth of lofty disposition. It is a worthy desire, felt only by good persons, and makes them emulate their ancestors and the great orators, generals, and heroes praised by the poets.

(c) The Greeks considered the sense of shame especially significant as one of the chief motive powers in the moral control and development of the young, just as the Hebrews considered "the fear of the Lord." Aristotle discussed this sense in this way:

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[73] *Ibid.*, III, 12.

[74] *Ibid.*, VI, 2.

[75] *Ibid.*, III, 2.

[76] *Historia Animalium*, 588^a 32.

[77] Bywater, Ingram, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, p. 9. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909.

> The emotion is one which is appropriate not to all ages but to youth. We consider that the young ought to show a sense of shame, as their life being directed by emotion is full of mistakes, and it is shame which holds them in check . . . we praise the young men for exhibiting a sense of shame.[78]

But shame, Aristotle held, is not a fitting emotion in those who have passed beyond the stage of youth. It plays its role in the moral development of the young and then like some vestigial organ ceases to function.

(d) Rhythm is an inborn natural emotion. From birth, children find pleasure in harmony and rhythm, for orderly movement preserves and increases one's power. It is the basis of poetry, dancing, and music, and these are particularly interesting to children.

(e) The feeling of wonder is the desire to know. Aristotle quite often made the statement: "All men by nature desire to know." Wonder is the origin of philosophy. Men seek knowledge "in order to escape ignorance," and they pursue science "in order to know, and not for any utilitarian end."

(3) Children are not capable of happiness. Aristotle exhibits a certain disdain for childhood as a low state of being. We can generally share his view that "no one would choose to live with the intellect of a child throughout his life." [79] But his idea that childhood knows no happiness and that we would not wish to return to it is not accepted by modern writers. He was of the opinion, "The life we lead as children is not desirable, for no one in his senses would consent to return again to this." [80] The happiness of childhood is generally conceded today, but Aristotle's conception of happiness as an end placed it too far away from childhood. "Happiness," he declared, "is not found in the child, for it is found only in what is complete. The child is in a process of development and is, therefore, incomplete." [81] Evidently, Aristotle did not understand the happiness which accompanies every stage of development as the inner harmony of all the processes of life.

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[78] Welldon, J. E. C., Translator, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, p. 132.

[79] *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 3.

[80] *Ethica Eudemia*, I, 5.

[81] *Magna Moralia*, I, 4.

General theory of development. Aristotle's biology differs widely from that of the present in that he had no conception of evolution from one species to another. Some such doctrine of evolution was held by Anaxagoras, but it was rejected by Aristotle. He made impassable divisions between the various levels of life; nevertheless, he recognized a graded scale of complexity from the lowest to the highest forms. Man is an animal, but in addition to the animal body and mind he also possesses reason.

Aristotle separates the levels of biological life and of species as sharply as did Plato. In the case of man, however, the soul embraces the lower as well as the higher order. Here a theory of organic development was necessary, and different stages had to be recognized. The body is not a mere external or outer shell, a prison-house of reason as Plato taught, but it is the potentiality of the soul. The body and the irrational elements exist for the sake of the rational soul, and must develop before reason.

> As the body is prior in order of generation to the soul, so the irrational is prior to the rational. The proof is that anger and wishing and desire are implanted in children from their very birth, but reason and understanding are developed as they grow older. Wherefore, the care of the body ought to precede that of the soul, and the training of the appetitive part should follow; none the less our care of it must be for the sake of the soul.[82]

The body develops before the mind, the irrational before the rational. This fact is of the greatest importance for education.

With regard to stages of growth and development, Aristotle said,

> There are two periods of life with reference to which education has to be divided, from seven to the age of puberty, and onwards to the age of one and twenty. The poets who divide ages by sevens are in the main right; but we should observe the division actually made by nature; for the deficiencies of nature are what art and education seek to fill up.[83]

According to this, the development of childhood is divided into three periods. First, *infancy,* from birth to seven; second *boyhood,* from seven to puberty; third, *young manhood,* from puberty to twenty-one.

In the second book of the *Rhetoric,* Aristotle describes the characteristics of youth as to their passions, their temperament, egotism and reasoning, their friendships and idealism. The emergence of rationality in this period brings with it deliberation and choice. The result of the operation of these is character.

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[82] *Politica,* VII, 15.
[83] *Ibid.,* VII, 17.

(2) The main point in Aristotle's theory of moral education is in the inculcation of habits.

> Moral virtue comes about as a result of habit, whence also its name (ἠθική) is one that is formed by a slight variation of the word ἔθος (habit). From this it is also plain that none of the moral virtues arise in us by nature; for nothing that exists by nature can form a habit contrary to its nature.[84]

The range of habit forming. All capacities depend upon activities and are acquired by practice and the formation of habits. "For the things we have to learn before we can do them, we learn by doing them." This principle is true of every art. (a) It is true of the practical arts:

> The case of builders and of all other *artisans* is similar, as it is by building well that they will be good builders and by building badly that they will be bad builders. If it were not so, there would be no need of anybody to teach them; they would all *be born* good or bad *in their several trades.*[85]

(b) The same principle is true of the fine arts:

> It is from playing the lyre that both good and bad lyre-players are produced.[86]

(c) The principle holds for the lower moral virtues, the control of appetites, or temperance, or anger and passion, and the development of courage:

> It is by acting in the face of danger and by habituating ourselves to fear or courage that we become either cowardly or courageous. It is much the same with our desires and angry passions. Some people become temperate and gentle, others become licentious and passionate, according as they conduct themselves in one way or another way in particular circumstances.[87]

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[84] *Ethica Nicomachea,* II, 1.

[85] Welldon, *op. cit.,* pp. 35–36.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Ibid.*

> It is by abstinence from pleasures that we become temperate, and when we have become temperate, we are best able to abstain from them. So too with courage; it is by habituating ourselves to despise and face alarms that we become courageous, we shall be best able to face them.[88]

(d) This principle holds likewise of the highest moral virtues:

> It is by acting in such transactions as take place between man and man that we become either just or unjust.[89]

In emphasizing the deep significance of habit formation as the basis of the cultivation of character, Aristotle did but rationalize the practice of the old Greek education. His position was reasserted by Plutarch three centuries later and became the basic philosophy of education of the whole monastic practice of life.

Habits as moral states. Virtues are fixed habits or attitudes. These attitudes Aristotle called "moral states" or "states of character." They are dispositions of will which constitute the character of the individual. Each single act of the moral man is the expression of his character at the time. Virtues or "states of character" lead to the doing of moral acts, and are thus the means for the attainment of the end of living, that is to say, happiness. They are in our power, and are, therefore, voluntary. It is the function of practical wisdom to practice and use the various virtues so as to establish character, and through character to attain the highest good, which is happiness.

> *In a word, moral states are the results of activities corresponding to the moral states themselves.* It is our duty, therefore, to give a certain character to the activities, as the moral states depend upon the differences of the activities. Accordingly the difference between one training of the habits and another from early days is not a light matter, but is serious or rather all-important.[90]

Aristotle took occasion to emphasize the stability of habits.

> Inasmuch as moral states depend upon the will and are set habits they are more permanent than are intellectual states. For there is no human function so constant as the activities in accordance with virtue; they seem to be more permanent than the sciences themselves.[91]

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[88] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
[89] *Op. cit.*, p. 36.
[90] Welldon, J. E. C., *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 1.
[91] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

The production of moral states or virtues depends upon the exercise of the will. There must be deliberation, choice, practice, and, as a consequence, the fixed habit of action.

> But the virtues we acquire by first exercising them, as is the case with all the arts. Similarly it is by doing just acts that we become just, by doing temperate acts that we become temperate, by doing courageous acts that we become courageous. The experience of states is a witness to this truth; for it is by training the habits that legislators make the citizens good.[92]

Definition of character. According to Aristotle, character may be defined as a disposition to act in certain ways; a disposition which has been fixed by habits that are the result of particular actions chosen by the individual in accordance with a rational plan of life. In a word, character is the sum-total of a man's habits and ideals.

Individual responsibility. Aristotle has not made quite clear his position in regard to the question of individual responsibility. Nor has he been definite as to the genesis and development of character. It is necessary, therefore, to enumerate his opinions on these important matters from scattered statements.

Nature of a moral act. An act is moral when it is performed under certain specific conditions which the agent must fulfill when he acts. These are: 1. He must know what he is doing. 2. He must choose to act in that particular way. 3. His action must proceed from a firm and unchangeable character or will.

> But actions in accordance with virtue are not, *e.g.*, justly and temperately performed because they are in themselves just or tempered. It is necessary that the agent at the time of performing them should satisfy certain conditions, *i.e.*, in the first place, that he should know what he is doing, secondly, that he should deliberately choose to do it and to do it for its own sake, and thirdly, that he should do it as an instance of a settled and immutable moral state.[93]

From this statement two most significant facts appear. First that character is related to choice; second that it is gradually constructed by a series of voluntary acts. Let us look at these more closely.

Character begins in choice. A man's choice is determined by his character, for he cannot act contrary to his fixed habits. But while the actions of an adult are the outcome of his character at the time, every individual, according to Aristotle, is responsible for the kind of character he has. At some time in life—unfortunately, Aristotle does not state when—a first determining choice must be made. Before this choice it was possible for a man to become just or unjust, temperate or intemperate, and so on. Every individual makes his choice, and then begins to do acts in accordance with the choice. Gradually he builds up a solid group of habits, a steadfastness of will in harmony with his choice. Such is the simple interpretation of the only statements Aristotle has left as to how the process of character building or cultivation began. Examine the following quotations in the light of this interpretation:

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[93] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 42. *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 3.

> To the unjust and to the self-indulgent men it was open at the beginning not to become men of this kind, and so they are unjust and self-indulgent voluntarily; but now that they have become so it is not possible for them not to do so.[94]
>
> We are masters of our actions from the beginning right to the end, if we know the particular facts, but though we control the beginning of our states of character the gradual progress is not obvious . . . because it is in our power, however, to act in this way or not in this way, therefore, the states are voluntary.[95]
>
> The end, then, being what we wish for, the means what we deliberate about and choose, actions concerning means must be according to choice and voluntary. Now the exercise of virtues is concerned with means. Therefore, virtue also is in our power, and so too vice. For where it is in our power to act it is also in our power not to act. . . . Now if it is in our power to do noble or base acts, and likewise in our power not to do them, and this was what being good or bad meant, then it is in our power to be virtuous or vicious.[96]

Children act voluntarily, but they do not have choice. Acts that are designed to build sound moral character must be performed voluntarily. When a youth is compelled to act in a certain manner against his inclination, he does not build the right kind of habit. Only when he has had a chance to deliberate and to choose for himself will he get the right sort of habit and build the right sort of character. Children, according to Aristotle, are not capable of choice. One must infer that it is in youth that the choice of character is made. Possibly it begins in a "Choice of Hercules," although Aristotle does not clarify the point.

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[94] *Ethica Nicomachea*, III, 5.
[95] *Ibid.*, III, 5.
[96] *Ibid.*, III, 5.

(3) *Instruction.* The intellectual life requires instruction. It will be recalled that Aristotle approved of Plato's division of the soul into the rational and irrational parts. Corresponding to these different functions, he also, like Plato, recognized two kinds of virtue, the moral and the intellectual. Plato had only two such intellectual virtues, wisdom and justice. Aristotle gives a longer list, namely:

> In the rational part, then, there resides wisdom, readiness of wit, philosophy, aptitude to learn, memory, and so on.[97]

Aristotle devoted extraordinary attention to the method of acquiring the moral virtues; the acquisition of the intellectual virtues he dismissed, strange to say, with a mere gesture. All he tells us is this:

> Intellectual virtue in the main owes both its birth and its growth to teaching (for which reason it requires experience and time).[98]

The philosophic or contemplative life. The highest function of the intellectual life is to grasp universal knowledge. Such activity of mind brings supreme happiness.

> If happiness is activity in accordance with virtue, it is reasonable that it should be in accordance with the highest virtue; and this will be that of the best thing in us. Whether it be reason or something else that is this element which is thought to be our natural ruler and guide and to take thought of things noble and divine or only the most divine element in us, the activity of this in accordance with its proper virtue will be perfect happiness. That this activity is contemplative we have already said.[99]

The gods delight most in the things of reason, and reason is the best and highest function of man. Those acts that are noble and good are most dear to the gods and such activities belong most of all to the philosopher.

> He, therefore, is the dearest to the gods, and he who is that will presumably be also the happiest; so that in this way too the philosopher will more than any other be happy.[100]

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[97] *Magna Moralia,* I, 3.

[98] *Ethica Nicomachea,* II, 1.

[99] *Ibid.,* X, 7.

[100] *Ibid.,* X, 8.

In the *Eudemonistic Ethics,* the statement is made that the end of mathematical science is contemplation. If this statement was made by Aristotle, he was very close to Plato's concept of supreme happiness. According to Aristotle's experience of the life of reason,

> It is also the most continuous, since we can contemplate more continuously than we can do anything.[101]

Not only does intellectual activity endure, but it is attended by the greatest pleasure:

> The activity of philosophic wisdom is admittedly the pleasantest of virtuous activities; at all events the pursuit of it is thought to offer pleasures marvelous for their purity and their enduringness, and it is to be expected that those who know will pass their time more pleasantly than those who inquire.[102]

The gods, Aristotle further informs us, pass their time in contemplation.

B. *Aristotle's Method of Learning and Instruction*

Method of learning and instruction. In the field of educational method, Aristotle made the most positive contribution. He insisted that all true knowledge is based upon direct experience and the method of induction. He laid great store by experience as the basis and preparation for higher studies. He objected to young men studying politics, philosophy, and physics on the ground that their experience was not sufficient for these subjects. In the acquisition of learning, he held that the mind proceeds from the known to the unknown, from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract.

Origin of first principles. The first principles or the fundamental elements of every science are different, and each must be learned by direct experience of the phenomena of that particular science.

> It is the business of experience to give the principles which belong to each subject. I mean, for example, that astronomical experience supplies the principles of astronomical science; for once the phenomena were adequately apprehended the demonstrations of astronomy were discovered. Similarly with any other art or science.[103]

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[101] *Ibid.,* X, 7.
[102] *Ibid.;* see also this complete passage, and X, 8.
[103] *Analytica Priora,* I, 30.

The first principles of mathematics are based upon concrete experiences; the axioms of geometry come from the abstractions made by the mind from the original figures experienced. They do not come from innate knowledge, as Plato and other thinkers assumed. In this connection it is interesting to note that geometrical figures were used to demonstrate propositions long before the time of Aristotle.

The first principles of the natural sciences are due to knowledge that comes through the senses, but the first principles of ethical truth, that is, of the good, are due to acquired habits.

> For virtue and vice respectively preserve and destroy the first principle, and in actions the final cause is the first principle, as the hypotheses are in mathematics; neither in that case is it argument that teaches the first principles, nor is it so here—virtue either natural or produced by habituation is what teaches right opinion about first principles.[104]

This means that a virtue carries within itself its own sanction, or primary authority; a virtue is an ethical principle. The educated man does not expect to find the same precision or degree of positiveness in every science. Each field of study does not admit of the same finality.

Sense perception and induction are basic. In regard to the fundamental necessity of sense experience as the basis of all true science, Aristotle declared,

> It is also clear that the loss of any one of the senses entails the loss of a corresponding portion of knowledge, and that, since we learn either by induction or by demonstrations, this knowledge cannot be acquired. Thus demonstration develops from universals, induction from particulars; . . . it is consequently impossible to come to grasp universals except through induction. But induction is impossible for those who have not sense perception. For it is sense perception alone which is adequate for grasping the particulars: they cannot be the object of scientific knowledge, because neither can universals give us knowledge of them without induction, nor can we get it through induction without sense perception.[105]

As to induction, Aristotle was well aware of its place in scientific procedure. Of this he said,

> Also, for it proceeds sometimes through induction and sometimes by syllogism. Now induction is the starting point which knowledge even

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[104] *Ethica Nicomachea,* VII, 8.

[105] *Analytica Posteriora,* I, 18.

of the universal presupposes, while syllogism proceeds from universals. There are, therefore, starting points from which syllogism proceeds, which are not reached by syllogism; it is, therefore, by induction that they are acquired. Scientific knowledge is, then, a state or capacity to demonstrate.[106]

Method in the study of sciences. One of the most remarkable discussions of the spirit of scientific method in all literature is found in Aristotle's work *On the Parts of Animals.* Though lengthy, it is quoted in full because of its great importance.

Of things constituted by nature some are ungenerated, imperishable, and external, while others are subject to generation and decay. The former are excellent beyond compare and divine, but less accessible to knowledge. The evidence that might throw light on them, and on the problems which we long to solve respecting them, is furnished but scantily by sensation; whereas respecting perishable plants and animals we have abundant information, living as we do in their midst, and ample data may be collected concerning all their various kinds, if only we are willing to take sufficient pains. Both departments, however, have their special charm. The scanty conceptions to which we can attain of celestial things give us from their excellence more pleasure than all our knowledge of the world in which we live; just as a half glimpse of persons that we love is more delightful than a leisurely view of other things, whatever their number and dimensions. On the other hand, in certitude and in completeness our knowledge of terrestial things has the advantage. Moreover, their greater nearness and affinity to us balances somewhat the loftier interest of the heavenly things that are the objects of the higher philosophy. Having already treated of the celestial world, as far as our conjectures could reach, we proceed to treat of animals, without omitting, to the best of our ability, any member of the kingdom, however ignoble. For if some have no graces to charm the sense, yet even these by disclosing to intellectual perception the artistic spirit that designed them, give immense pleasure to all who can trace links of causation, and are inclined to philosophy. Indeed, it would be strange if mimic representations of them were attractive, because they disclose the mimetic skill of the painter or sculptor, and the original realities themselves were not more interesting, to all at any rate who have eyes to discern the reasons that determine their formation. We therefore must not recoil with childish aversion from the examination of the humbler animals. Every realm of nature is marvelous: and as Heraclitus, when the strangers who came to visit him found him warming himself at the furnace in the kitchen and hesitated to go in, is reported to have bidden them not to be afraid to enter, as even in that kitchen divinities were present, so we should venture on the study of every kind of animal without distaste; for each and all will reveal to us something natural and something beautiful. Absence of haphazard and conduciveness of everything to an end are to be found in Nature's works in the highest degree, and the resultant end of her generations and combinations is a form of the beautiful.

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[106] *Ibid.,* 71 a 1; 9–23.

If any person thinks the examination of the rest of the animal kingdom an unworthy task, he must hold in like disesteem the study of man. For no one can look at the primordia of the human frame—blood, flesh, bones, vessels, and the like—without much repugnance. Moreover, when any one of the parts or structures, be it which it may, is under discussion, it must not be supposed that it is its material composition to which attention is being directed or which is the object of the discussion, but the relation of such part to the total form. Similarly, the true object of architecture is not bricks, mortar, or timber, but the house; and so the principal object of natural philosophy is not the material elements, but their composition, and the totality of the form, independently of which they have no existence.[107]

Misconception of Aristotle's scientific method. The trouble with Aristotle's theory of method was not that he was deductive, as has often been asserted. It was rather that he did not stress the full implication of experience, investigation, and induction. He did not lay enough stress on the need in childhood of a wealth of sense impressions, as the primary basis of knowledge. Moreover, he failed especially in analyzing the process of induction. He elaborated at length the deductive or demonstration method, and this method blotted out from the minds of men the more fundamental process of observation and induction. Thus Aristotle was misunderstood. He believed in sense realism just as sincerely as did Bacon or Pestalozzi, but the world followed neither his practice nor his theory of induction.

IV. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Care of infancy. Infants are to be brought up in the home; in this he took direct issue with Plato. With regard to diet Aristotle recommends milk and little or no wine. Movement is to be free and there is to be plenty of physical activity through play and amusement.

In later infancy, the child, too young for lessons, must play in order to counteract sluggishness. Crying is good for growth; it is a sort of gymnastic. Up to the age of five, the child must have plenty of physical activity through amusements. Care should be taken as to what tales and stories they hear; Aristotle agrees with Plato that all these activities and stories should prepare for the business of later life, "and should be for the most part imitations of the occupations which they will hereafter pursue in earnest."

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[107] Smith, J. A., and Ross, W. D., Translators (*The Works of Aristotle* translated into English); *De Partibus Animalium*, Vol. V, Book I, 4. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912.

From five to seven, the children "must look on at the pursuits which they are hereafter to learn." Children of this age should be little in the company of servants:

> The inspectors of children must exercise a general supervision over the way they pass their time, and see especially that they are as little as possible in the company of servants. Children at this age, and up to the age of seven, have necessarily to be brought up at home, and it is only reasonable to expect that, even at that time of life, they will catch the taint of lowness from what they see and hear. Indecency, above all, the legislator must utterly banish from the city; from carelessness in the use of indecent language it is but a short step to indecent acts. From the young, however, it is especially necessary to remove all indecency, so that they may neither see nor hear anything of the sort.[108]

Both Plato and Aristotle emphasized that indecency of language and conduct must not be allowed in the presence of young children.

Elementary training. For elementary training from seven to the age of puberty, Aristotle recognized the ordinary subjects.

Secondary education. It is highly probable that secondary education had become a reality in Athens during the sojourn of Aristotle there, though he made no mention of such a new development. As has already been stated, he recognized puberty as the dividing line between boyhood and young manhood, and during this period he made provision for education as follows:

> When boyhood is over, three years should be spent in other studies. The period of life which follows may then be devoted to hard exercise and strict diet.[109]

What were these "other studies" that Aristotle approved for this period from puberty to sixteen or seventeen? A passage from the *Nicomachean Ethics,* apparently overlooked by writers on

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[108] Burnet, *Op. cit.,* p. 103.
[109] *Politica,* VIII, 4.

Aristotle, sheds a rare flood of light upon this question. It reads thus,

> While young men become geometricians and mathematicians and wise in matters like these, it is thought that a young man of practical wisdom cannot be found. The cause is that such wisdom is concerned not only with universals but with particulars, which become familiar from experience, but a young man has no experience, for it is length of time that gives experience; indeed one might ask this question too, why a boy may become a mathematician, but not a philosopher or a physicist. Is it because the object of mathematics exists by abstraction, while the first principles of these other subjects came from experience, and because young men have no conviction about the latter but merely use the proper language, while the essence of mathematical objects is plain enough to them? [110]

From this we may judge that mathematics was one of the chief subjects of instruction at that time. It embraced arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and theory of music. Instrumental music was another subject, and we may guess from his writings, poetry, grammar, rhetoric, literature, and geography were included in the program Aristotle approved.

Higher education. Higher education was the education of men beyond the age of twenty-one. The central subjects were most probably not the sciences but rather psychology, politics, ethics, and education. Their duties as citizens would necessitate such a curriculum. Aristotle did not believe the youth could study politics because of lack of experience.

> The young are not proper students of political science, as they have no experience of the actions of life which form the premises and subject of the reasonings. Also it may be added that from their tendency to follow their emotions they will not study the subject to any purpose or profit, as its end is not knowledge but action.[111]

Aristotle laid much emphasis upon psychology. He considered it to be basic for ethics, politics, education, and rhetoric, and all those subjects were essential for the training of the citizen.

> The true student of politics, too, is thought to have studied virtue above all things; for he wishes to make his fellow citizens good and obedient to the laws. . . . The student of politics, then, must study

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[110] *Nicomachean Ethics*, VI, 8.

[111] Welldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

> the soul, and must study it with these objects in view, and do so just to the extent which is sufficient for the questions we are discussing.[112] Legislators make the citizens good by forming habits in them, and this is the wish of every legislator, and those who do not effect it miss their mark, and it is in that that a good constitution differs from a bad one.[113]

Such was the education of all citizens who were likewise legislators. In addition to these studies, for complete education of the thinker, the biological and physical sciences and philosophy were necessary.

V. RESULTS OF ARISTOTLE'S PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

General results. What were the results of Aristotle's work as a teacher and an educational theorist? Practically nothing! Such is the general verdict. His teaching had to do with the tutorship of Alexander the Great, and the thirteen years of lecturing in the Lyceum. As to his theories, how far did they affect Greece? How far later centuries?

The extraordinary celebrity of Aristotle and Alexander cause their relation as tutor and pupil to intrigue our curiosity unduly. In the absence of definite information we are obliged to resort to speculation. From allusions to the court life, it seems Aristotle was not particularly happy as the instructor of the young prince. Furthermore, his work may not have been very successful. He had charge of the young man during the period before and following puberty, which he believed is particularly the time for intellectual effort. At the same time it is an emotional stage, and Alexander was known to be highly temperamental.

What studies did Aristotle use as the basis of instruction? Mathematics, undoubtedly, although this was the one field in which he did not shine. He did, however, recognize that these subjects have a peculiar affinity for the capacities of youth. Literature—especially the works of Homer, which Alexander loved so passionately and which he always carried with him on his campaigns; rhetoric, astronomy, and geography are other probabilities.

Tutor and pupil probably clashed in regard to their moral ideals. The youth worshiped as his chief heroes, Hercules and

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[112] *Ethica Nicomachea,* I, 13.
[113] *Ibid.,* II, 1.

Achilles; he was already dreaming of world conquest. The master had a totally different ideal as one can see from his succinct statement: "We can do noble acts without ruling earth and sea." As to their ideas of government and sociology, again the two minds were far apart. Aristotle despised all barbarians and considered them beyond the pale of culture; Alexander had no racial prejudices, but looked to the forming of an empire uniting barbarians and Greeks. Aristotle believed strongly in the ethical purposes of the state. He lashed out with great vehemence against men who "covet a wide extent of despotic power as being the means to a rich abundance of external blessing." Happiness is only to be found with leisure to enjoy the higher pleasures of life.

> For such States as aspire to military success, although they are saved in time of war, generally collapse as soon as they have obtained imperial power. They lose their temper like steel in time of peace. For this however the legislator is to blame in that he did not educate them in the capacity for enjoying leisure.[114]

But to build just such an empire of wealth and power was Alexander's budding ambition. For this reason he founded Alexandria as the center of the best culture of all races and peoples.

Aristotle declared his positive conclusion that young men are incapable of studying political science. They are lacking in the breadth of experience necessary to understand the subject. Did these two super-personalities fall out on their views of government? The master maintained that the state is a small ethical society; the ambitious pupil visualized it as an empire organized to spread Athenian culture over the whole world.

However, the biological sciences were a common bond between Aristotle and Alexander. The legend that the latter sent specimens of plants and animals to Aristotle to enlarge his collection is lacking in historic confirmation. He did utilize his conquests to advance these sciences, for a body of trained men accompanied him to study plants and animals in the countries he conquered.[115]

Aristotle's educational theory had little effect upon contemporary Greece. Later it greatly influenced Plutarch, whose views largely correspond to those of the great Savant. The Neoplatonist Porphyry edited Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* and added an introduction of his own. This work produced the most extraordinary effects upon the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Meanwhile Aristotle's logic, science, and metaphysics were accorded the warmest reception by the schools and scholars of Syria and Arabia. So far as education is concerned, the fact that Aristotle taught Alexander must have pointed many a monarch to employ the best tutor he could find for his successor. Moreover, his views on education in the *Politics* greatly influenced medieval scholars.

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[114] Welldon, *The Politics of Aristotle*, pp. 207–208.

[115] Consult Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, pp. 54–58. Translated by G. C. Richards. London: Chatto and Windus, 1932.

The Lyceum. On the death of Plato, Aristotle withdrew from the Academy with which he had been identified for twenty years —withdrew, never to renew association with the charmed circle of scholars. Moreover, he left Athens for a prolonged period. On his return to the city in 335 B.C., he taught temporarily in the Lyceum, and this name became attached to his permanent establishment, just as that of the Academy had been to Plato's school. Fortunately a little information in regard to this foundation remains, and its general character can be reconstructed. Its physical plant, program of work, lectures, methods, and spirit are known in outline at least.

The physical plant consisted of a large garden with walks, for Aristotle was in the habit of lecturing while walking about. One or more buildings dedicated to the Muses contained lecture rooms, a large library, and laboratories for maps, scientific apparatus and exhibits. Demetrius of Phalerum, who ruled Athens for some years and who had been a student under Aristotle's successor, preserved the foundation for the scholars.

According to acceptable tradition, Aristotle lectured in the morning to his more advanced students on philosophy, and in the afternoon to a more popular assembly on rhetoric and dialectic. Instruction was also given by assistants such as Theophrastus and Eudemus. So far as the materials of the course are concerned, the works of Aristotle which we now have were in all probability the very lectures delivered to the students.

The methods employed in the Lyceum course are found in Aristotle's writings. Systematic exposition of each science superseded the literary presentation followed by Plato. The Greek mind henceforth, so far as science was concerned, divorced itself from literary perfection, and adopted the form of logical, systematic exposition of each individual science. The guiding principle was pure curiosity, or science for science's sake. After Aristotle came the age of systematic scholarship.

The Lyceum, like the Academy, was a fraternal society for mutual fellowship in the enjoyment of philosophy and science.

In the Academy the scholars had lived together as in a medieval college. But as it was not possible for all men to be always in residence, the Lyceum took on the character of a modern university.

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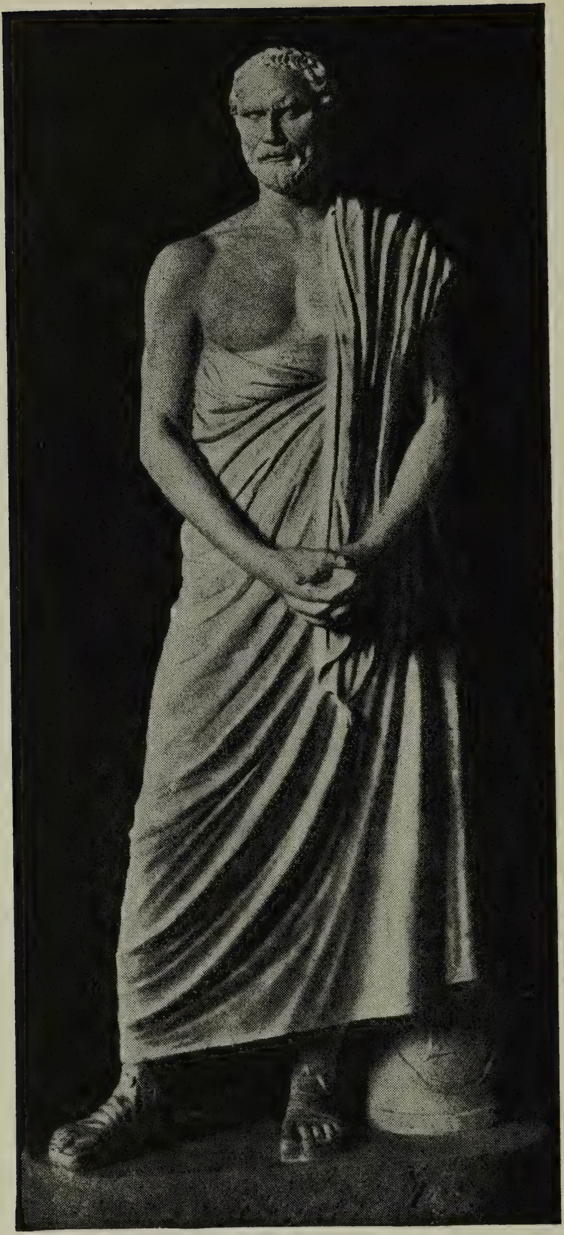
10

The Hellenistic Era

The new era. Too little attention has been given to this later period of Hellenic culture on the assumption that it had no lessons of major value to contribute to the understanding of education. This attitude is unfortunate, for in the culmination of the humanistic genius, certain cultural phenomena are to be found that are highly important for any philosophy of education. The function of this chapter is: to explain the new developments in educational organization and practice that arose from the intellectual and moral revolution in Athens; to survey the spread of Greek culture and learning throughout the civilized world; and, finally, to discuss the evolution of systematic scholarship and the later sterility and ultimate decline of the Greek genius.

Materials are fairly abundant for some features of culture and education; for other aspects and for certain periods, our knowledge is rather scanty. To write the history of education for this time in any detail would be an arduous task and one of questionable value for the general student of education; to survey the outstanding trends, interpreting the underlying developments, is to retrieve some of the most important principles in the operation of education as a great social enterprise. Scholars designate this the "Hellenistic" era because it was a fusion of Hellenic culture with various cults of the Eastern world.

The era was lengthy. It began about 338 B.C. when Philip of Macedonia defeated the Athenians in the battle of Chaeronea. In that adversity, Athens lost her independence, a fact of the greatest significance in her cultural history. About two centuries later, that is, in 146 B.C. to be exact, all Greece fell under the control of the advancing Roman Empire. This catastrophe put an end to Greek political life. The stretch of time from 338 B.C. to 529 A.D. when Christianity, having become the religion of



DEMOSTHENES.

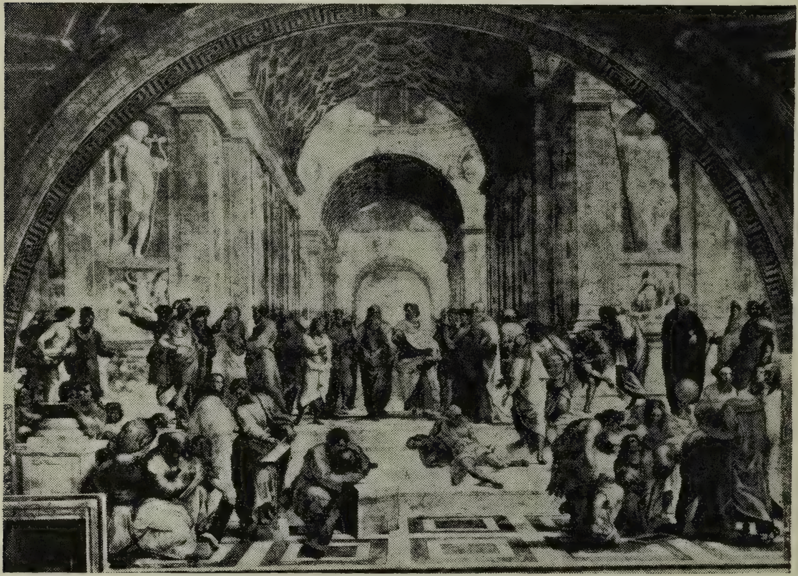
the Empire, suppressed all pagan schools, in all more than eight and a half centuries, constituted the full Hellenistic era. Throughout this time the slow decadence of the Greek spirit was taking place. This lengthy era may be divided into the Alexandrian age and the Roman age as a result of the preponderance of these two influences. The Alexandrian age lasted about three centuries, say from 338 B.C. to 30 B.C.; the Roman from the beginning of the Christian era to the suppression of the pagan schools in 529.

Throughout these periods the fortunes of Hellenic culture varied greatly. At first, Athenian culture made its triumphant way into all corners of the known world. Macedonian and Roman brawn recognized the superiority of Greek culture and not only tolerated but actively encouraged it. Times of glorious recovery alternated with times of desolation and decay. Wars, pestilences, poverty, temperamental rulers, Gothic invasions, and spoliation by unprincipled and ignorant Christians were the chief agencies that at various times disturbed the peaceful pursuit of learning.

No new vitalizing ideal. After the brilliant age of Pericles, momentous changes took place in the moral, religious, and political habits of the Athenians. The dominant motive in the old education had been the forming of character for the service of the state. The youth, as we learned, were brought up to see in civic service and patriotic activities the only ways to a successful and happy career; but this patriotic ideal was seriously weakened by the growth of rampant individualism. The destruction of Greek independence gave the death blow to the ancient ideal of civic virtue and patriotism as the driving force in the cultivation of character. The Greeks were never able to unite on any new ideal that could command a majority of the people. The confusion that resulted was one of the chief causes for the impotence of education during later centuries. Many efforts were made to institute a new ideal, but none of them attained any dominant success.

I. THE NEW ATHENIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The organizing principle. During the fourth century B.C., oratory became the instrument most used to prepare for life, and perfect command of speech the highest objective of the educated man. For a time philosophy contested with rhetoric for the first place in the affections of the youth. But various conditions favored the side of rhetoric. Interest in oratory henceforth dominated the curricula and the organization of all instruction. It embraced a broad training in the analysis of literature together with exercises in the use of the mother tongue. It was this teaching of language more than any other one thing that led in forming the new system of schools.



School of Athens by Raphael. Figures of Apollo and Athena above. On the left, Socrates is counting on fingers with a group, Diogenes is lying on the steps while Pythagoras is with another group on the left front, Euclid is drawing on the floor and Ptolemy is with a globe facing Zoroaster.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

Forming the system. Before the fourth century B.C., one cannot speak of the existence anywhere of an organized system of education. Schools of various kinds existed, many of them for elementary training. Moreover, there was more or less systematic instruction of an advanced character in much of the civilized world. But from the standpoint of institutional organization, there was no unified system such as is known everywhere in modern times. The closest approach to it was the well-ordered military and moral system of training in Sparta. The first comprehensive discussion of an organized scheme of education is found in Plato's *Republic* and it may have been largely because of his influence that the first system was established.

1. *Changes in elementary instruction.* Elementary education in Athens down to this time had been a simple affair. Usually boys began school at six years of age; how many years they continued elementary instruction was not definitely stated. Wealthy parents, Plato wrote, sent their boys earlier and kept them longer under the instruction of the grammatist, the citharist, and the paedotribe.

a. *Changes in music.* Aristophanes in his comedies noted new and demoralizing tendencies in musical instruction. Plato warned the Athenians, "when the modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state change with them." The simple songs, epics, and lyric hymns of the older period gave way to the more complicated music. Grammar, rhetoric, and oratory which grew out of music, now began to replace the old music-poetry combination as the chief subject of instruction.

b. *Drawing.* The only addition to the elementary curriculum was drawing. According to Pliny,[1] drawing was first introduced as a subject of instruction by Pamphilos, a painter of Sicyon. It was chiefly outline drawing and was done upon boxwood tablets. Pliny expressed the view that drawing should form part of the general education of every man. It is inconceivable that sculpture, painting, and architecture should have reached such a high state of perfection in Greece without long and assiduous practice in drawing. Drawing was undoubtedly taught by artists to their apprentices some time before it became incorporated in the course of general education. One may assume that drawing had become somewhat common in the schools of central Greece by the middle of the fourth century B.C. Teles, who lived about this date, mentioned the drawing master as one of the teachers of young boys; and Aristotle noted drawing as one of the elementary school subjects.

2. *Rise of the secondary school.* After the intellectual revolution in the latter half of the fifth century, the education of the adolescent youth gradually took new and definite form. When the distinction between elementary and secondary instruction first began is not known. Two ancient passages indicate that such a differentiation clearly existed early in the fourth century. In the *Axiochus,* a work wrongly attributed by some to Plato, Socrates is made to say:

> Now when the boy, after experiencing sore trouble, has reached the age of seven, there are set over him, with their tyrannizing ways, the pedagogue, the teacher of reading and writing (γραμματιστής), and

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[1] Pliny, *Natural History,* 35, 77.

> the training-master; when he has grown older the critic (or "grammarian," κριτικός), the geometer, the tactician, and a whole swarm of masters; finally, when he has been enrolled as an ephebus, the *cosmete* with his threat of punishment, then the Lyceum and the Academy, the rule of the *gymnasiarch,* the rod and unmeasured evils.[2]

The other statement comes from Teles as quoted by Stobaeus:

> When he has escaped from the hands of the nurse, he is taken in charge by the pedagogue, the training master, the teacher of reading and writing, the music-teacher, and the drawing-master. When he has advanced in age, he receives, further, the arithmetician, the geometer, and the horse-trainer. . . . When he has become an ephebus, he then stands in dread of the *cosmete,* the training-master, the drill-sergeant, and the *gymnasiarch.*[3]

From these quotations it is clear that already in the fourth century B.C. three levels of education had been definitely recognized: the elementary, the secondary, and the higher. How did this development of secondary instruction come about?

Secondary education did not arise as the result of a planned policy but as a spontaneous growth. It was not the forming of an institution but an effort to meet the needs of the youth of Athens. The experience of several generations had shown that pubescents should not undergo strenuous gymnastic exercises. By the closing decades of the fifth century B.C., because of decreasing devotion to gymnastics, the youth had plenty of time to devote to some new educational pursuit. As a consequence, separate classes of boys and youths were then established. For some time it had been customary to teach instrumental music to boys about the age of puberty; Plato advocated that intellectual, especially mathematical and scientific, instruction be also given at this age. As a result of these various conditions the grammatist began to add more advanced instruction to his elementary course. Furthermore, the Sophists discovered that much of the subject matter they had discussed with the young men was sufficiently simple to be taught to the youth.

It now became evident that a large body of knowledge had to be mastered by the youth before they could take up the higher subjects which were presented to them. Soon this knowledge and certain skills that accompanied its acquisition began to mark the educated gentlemen of Athens. There was no secondary school as such, but merely a number of independent teachers who taught various subjects. The central figure in this new instruction was the teacher of grammatical studies. The ultimate result of these various developments was the forming of the secondary level of instruction.

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[2] Walden, John W. H., *The Universities of Ancient Greece,* p. 20, note. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

[3] Walden, *loc. cit.*

The rise of secondary instruction brought with it a new and higher order of teacher. Elementary instruction remained in the hands of the grammatist, the paedotribe, and the citharist. The grammatist was a man of limited knowledge, poorly paid, and much despised. The literary instructor of the youth in the new secondary studies was first called *criticus* (κριτικός), but a little later he was known as the *grammaticus* (γραμματικός).[4] There were in addition special teachers for geometry, arithmetic, shorthand, horsemanship, the cithara, military tactics, or as Axiochus expressed it "a whole swarm of masters." All were independent, private instructors and received their support from fees.

The secondary curriculum. Under the old education, the adolescent youth after elementary training in reading, writing, and arithmetic, leisurely pursued poetry, instrumental music, and gymnastics. During the intellectual ferment of the fifth and fourth century the youth took up the new studies introduced and taught by the Sophists. These studies were selected and generally accepted because they were thought essential to prepare the student for the later pursuit of oratory and philosophy.

The most important of the new secondary subjects was grammar. It included the most comprehensive and thoroughgoing training in language ever devised. The special field of grammar as a secondary subject included technical grammar, meter, rhythm, and the exposition and criticism of the poets. Considerable attention was given to rationalizing the myths concerning the gods, because the theology taught by the poets was bitterly assailed by many scholars.[4a] What the poets taught of history, morals, science, and theology was of prime concern. The pupil was grounded in rhetoric not merely as a science but as a technique or skill to be acquired by the most diligent and prolonged practice. The principles of composition, declamation, and voice culture were included. This last feature of education received special attention.

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[4] The term, "grammaticus," according to Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. 1, pp. 6–11, came into use about 300 B.C.

[4a] Consult for illustration Strabo, *Geography*, I, 7–8.

Great stress was laid in it on the cultivation of the voice. Reading meant, for the Greek boy, not reading silently, but reading aloud (ἀναγιγνώσκειν). From his earliest schooldays, he was taught to utter his words clearly and distinctly, and to read with proper emphasis and expression. Most of the elementary instruction, and probably much of the more advanced, was given orally and the boy was required to recite his lesson rather than to write it.[5]

The Attic tongue was unusually difficult to speak correctly and required long and patient practice. Every word uttered had to be enunciated correctly. Grammar embraced accuracy of reading according to Dionysius Thrax, who wrote the first work on the subject. It will be borne in mind that reading was still a form of music in its broad sense; it was in fact chanting and had to be performed in a musical and rhythmical way. Both elementary and secondary instruction were entirely oral. The purpose of reading was chiefly to train for public speaking, and not for the acquisition of knowledge or the enjoyment of ideas.

The clear understanding of the poets required many other subjects such as history, geography, morals, theology, and astronomy. The relations of poetry to music and rhythm were naturally discussed quite fully. Other subjects of the secondary curriculum were arithmetic or the theory of numbers and geometry. Throughout the centuries there was naturally considerable variation in the content of all these subjects, for there was no central authority to regulate them. It must be remembered, furthermore, that all subjects were not taught by the same teachers, but by specialists who changed the content according to their own notions. In later centuries these liberalizing studies came to be called the *encyclopaedia* (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία), that is the "circle" or "course" of studies. They were considered as the preparatory course essential for all higher learning.

3. *The Ephebic training.* This celebrated institution, the so-called Ephebic college, furnished the military and civic training given at Athens to all citizens from 18 to 20 years of age. At what date this training originated has been a matter of controversy among classical scholars for half a century. Older authorities have invariably assumed that such training goes back at least to the sixth century B.C., if not earlier. More recently scholars have taken the view that the date of its establishment is so clearly attested by inscriptions that it is not open to dispute.

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[5] Walden, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

They assert that Ephebic training was definitely established by the Athenian assembly in 335 B.C. Even those who argue for an earlier date admit that archaeological remains, which are the primary source of information on this matter, do not reach beyond 334 B.C.[6] This form of training was, therefore, a relatively late development of Athenian education.

Two special circumstances influenced the Athenians in establishing this new institution: first, their greatest authorities on government and education recommended such a step. Xenophon in the *Memorabilia* stated, "Our city does not practice military training in public," [7] and in his *Cyropaedia*,[8] recommended a military college for the youth. A little later, Plato in both the *Republic* and again in the *Laws* made a similar proposal. In each case the new institution was to be under the control of, and to be supported by, the state. The second circumstance that stimulated action was the realization of the military weakness of Athens: this was painfully impressed upon them by their defeat at Chaeronea three years before. Only such dire necessity could force them to take action; to take action when it was all too late. The condition is best described by Forbes:

> The martial spirit of the people was at a low ebb, and mercenaries were being used in large numbers to fill up the increasingly apparent gaps in the army, but Athens still cherished enough of her old ideals of personal liberty to shudder at the thought of compulsory military training. A cruel lesson was needed in order to bring her to the point of action in the matter, and the lesson came in the disaster of Chaeronea, 338 B.C. In this battle Athens' military inferiority was painfully manifest. The hour for reform had struck.[9]

It will be remembered that heretofore the city of Athens had never taken any steps to promote a state system of education. The Ephebic college established in 335 B.C. was, therefore, the first state-supported, state-controlled school in Athens, and marked a most important departure from their ancient policy.

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[6] For discussion of this important question consult:

Forbes, Clarence A., *Greek Physical Education*, pp. 109–178. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1929.

Bryant, Arthur Alexis, "Boyhood and Youth in the Days of Aristophanes." In *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XVIII, 1907.

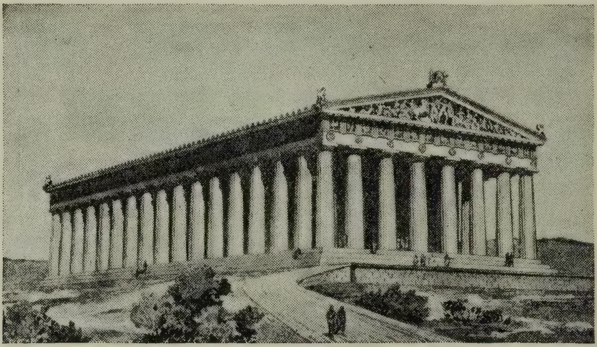
Bonner, Robert J., *Aspects of Athenian Democracy*, pp. 88–91. The University of California Press, 1933.

[7] See page 338 of this text.

[8] *Memorabilia* III, XII, 2.

[9] Forbes, *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

Only a few of the details of the new organization need be given, for this military institution holds less significance than was formerly accorded to it. The facts of prime importance are these: upon reaching eighteen years of age every young citizen had to prove his citizenship and have his name entered upon the official records of the *deme;* this had long been a requirement. At the beginning of the official year, all young men who had already entered upon their eighteenth year were compelled to enter the Ephebic college for two years of training in military life. First, their hair was cut, and then they put on the uniform; next, they were introduced to the affairs of state by being marched around the city to inspect the temples and other public buildings. During the first year they engaged in garrison duty about the Acropolis and the dockyards of the Piraeus, and police service in the various districts. They were strenuously drilled in gymnastics, in archery, in casting the spear, and in fighting in light and heavy armor. At the end of this preliminary year they were taken to the theater during the celebration of the Dionysiac festival to demonstrate their military skill. After this review each one was presented by the city [10] with a shield and a spear. The second year of training was spent in patrolling the borders of Attica; and at its expiration the young man was graduated.



THE PARTHENON IN THE TIME OF PERICLES.—*From von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

In addition to military and gymnastic training, the Ephebic corps took part in the celebration of all the patriotic festivals.

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[10] Before the formation of the college, Athens presented such weapons only to the orphans of those citizens who had died in battle for the city. These were considered as wards of the state.

For further training in morals and religion they were marched to the theater in a body in order that they might be impressed by the solemn lessons of the tragic drama.

The Ephebic oath. The so-called Ephebic oath was much older than the Ephebic college. It was evidently used from early times for youth passing into the rank of citizen on reaching the age of eighteen. After the Ephebic college was established, the taking of this oath became a part of the public ceremony when the city presented each ephebos with a shield and spear. The oath was as follows:

> I will never bring reproach upon my hallowed arms, nor will I desert the comrade at whose side I stand, but I will defend our altars and our hearths, single handed or supported by many. My native land I will not leave a diminished heritage but greater and better than when I received it. I will obey whomever is in authority and submit to the established laws and all others which the people shall harmoniously enact. If anyone tries to overthrow the constitution or disobeys it, I will not permit him, but will come to its defense single-handed or with the support of all. I will honor the religion of my fathers. Let the Gods be my witnesses, Agraulus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone.[11]

The arms which the state presented to the Ephebic youth were considered sacred; to throw them away in flight was a sacrilege.

Changes in training. After a few years, that is, around 300 B.C., the Ephebic training was reduced to one year and later on the compulsory feature was abolished. After a time intellectual studies were added to the required course of training, and then it took on the character of a fashionable military academy for the sons of wealthy families. In later centuries, foreigners were allowed to enroll their sons, and as a consequence the nature of the institution was still further altered. Nevertheless, in spite of these numerous changes the Ephebic college continued to attract the youth, the institution lasting for at least six hundred years.

II. HIGHER AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

A. *Review of Progress in Higher Instruction*

Earliest instruction. Higher instruction in Greece originated with the poets and nature philosophers who imparted their poetry and their doctrines to individual disciples. Numerous cases of such individual instruction have been recorded in Greek literature. Pythagoras in Italy became an exception to this general practice in that he established a semimonastic brotherhood. All such instruction was gratis.

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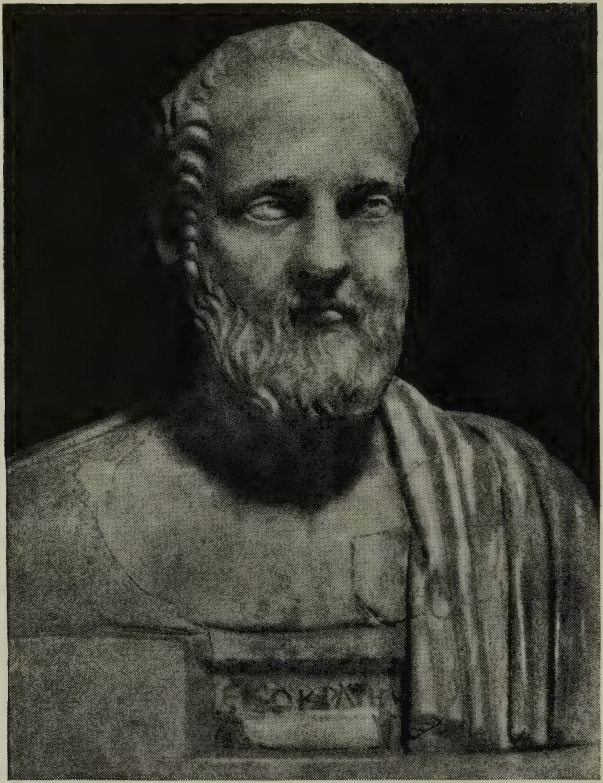
[11] Forbes, Clarence A., *op. cit.*, p. 149; Botsford, G. W., and Sihler, E. G., *Hellenic Civilization*, pp. 478–479. New York: Columbia University Press, 1915.

The period of intellectual revolution. During the period of the great intellectual revolution, the Sophists began to teach groups, and Socrates went about catechizing individuals either alone or in company with others. The instruction of these men was imparted almost anywhere—in palaestrae, gymnasia, private houses, on the street, or at any other convenient place. No permanent institutions arose from such instruction. Moreover, it may again be noted that the Sophists shocked the sensitive nerves of their contemporaries by exacting tuition fees for their instruction.



ISOCRATES.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

Schools of rhetoric and oratory. Following the first Sophists there arose a host of teachers of rhetoric and oratory. Isocrates, who, as we have already learned, was by far the best and most famous of these professors, taught in Athens for over half a century. So great was the demand for instruction that the teaching of rhetoric and oratory became the chief profession in which learned men engaged. During the greater part of eight centuries rhetoric and oratory exceeded all other scholarly interests whatsoever. This enthusiasm for the study of oratory had three causes: (1) a strong desire to obtain personal distinction in the state; (2) great admiration for particular Sophists; and (3) great intellectual curiosity.

Rhetoric. Rhetoric grew up as the assistant to oratory, which arose at Acragas in 472 B.C. and in Syracuse six years later when democracy was established in Sicily. Its subsequent development in Athens has already been discussed. During the Alexandrian and the Roman age it was elaborated to the utmost extent. Never in the history of education has training in the use of language been more persistent and meticulous. The youth, however, were not called upon to endure the grind of learning a foreign tongue, especially a dead language; but all their energies were directed to the mastery of a pure Athenian accent and the most elaborate system of rhetoric.

B. *Founding of the Four Schools of Philosophy.*

Teaching in the gymnasia. In the palmy days of Athens the gymnasia were the popular resorts where citizens passed their many hours of leisure. Here citizens, young and old, engaged in voluntary gymnastic exercises, took their baths, and for hours at a time wrangled over problems of political, literary, and philosophic interest. The sheltered courts, the chambers of the gymnasia, and the shaded benches of the spacious grounds offered every opportunity for a crowd of listeners. It was natural that the Sophists should begin to deliver their more formal discussions where an interested audience habitually assembled. Antisthenes, devoted follower of Socrates and founder of the Cynics, began to teach regularly in the Cynosarges, the gymnasium for half-breed Athenians. In this manner, literary and philosophic instruction came to attach itself to an institution which existed primarily for physical culture.

Dissatisfaction with the use of the gymnasia because of competition and other annoyances naturally arose. One gymnasiarch had to beg Carneades not to talk so loudly to his pupils; he was annoying others. "How loud may I speak, then?" asked the lecturer. "Loud enough for them to hear," was the witty retort, as the gymnasiarch pointed toward the small body of students.

1. *The Academy.* It was not long before special buildings were sought in which lectures could be given by Sophists and philosophers, though there can be no doubt that the public gymnasia continued to be used for such purposes. The friends of Plato purchased for him a garden and cottage close to the gymnasium called the Academy where he lived and taught for forty years. He then devised the property to his nephew, Speusippus, who as *Scholarch* continued to teach there for some years. The purpose of Plato was to provide a permanent institution in which to preserve and transcribe his dialogues, to teach his doctrines, and to promote fellowship among men of like tastes and ideals. For these reasons this school, which had taken the name of "Academy," was maintained for many centuries. The Academy was the first permanent foundation for higher education in Greece.

2. *The Lyceum.* The example of the Academy was soon followed by others. Aristotle taught in his own house and garden near the Lyceum. Here he assembled an extensive library, museums, and laboratories for the study of science. Like Plato, he willed the school to one of his students who was responsible for the continuation of the institution. Aristotle's successor in charge of the Lyceum was Theophrastus, whose lectures on philosophy were so popular that the attendance reached two thousand students. The line of *Scholarchs* for this school was not so permanent as that of the Academy.

The spirit of the institution can be seen in the will of Theophrastus who devised the Lyceum to his friends as follows:

> The garden and the walk and the houses adjoining the garden, all and sundry, I give and bequeath to such of our enrolled friends as may wish to study literature and philosophy there in common, since it is not possible for all men to be always in residence, on condition that no one alienates the property or devotes it to his private use, but so that they hold it like a temple in joint possession and live as is right and proper, on terms of familiarity and friendship.[12]

The Lyceum, like the Academy, was a fraternal society for mutual fellowship in the enjoyment of philosophy and science. In the Academy a small group of scholars had lived together as in an English college. But the statement in the will, "it is not possible for all men to be always in residence," indicates that a new situation had arisen because of the large body of students. In this way, the Lyceum took on the character of a university.

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[12] Jaeger, Werner, *Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of His Development,* p. 315. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934.

3. *The Epicurean school.* Epicurus, an Athenian citizen, began teaching in Athens about 306 B.C. He purchased a garden, which he used as the seat of his school. From this circumstance his followers were called the "philosophers of the garden." Capes described the founding of the Epicurean school in this way:

> The famous garden of Epicurus in the outer Keramicus . . . was a quiet resting place not for himself only, but for the friends who gathered there for shelter in hard times, to see how simply the advocate of pleasure lived. . . . He left it at his death for the members of his school. . . . "I give my property in trust to Amynomachus and Timocrates on condition that they make over the use of the garden, and all that it contains, to Hermarchus, and those who join his speculations, and to such as he may choose to take his place, that they may there give themselves to study. . . . And out of the funds bequeathed by me I will that my executors, . . . provide religious services for my father and mother and brothers and myself . . . and also for the stated meeting to be held on the 20th of every month by all the members of my sect.[13]

These "stated meetings" took the form of a monthly dinner for all the members of the school.

4. *The Stoic school.* The fourth school of philosophy was founded by Zeno, a rich merchant from the Island of Cyprus, who lost all his fortune by shipwreck. Visiting Athens he found at a book store the memoirs of Socrates, in which he became profoundly absorbed. He finally inquired, "Where are such men to be found?" Upon learning about Crates the Cynic became his disciple and later set up a school in a porch or portico of the Agora. From this, his school received the name "Stoic," from *stoa,* porch.

The Academy, the Lyceum, and the Epicurean School possessed buildings, libraries, and apparatus together with endowments, which rapidly increased from the generous gifts of wealthy patrons. The Stoics, however, were strongly opposed to institutional features. They held their philosophy with religious seriousness and taught it with true missionary zeal. As did the early Christians after them, many Stoics sold their goods and gave the money away as only a hindrance to the perfect life. They drove away the wealthy or fastidious from among them, by putting them to irksome tasks; like one Zeno, who, required to eat a pot of porridge while going through the streets, became ashamed and hid it in his cloak, whereupon a blow from his master's stick broke the pot and spilt the mess over his clothes.

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[13] Capes, W. W., *University Life in Ancient Athens,* p. 34. New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1922.

Philosophic schools were fraternal organizations. To judge these philosophic schools merely from the teacher-pupil relation is to miss their most important aspect. They were in fact brotherhoods or associations whose fellowship in study was as greatly prized as the doctrines they taught. Back in the sixth century B.C., the Pythagoreans began the movement by holding all things in common. They believed the same philosophic and political doctrines, and engaged in the same pursuits. Their discipline aimed to encourage self-control, purity, and obedience. Later many endowments were set up for monthly or annual symposiums or dinners to be held by these schools. "Friendship" and "symposium" were words that signified much more than they do to us. It was the fellowship with men of similar cultured taste that held them together. Definite rules regulated the common life of the members of the school. Aristotle himself wrote such a code, as did also other *Scholarchs.* In all the schools of the time, both high and low, the tendency was strong to form associations and clubs for social purposes just as it is today. Regular monthly meetings were held. In many respects these schools were the forerunners of the medieval monasteries, the guilds, and modern secret fraternal orders.

For centuries there existed among the students of Athens the most exaggerated zeal for the honor of the particular school, and the chosen teacher. The students flocked to incoming vessels and even traveled to distant points to enlist recruits for their particular teacher. They took candidates to their houses and in some cases kept them for weeks until they joined their school. The schools of philosophy continued in Athens for centuries.

Athens became celebrated for its rhetoricians and philosophers; the loftiest ambition of intelligent young men from all races and nations was to study there. The Roman poet Horace attended school in Athens in 44 B.C. Cicero, Caesar, and many other well-known Romans did the same.

Athens became intensely proud of her teachers and students and gave up all political ambitions in order to be the cultural center of the world. She required the Epheboi to attend lectures in rhetoric and philosophy. Great honors were paid the chief orators, such as votes of thanks while they lived and public funerals when they died. Her example was eagerly followed by other cities.

III. THE MACEDONIAN PERIOD

Spread of Hellenic Culture. Almost invariably the conquest of one people by another has resulted in the imposition of the culture of the stronger upon the weaker. But in the conquest of central Greece by the Macedonians and the Romans, precisely the opposite effect took place. By virtue of its superior culture, conquered Greece was enabled to impose its ideals, its language, and its institutions upon all the known world.

The Greek language and literature penetrated everywhere. Plutarch declared that Homer was widely read in Asia, that even the "children of the Persians and of other peoples played the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles," and that the inhabitants of India, Bactria, and the Caucasus worshiped the Greek gods.

> Greek culture alone had the capacity to embrace and interpret all the rest of the world; its spirit made a universal appeal through poetry, art, and philosophy.[14]

Greek was the only language which the Jews respected sufficiently to allow their Scriptures to be translated into it. It became the most universally spoken language and the one means by which all people, East and West, could communicate directly with one another. The Greek language and literature were commonly used in the cities of Egypt.

Furthermore, Greek institutions and customs were imitated everywhere; theaters, gymnasiums, libraries, and baths were universally established. Greek art and architecture, too, were copied in all the cities of Asia and Europe. Everywhere the learning, science, philosophy, and oratory of the Greeks were accepted as the proper standard for men of culture. Students and teachers traveled everywhere; young men from Rome studied at the Greek universities and teachers from Greece were welcomed in Rome. Every important city established a seat of learning to which young men flocked from far and near according to its renown. It is no wonder then that Greek elementary and secondary education became the model in all lands.

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[14] Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

Public elementary education. The vital interrelation of the state and education was always an inborn assumption of the Greek mind. From earliest times, primitive states such as Sparta, Crete, and Arcadia exercised complete control over the training of their children. Athens was the outstanding exception to this political principle. Though the Athenian democracy did not provide education and declined to stipulate, except in a general way, the means to be employed, public opinion at least defined the end to be sought. The chorus, the great public festivals, and other forms of worship were utilized by the state for the inculcation of the national ethos and morale. Moreover, as already shown, Athens was finally persuaded to provide public military training and to make it compulsory for all citizens from 18 to 20 years of age. But in all the earlier forms of public education in Greek states no provision was made for literary culture as such.[15]

Public schools at Teos. Literary instruction as a state function was a plant of slow growth. The first known instance of genuine public education arose at Teos, a small Ionian city near Ephesus, during the first half of the third century B.C. It was not, so far as we are informed, the outgrowth of any new philosophy of government, but an innovation that owed its origin to an endowment fund provided by a patriotic citizen, Polythrus by name. To insure against the threatening danger of a diversion of his funds by designing politicians, special attention was given in the statement of the official decree. The need of such protective measures would seem to indicate that zeal for public education was not widespread nor deep-seated among public officials, and that venality was common.

The plan of organization of this educational system deserves full discussion so far as our information reaches. It provided for two administrative officers, three "Teachers of Letters" (γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι), one teacher of the lyre, and two military instructors. The administrators were the Gymnasiarch (γυμνασίαρχος), and the Superintendent of Youth (παιδονόμος). These two officers and the four literary teachers were elected each year by the people of the town when they voted on their civic officers. That is an interesting point in educational democracy. The music and military instructors were appointed by the two administrative officers. The salaries[16] of the teachers are stipulated, but not those of the two officers.

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[15] *See* page 198 of this text. The provisions of Charondas, if genuine, constituted an exception to the rule.

Information regarding the organization of instruction is not as complete as one wishes. But several striking facts are recorded. The three teachers of letters taught girls as well as boys; this was the first known recognition of feminine literary training in public schools. The bequest insured that all the children of free citizens receive instruction. The literary education was divided into three grades, or groups, but what years were included is not clear, possibly from six to eighteen. The music teacher taught the lyre and the harp and "the theory of music" to the adolescent youth, and "the theory of music" to the epheboi. The teacher of heavy-armed fighting and the teacher of archery and javelin-throwing were part-time instructors, and they trained the youth and the epheboi. The Superintendent of Youth had complete charge of literary training, and the teachers had to submit to his orders. Public exhibitions of the literary work of the pupils were held in the gymnasium and those of music in the senate chamber. This is another feature of modern education that reached far back in history. No mention is made of any secondary education except in music.

Several inferences of great interest may be drawn in regard to what was taught in the three classes from the list of prizemen in the literary contests at Teos. The prizes were awarded for the following contests:

Junior Class	*Middle Class*	*Senior Class*
For rhapsody	For rhapsody	For rhapsody
For reading	For reading	For reading
For writing	For general knowledge	
For torch race	For painting	
For playing lyre with fingers		
For playing lyre with plektron		
For singing to lyre		
For reciting tragedy		
For reciting comedy		
For reciting lyric verse		

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[16] The annual salaries ranged as follows:

500 drachmas.	Third group teacher. (The third was evidently the lowest group.)
550 drachmas.	Second group teacher.
600 "	First group teacher.
700 "	Lyre-player.
300 "	(two months) Heavy-armed fighting teacher.
250 "	(" ") Archery and javelin-throwing teacher.

Botsford, G. W., and Sihler, E. G., *Hellenic Civilization*, pp. 599–601. New York: Columbia University Press, 1915.

From these contests, for which training was evidently given, it may be concluded that in the first class the children were taught rhapsody, reading, writing, playing the lyre, singing, and reciting. By this time, expression had become specialized, though the exact differences between rhapsody, reading, reciting, and singing are not clear. In the second class, "general knowledge" and "painting" are the special subjects, and in the senior class, "theory of music." There might have been other subjects which would appear in the annual school exhibition in which no contest was held.

Miletus. Another most interesting municipal school system at this time was that of Miletus. The fortunes of war had reduced the resources of the city so that it could no longer care for its schools. In 210–209 B.C. a citizen by the name of Eudemus came forward with a handsome endowment fund. The income was to support four teachers of gymnastics and four of elementary work. The Superintendent of gymnastics and the Superintendent of instruction presented the names of various candidates for these positions to the citizens at their assembly, and by popular vote the eight teachers were selected. The Superintendents had been elected in the same way at an earlier meeting. This election of the teachers was an annual affair. Only the boys of free citizens enjoyed the privileges of the school.

Public education at Rhodes. Early in the second century B.C. the city of Rhodes accepted from King Eumenes of Pergamon an endowment fund the interest of which was "to pay the fees of the tutors and teachers of their sons." Polybius thought it a disgrace that the rich citizens of Rhodes did not have more pride than "to go a-begging for money" for the education of their own children.[17] At this time Rhodes was wealthy, for she was superseding Athens as the commercial carrier of the eastern Mediterranean.

Public education at Delphi. There is evidence that the city of Delphi, seat of the sacred oracle, in the second century B.C. enjoyed an endowment for public education. An inscription states that the citizens sent an embassy to Attalus II, King of Pergamon, "on the subject of the education of their children." Attalus in response gave them 18,000 Alexandrian drachmae as an educational endowment. The interest only was to be used to pay the salaries of the teachers.[18]

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[17] Polybius, *Histories*, XXXI, 31; Botsford, G. W., and Sihler, E. G., *Op. cit.*, p. 598.

[18] Walden, *Op. cit.*, p. 65; Freeman, *Op. cit.*, p. 58; Girard, *Op. cit.*, pp.21–22.

These four cities, Teos, Miletus, Rhodes, and Delphi furnish evidence of early public education of an elementary literary character. We now turn to developments in higher education.

Education was under municipal control in the cities of Asia Minor and in most of the other parts of the civilized world at this time. The chief reason for public education was that the youth had to be trained to take part in public festivals and processions, most especially in the choruses. To give the free-born youth an orderly training was necessary in order to preserve their cultural traditions of religious and social life. In addition to this, many citizens desired for their sons every opportunity for advancing their fortunes. In fact, education was indispensable for any sort of promotion.

HEAD OF ALEXANDER.—*From Tritsch, W., "Olympias," Societäts Verlag.*

Alexandria the new seat of Greek culture. The loftiest ambition of Alexander the Great was to achieve something that would win for him the admiration of the Athenians.[19] To this end he sought especially to spread Greek culture wherever he went. To forward his program he chose to build a new Greek city at the mouth of the Nile, a capital for his far-flung empire and at the same time a clearing house for the best elements of Asiatic, Egyptian, and Hellenic cultures. This city, founded by the youthful Conqueror in 332 B.C. and named after himself, was destined to be the commercial metropolis of the world and also for a thousand years a rival of Athens as the center of scholarly activity. Alexander did not survive long enough to promote his new imperial capital. This privilege fell to the lot of his successor in Egypt, Ptolemy, nicknamed Soter. Happily, Ptolemy shared his master's ambition to make the new city outshine all others. Moreover, he knew full well that the crowning glory of Athens was not its beautiful buildings, though they surpassed those of all other places; it was rather her philosophical schools, and other institutions of culture that won the veneration of men.

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[19] When he crossed the perilous River Hydaspes in India, he is said to have exclaimed, "O Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I undergo to merit your praise?" Undoubtedly Alexander had profound admiration for Athenian culture.

In maturing his plans for a great and glorious capital, Ptolemy availed himself of the assistance of Demetrius of Phaleron, an orator of renown, and a man experienced in governing Athens, who was thoroughly conversant with the cultural facilities of that home of learning. Demetrius had been a student under Theophrastus, and he it was who secured the Lyceum for the Aristotelian brotherhood. These two, Ptolemy and Demetrius, established the celebrated library and the Museum of Alexandria. The reason for their establishment is not difficult to conjecture. While teaching in Athens, Aristotle assembled the best library and laboratories in Greece, which he made the center of the philosophic and scientific activities of his school. It was these equipments that made possible his voluminous scholarship and henceforth set the standard for learning. Theophrastus followed in his path, and even excelled him in devotion to the natural sciences, especially botany. The library and scientific laboratories of the Lyceum were the forerunners of the new foundations at Alexandria.

The library and Museum. Ptolemy Soter and his successors employed every resource to make the new library the most extensive in the world. No one possessing a manuscript was permitted to leave the city without depositing a copy in the library. The literatures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and other Asiatic lands were collected and much was translated into Greek. The outstanding example was the translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew tongue into the Greek, which was made at the express command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. This version is known as the *Septuagint*. Aristotle's library and works were secured, and Ptolemy III seized copies of the Greek classics which had been stored at Athens, some of them of extraordinary value because they were autographed by the great poets themselves.

The Alexandrian collection rose from 490,000 rolls in the time of the second Ptolemy to 700,000 when Caesar visited the city in 47 B.C. Never had the passion for collecting books been so masterful and successful. This remarkable library housed in the temple of Serapis was properly classified and catalogued. A biographical sketch of each author was appended to his works with a list of all writings, both those that were genuine and those that were spurious. Furthermore, an additional collection of 42,800 volumes was housed in the annex. Both of these libraries were located in the Royal Quarter of the city. This vast assembly of books, or more accurately, rolls, constituted the first public library on a large scale.

Closely associated with this remarkable repository of literary materials was the Museum, *i.e.*, Temple of the Muses. On his visit to Alexandria, in 24 B.C., Strabo described it in this manner:

> The Museum is also a part of the royal palaces; it has a public walk, an Exedra with seats, and a large house, in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum. This group of men not only hold property in common, but also have a priest in charge of the Museum, who formerly was appointed by the Kings, but is now appointed by Caesar.[20]

The scholars of the Museum were regularly appointed to their office and gave themselves wholly to the pursuit of learning. Salaries came from the income of a permanent endowment.

Connected with the Museum was a botanical garden, an anatomical exhibit, an astronomical observatory, and much other apparatus relating to the various sciences. Ptolemy Philadelphus was interested in natural history. In connection with the palace, he established a zoological collection of rare specimens. The Museum was not so much for the transmission of knowledge as for its increase; the learned men attached to it were primarily research investigators. Literature in all its aspects was the foremost interest; philology, textual criticism, verbal criticism, comparative literature, grammatical and exegetical studies, and commentaries were the main fields of scholarly study. The modern world owes much of its information on classical writers to the painstaking diligence of the savants of Alexandria, not alone those of the Museum but of the private scholars as well. Next came the devotion to the various sciences. Oratory and, until the fourth century A.D., philosophy were subordinate interests at Alexandria.

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[20] Jones, Horace Leonard, *The Geography of Strabo*, Vol. VIII, p. 35. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, 1932. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

All in all, this was the most remarkable organized effort for the advancement of knowledge in the ancient world; only in the present century can one find any comparable organization of scholarly resources. For the organization of research on any notable scale four things are essential: (1) inquiring minds impregnated with the spirit of research; (2) liberty of thought and speech; (3) funds to afford scholars the leisure necessary for their labors; (4) library and laboratory facilities. The conquest of Persia released the hoarded treasures of the Persian kings. Thus for the first time, mind and resources were brought together to promote knowledge on a large scale. The contribution that the library and other facilities can make to the promotion of learning was fully demonstrated at Alexandria.

Results of research at Alexandria. Because of the extensive resources of the library, Alexandrian scholarship produced those treatises on the various sciences that represent the best genius of the age. Here Euclid wrote his celebrated *Elements of Geometry,* which is still the best formulation of the subject and the basis of all others. Here Eratosthenes, while librarian, wrote his historical, geographical, and astronomical works. Here Apollonius published his work on conic sections. At Alexandria, Timoarchus discovered the procession of the equinoxes; Ptolemy wrote the *Almagest* which remained the official system of astronomy until Copernicus. His *Geography* was one of the chief texts for fourteen centuries. Physics was another subject in which great progress took place. Archimedes did not make his discoveries at Alexandria, but as a student he received his training there, and he always kept in contact with its physicists.

The works on medicine produced at Alexandria during this period show that great progress was being made. Erasistratus of Ceos (c. 300–260 B.C.) and Herophilus did much to fill in the gaps of the current knowledge of anatomy and physiology. They were the greatest authorities on anatomy, dissection, and clinical diagnosis of their time. They discovered that the brain is the center of the nervous system; that veins and arteries are different; and they ascertained new facts concerning digestion and reproduction. The best of Greek medicine flourished for a century or more in Alexandria.

The literary and scientific production of this era is frequently belittled by modern scholars, and the age is condemned as a time of literary imitation, and scientific recapitulation. That there was much of pedantic scholarship cannot be denied. The Alexandrian School had a spirit and character altogether different from the previous intellectual life of Greece. Considering the deference paid to literature and language, it was natural that the attention of scholars should turn to literary criticism and to the editing of the works of older days. There appeared, however, no new poetic spirit, no new creative genius. Meticulous attention was given to the art of earlier writers, and what had formerly been done spontaneously by genius was now attempted by imitation and by following rules of composition. But genuine inspiration was lacking, and criticism degenerated into faultfinding.

Nevertheless, Alexandria performed four great services for the progress of culture. First, she trained research scholars and teachers for many lands. As stated by Sandys, she

> filled the islands and cities with grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, musicians, painters, trainers, physicians, and many other professional persons, whose poverty impelled them to teach what they knew, and thus to turn out many notable pupils.[21]

Second, the scholars of the Museum led in research and were foremost in the task of formulating and systematizing the various sciences. Third, their editorial and literary criticism preserved, for the future, editions of the ancient poets and other classical writers. The world today would know far less of the ancient literatures had it not been for the astonishing diligence and productive scholarship of these Alexandrian professors. Fourth, is the noteworthy fact that for the first time in history there intermingled freely and tolerantly scholars from many races and nations: Greeks, Hindoos, Persians, Jews, Syrians, and Egyptians. The Republic of Letters, Science, and Philosophy that knows no sectarian bias, no narrow nationalism, no racial discrimination, had arisen on earth. Cultivated mind had begun her rule among men and, although her sovereignty has suffered every conceivable reverse and disaster, she still plods on in the calm assurance that the ages will see her ultimate triumph.

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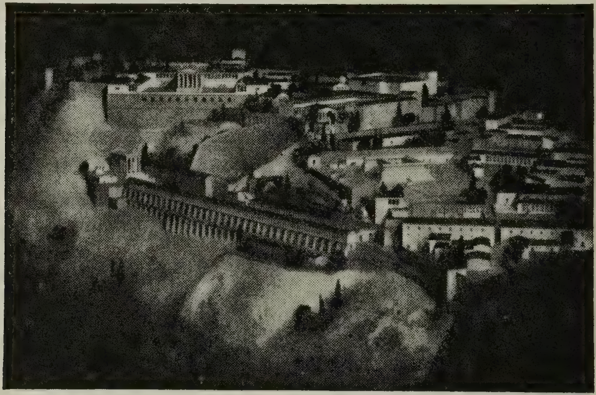
[21] Sandys, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship.* Vol. I, p. 162. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.

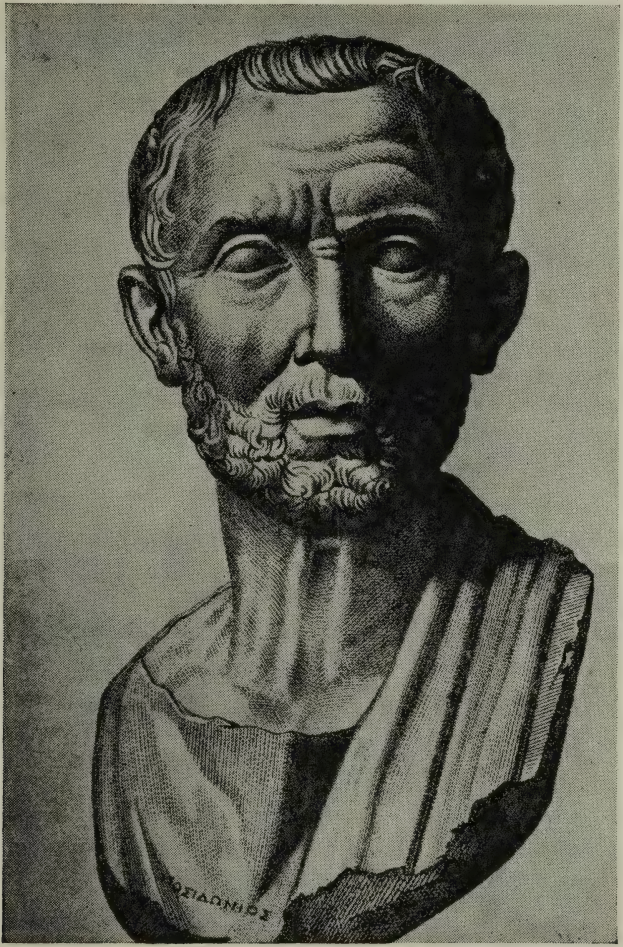
Pergamon. The educational fame of Pergamon owes its origin to the same cause as that of Alexandria—the desire of a king to glorify and embellish his capital city. In this case Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.) undertook to commemorate his victories by adorning the city with beautiful buildings and a royal library. He even aspired to rival the library and Museum of Alexandria. Some 200,000 volumes were collected, and Pergamon became the home of many renowned scholars. Art and the history of art were cultivated in connection with the embellishment of the city with buildings and sculpture. Travel, topography, and chronology were foremost interests. In the second century B.C. Pergamon rose to great eminence in literary and grammatical studies because of her splendid library. Moreover, as a special shrine for the worship of Asculapius, god of healing, people came hither from many lands to be cured of their ailments. This medical interest produced Galen, one of the greatest medical scientists in the ancient world.



PUBLIC BUILDINGS AT PERGAMON.—*From Fyfe, T., "Hellenistic Architecture," Courtesy, Staatliche Museum, Berlin.*

Rhodes. Rhodes, capital of the island of the same name, was another city famed for its culture. It was the birthplace of artists, philosophers, and poets. The Colossus of Rhodes which adorned the city was a metal statue of the sun god some 105 feet in height and was counted one of the wonders of the world. The chief fame of the city, however, was based upon her paintings and her schools. In the last century B.C. and the first century A.D. Rhodes rivaled Athens and Alexandria as a university center.

The schools of Rhodes were best known for rhetoric and philosophy. Aeschines, the eloquent rival of Demosthenes, established the first school of rhetoric there. During the first



Posidonios, Professor of Rhetoric at Rhodes.—*From Baumeister, A., "Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums," Oldenbourg.*

century B.C., Rhodes was the favorite resort for the study of oratory for young Romans. Here Mark Antony, Pompey, Julius Caesar, Cicero, Brutus, and Cassius as young men were trained in oratory. In his youth the Emperor Tiberius was likewise a student there.

The style of oratory that found most favor at Rhodes was a mixture of the florid Asiatic and the chaste Athenian type. All schools of philosophy were represented among the teachers. The encyclopaedic philosopher Posidonius taught at Rhodes and counted among his students Julius Caesar and Cicero. Special instruction in grammar, architecture, painting, and geography was available to those who desired these subjects. Here, as a result of the interest in language study, Dionysus Thrax wrote the first Greek Grammar.

Tarsus. Another famous center of learning was Tarsus, which had the distinction of being the birthplace of several poets and of the Apostle Paul, who spoke of it as "no mean city." In its municipal school, the Apostle probably received his early education. Strabo described the culture of Tarsus as follows:

> The people of Tarsus have devoted themselves so eagerly, not only to philosophy, but also to the whole round of education in general, that they have surpassed Athens, Alexandria, or any other place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers . . . Further, the city of Tarsus has all kinds of schools of rhetoric.[22]

In spite of this extravagant praise, he had to acknowledge that most students in the schools were of local residence and the few from abroad were hardly worth counting. Those of her youth who aspired to advanced scholarship finished their training elsewhere and did not return.

Antioch. Founded a generation after Alexandria, this city was another rival of the great Egyptian metropolis. As early as the end of the third century B.C. it had an extensive library, a theater, circus, great works of art and architecture, and a temple of the Muses. However, the highest developments of learning at Antioch came after the rise of Christianity; this was true for Greek as well as for Christian scholarship.

Other centers of learning. There were numerous other centers of great learning and teaching during this period. Among the most prominent was Smyrna, where Galen pursued his investigations in medicine. Halicarnassus was the seat of an important grammatical and rhetorical school. Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great and the seat of the Macedonian Court, was famous for its learning. It was an important resort. Cos, a kind of provincial branch of the Museum of Alexandria, had a school for the education of the Ptolemaic dynasty. These places are but a few of the outstanding centers of learning. The fact is, every city, town, and even many villages possessed a school of some kind by the last century of the pre-Christian era.

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[22] Jones, Horace Leonard, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 347.

The formulation of subject matter. The Greeks were the first to transcend the empirical level of experience, to discover abstract knowledge and to employ the methods of exact science. By these achievements they conferred the greatest boon upon the race. This assault upon the empire of ignorance required the systematizing of facts and principles logically related to one another into subjects or bodies of knowledge. During the last four centuries B.C. and the first century A.D., formulation of knowledge took place in all fields of human interest.

According to Jebb, Korax's *Art of Rhetoric* was "the earliest theoretical Greek book not merely on Rhetoric, but in any branch of art."[23] The work was written about 466 B.C. Socrates was the first to conduct a persistent inquiry into the nature of virtue and to reach a general theory of Ethics. In the field of medicine the first systematic organization of a science took place when Hippocrates wrote about 400 B.C. He was the first student of medicine to abandon superstition and to dissociate medicine from priestcraft. He based the practice of the medical art on the principles of induction. Not only that, he was the first to write systematic treatises on various aspects of medicine as a science and an art. Such were the earliest efforts at systematizing these various subjects. At this juncture Aristotle, with marvelous astuteness and comprehension, assembled in logical form the facts and conclusions of almost all the sciences of his day.

1. *The Mastery of Language*

Language is an instrument that serves both for social communication and for thinking. Its elements are spontaneously acquired in infancy; its more refined and subtler usage requires years of the most strenuous training. Quite unconsciously the child learns to express his simple wants and ideas in words. For a long time in the life of an individual or a people, language is used in a rough and uncritical fashion. It partakes of the practical and emotional character of the lower level of experience and action.

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[23] Jebb, R. C., *Attic Orators*, Vol. II, p. cxxi.

Before the fifth century B.C., no one had ever become sufficiently conscious of the language he used to look at it critically. This is a fact of the most curious import. Homer, Hesiod, all the writers of the Old Testament, and thousands of authors in all languages wrote poetry and prose, and yet not one of them, so far as we know, ever paused to study the linguistic instrument he used. Even the different forms of the same word—for example, the tenses of verbs to express present or past action—grew out of feelings of which their users were largely unconscious. They were like a carpenter whose mind is fixed so completely on what he wants to do that he does not pay any attention to the condition of his tools, whether they are sharp or dull.

The Greeks were the first people to move up the steep ascent from the lower level of pragmatic and conventional intelligence to the higher level of critical judgment. In connection with the progress of thought, during the fifth century B.C. a passion for accuracy and beauty of expression seized them. Up to this time their language had been on the one hand highly poetical and on the other practical, that is, concrete and emotional. They were passionately fond of talking and wrangling, and Athens afforded a most stimulating environment for the free expression of every imaginable idea. They wrangled over points of law, the policies of the state, the meanings of the poets, the truths of theology and of moral precepts, and the nature of the world and of man. It was under such conditions that they first became conscious of the necessity for accuracy in the use of words and the analysis of language.[24]

Having once discovered language as a plastic medium for beauty of expression and for accuracy of thought, most of the foremost men of Greece fell victims to its wiles. Language was made a fine art, and its mastery became the highest ambition of scholars. A Greek audience possessed the utmost delicacy of hearing. On occasion, they might pardon an orator who ran counter to their ideas, but one who offended their ear, never!

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[24] The teacher of rhetoric may well inquire whether it is not always in this way that the critical sense for language has its birth. We are prone to force students to express themselves before they have anything to express. We force them to objectify language and take a critical attitude toward an instrument with whose use they are as yet scarcely familiar.

> Hence the incredible exertions of certain orators to rectify their organs of speech; hence their efforts to give that melody and cadence to their harangues which may best effect persuasion; hence, in fine, those inexpressible charms, that ravishing sweetness, which distinguish the Grecian tongue in the mouth of the Athenians. Considered in this point of view, grammar is so intimately connected with music, that the care of teaching both is generally entrusted to the same perceptor.[25]

Saint Gregory, who had been himself a student at Athens, expressed the dominant spirit of this age when he wrote, "most of the young men at Athens and in other places are mad about rhetorical skill."

The conquest of language involved many new sciences and arts which had previously remained unknown. Grammar, rhetoric, composition, declamation, voice culture, the origin of language, synonyms, criticism of poetry, and logic grew out of the new interest. For a thousand years, the mastery of language in beauty and accuracy of expression remained the passion of Greek scholars. Naturally, rhetoric and oratory dominated the entire education and training of the schools from the primary class to the university.

The discovery of grammar. Before the age of the intellectual revolution there was no knowledge of technical grammar. With the demand for greater accuracy of statement and the critical examination of poetry, the Sophists and philosophers began for the first time to understand the nature of language. In this way arose that science of language which has ever since been known as "grammar." It was the product of the critical and logical sense applied to the chief instrument of expression, the living language.

Grammar (γϱάμματα) was at first regarded mainly as the art of reading and writing, for it had its origin in the word *graphein* (γϱάφειν) *to write,* but it also included the theory of the nature of sounds and of accent, and questions of quantity and rhythm, and in these respects it was closely connected with music. With the classification of words, grammar entered on a new stage. This interest arose in connection with the interminable discussions and debates in which the Athenians engaged at every possible opportunity and upon every variety of subject. Technical grammar grew out of the study of literary and dialectic criticism.

As we have seen, Protagoras the Sophist was the first to distinguish the various modes of expression corresponding roughly to our moods. He also classified objects according to sex, male, female, and inanimate, thus giving the start to gender.

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[25] **Barthelemy, The Abbé, *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger of Greece.* Second Edition, Vol. III, p. 23. London: G. G. Robinson, 1744.**

Plato was the earliest to make a classification of words, by drawing a distinction between the subject and predicate. In Plato we also find suggestions of the distinction afterwards drawn between the substantive and adjective. He was the first to recognize number, the tenses of verbs, and active and passive voices. Aristotle recognized only three parts of speech, the noun, verb, and conjunction. He was aware also of the inflections of nouns and verbs.[26] Further detailed progress in the study of grammar was made chiefly by the Stoics[27] during the third and the second century B.C. Their interest in grammar was not for the sake of rhetoric or oratorical beauty of language, but to secure clearness of thought. They pressed analysis farther than others had done, made many fine distinctions, and coined new terms, which became common usage. Their study of phonetics was notable, as was that of etymology. Grammar was gradually reduced to rules. The first textbook on Greek grammar was written by Dionysius Thrax, who was born about 166 B.C. It was a work of less than 16 printed pages and is still extant. It defined grammar as "in general the practical knowledge of the usage of writers of poetry and prose." The work deals with accent, letters, syllables, and the parts of speech, and ends with the declension of nouns and the conjugations of verbs. This grammar remained a standard work on the subject for thirteen centuries. It was the basis for the Latin grammars written by Donatus and Priscian, which were probably the most widely and longest used textbooks ever written.

Grammarians. In the field of technical scholarship, the world owes much to the grammarians of this period. Not only did they study the use of language, but one of their chief interests was the detailed study of literature. Under their influence grammar came to have a higher significance. In the broader meaning of the term it included literary criticism, lexicography, comparative literature, and philology. Grammar, therefore, for succeeding centuries meant the study of language and literature in the most comprehensive sense. The grammarians carefully examined the texts of the ancient manuscripts and decided whether they were genuine or spurious. They corrected errors made in transcribing. The modern world owes a debt of gratitude to them for performing this task and handing on the texts to later generations.

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[26] Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Scholarship.* Second Edition, p. 97.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257 B.C.–180 B.C.). Aristophanes was appointed librarian at Alexandria. He not only devoted himself to the poets, especially Homer, but he also edited Hesiod and the lyric, tragic, and comic poets. He arranged Plato's dialogues, compiled foreign and unusual words and expressions, and advanced the science of technical grammar.

Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220–143 B.C.), was a Greek grammarian and critic who studied under Aristophanes of Byzantium in Alexandria and succeeded him as librarian. He founded a school of philologists that flourished for a long time. So great was his industry that he is said to have written 800 commentaries and many special treatises in addition.

Apollonius Dyscholus and his son Herodian are the most important grammarians of the imperial age. They lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C. Apollonius went further than others in reducing grammar to a science; he made special studies of the parts of speech and syntax. Only his treatments on the pronoun, adverb, conjunction, and syntax have survived. Priscian called him "the greatest author of the Grammatical Art."

These are but a few of the numerous grammarians and famous linguistic and literary scholars of this period.

The idolatry of grammar. Having discovered grammar as the science of language, scholars began to worship it. Not satisfied with having made technical grammar the central subject of the secondary school, the teachers of that ancient day proceeded to put grammar at the foundation of all education. From being the avocation of men, it descended the grades until it became the required task of children. Their theory was simple; whatever is most essential for men to know, the child must learn, and the earlier the better. Many like Isocrates regarded grammar as the best means of mental discipline. His view was:

> School boys are trained to work and to think accurately by grammar and literary study.[28]

Dionysius, a renowned grammarian of Halicarnassus about the beginning of the Christian era, has left a concise statement of the place of grammar in primary instruction in his day:

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[28] Jebb, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 146.

> When we learn grammar we take up first the names of the elementary sounds, called letters; then the forms and values of the letters. After we have learned these, we pass to syllables and their changes, and, these having been mastered, to the parts of speech—nouns, verbs, and connectives, together with their affections—long and short quantities, accents both acute and grave, genders, cases, numbers, modal endings, and a thousand other things of that sort. After we have compassed the knowledge of all these, then, and not till then, do we begin to write and to read.[29]

Just imagine! Little boys being drilled orally in all these details before they were taught to read and write! We have here the most extreme example of that theory of method that teaches children what is logically most simple and fundamental in the place of what is psychologically first in their experience. In three centuries, primary instruction had degenerated from the natural development of child interests to the most extreme formalism of technical grammar.

The training in oratory and sophistry. Interest in oratory exceeded anything in modern times, and, of necessity, the system of training was exceptionally strenuous. Audiences aware of every rule of rhetoric and every artifice of elocution were severely critical. Every word that was not pure Attic was noted, every digression, every discord in thought, word, or delivery jarred upon their sensibilities and was vigorously disapproved. It may well be doubted whether there has ever been another period of history when oratorical ability played such a dominant role in popular interest. Certainly there has never been a time when the educators sought to train the faculty of oral expression with such systematic thoroughness.

(a) *Two ideals flourished.* Two ideals of oratory came into vogue during the first century B.C. These were the Asiatic and the Athenian ideal. The first had its origin in the emotional and vivid imagery of the Asiatic mind. It was flowery, mincing, used tropes and metaphors to excess, and had an effeminate rhythm like the meter of poetry. Unusual attention was given to the tricks and artifices of elocution. It aimed at simplicity of style, but succeeded chiefly in being pompous and bombastic. The Attic mode was far less emotional, and imitated the cold dignity of the classical orators. It aimed at simplicity of style, purity in its choice of words, and did not tolerate a word or illusion that was not approved by classical authority. Rhodes was the chief abode of the first, as Athens was of the second.

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[29] Walden, *Op. cit.*, p. 21, note 1.

(b) *Kinds of oratory.* Three forms of oratory were practiced from the time of the first sophists: the judicial, the legislative, and the epideictic. The first, as the name indicates, was used in the courts, the second in the legislative or public assemblies, and the epideictic was the display or eulogistic form. The epideictic was used in expounding political issues and subjects of great common interest. Owing to social and political conditions, the epideictic type assumed the ascendency after the time of Demosthenes.

Modern educators are apt to look too critically upon oratory as an educational ideal. We disparage men of great fluency of speech in comparison with the more rational type of speaker. But there is much to be said in favor of the study of oratory as a means of education. It was a profound training in carefulness, accuracy, and beauty of expression. As such it had most of the elements of a liberal education. It introduced the student to the best that had been thought and expressed on all subjects of human interest. It developed taste, and, to a certain extent, high ideals, and character.

The study of oratory. Oratory was divided into three elements, information, form or style, and delivery. To insure an ample body of information was the function of the secondary-school course in the encyclopaedic sciences. The youth learned much from the study of the poets.

The most important function of oratorical training was the cultivation of style. For this purpose, the youth studied the greatest models of oratory, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Lysias; the poets, Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes; and philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. The teacher explained the use of metaphors, allegories, and other figures of speech. Examples of different types of oratory were studied and compared. Great orations were read and reread, then discussed and analyzed until fully digested. The author's treatment of the subject, his point of view, arrangement of materials, verbiage, and style were fully digested.

Another aspect of training was the storing of memory. No capacity of the mind was more genuinely admired or more impressively used than tenacity of memory. The young pupil was induced by his teacher to memorize long passages from the classical orators. This vast work of memorizing had two purposes in view: first, the improvement of the memory; second, the storing up of words, phrases, and passages that would be at tongue's end when needed.

After thorough training in the understanding of classical models and especially the most careful storing of the memory, the student was required to write compositions. These were scrupulously corrected and criticized.

Training in composition was followed by training in delivery. Voice, pronunciation, rhythm, and gesture were most carefully practiced. Precepts or rules for the cultivation of delivery, such as the control of gestures and the voice, were set forth. A pure Attic accent was the supreme attainment. A successful sophist had also to be a skillful actor, for he was expected to play the character or role he portrayed in his address. The actor's art as well as that of the singer was utilized in a finished oratorical display, for the orator was the real successor in Greek society of the rhapsodist and poet. Libanius, the greatest orator of the fourth century of our era, was taunted with being an actor rather than an orator. When he lectured at Constantinople, people went to see and enjoy his dramatic gestures rather than to hear what he said. When speakers desired to give an added emphasis to their ideas, or when they became excited, they usually indulged in frenzied gesticulation.

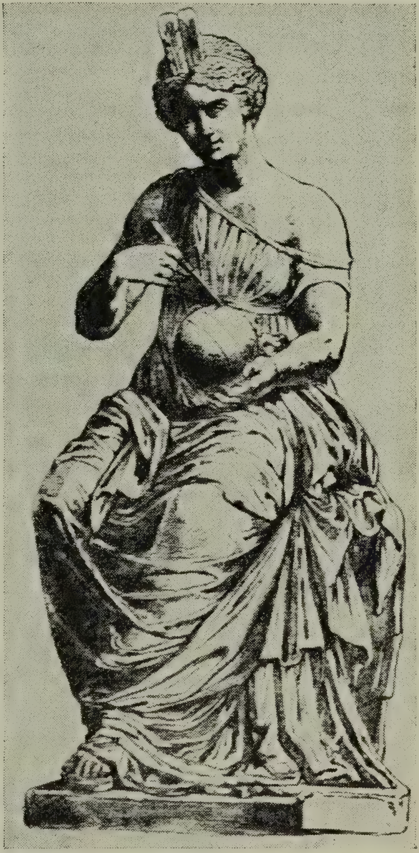
The orator must always possess an unusual charm of appearance, engaging manners, and a melodious voice. The Greek ear was peculiarly responsive to a well-modulated and musical voice, and consequently accent and rhythm were of the utmost moment in the delivery of an address.

After the time of Demosthenes and the loss of independence, oratory was no longer a free expression of thought. It ceased to be a weapon of offense sharpened for the attainment of a purpose beyond itself, and became a mere study of style for style's sake, or for artistic display. It took on all the characteristics of a fine art, and became the successor, in fact, of sculpture, architecture, and the drama. It was employed more to gratify the vanity of the orator and to entertain than to persuade the public assembly to make serious decisions. The frequent displays and also the numerous contests of the Sophists or teachers of oratory were instrumental in betraying the real inner spirit of the movement.

2. *The Other Subjects*

Reasons for the study of mathematics. Investigation of the causes for the enthusiastic and sustained interest in mathematics from Thales onward brings out four main reasons. First was the interest in practical problems. Constructive enterprises, commerce, and military activities furnished many problems that could be solved only by the advancement of mechanical and geometrical knowledge. Geometry was needed in strategy, in taking fortresses, and in arranging an army for battle. Second, there was the peculiar emotional satisfaction that comes to the mind gifted with logical insight. The discovery of logical harmony between mathematical ideas and relations furnishes as genuine pleasure to the mathematician as the discovery of treasures of gold or the solving of practical problems to the mechanic. The discovery of the connection of mathematics and musical tone made a profound impression on the thinkers of the ancient world.

The third motivating impulse came from the relation of mathematics to philosophy. Many, like Plato, regarded mathematics as an instrument that makes one capable of abstract thinking. It frees the mind from prejudices, trains it in accuracy of thought, and acts as a preparation for the study of philosophy. The fourth impulsion that seized upon many minds was the puzzle interest. One example of this was the prolonged interest in the squaring of the circle.


Ourania, Muse of Mathematics.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

All these motives were in operation among the Greeks of this era. A casual reading of any history of the mathematical sciences will reveal how powerful these motives were. Finally, it is worth noting that the practical interest, although not by any means absent, occupied a relatively minor position.

The work of Thales and Pythagoras in the field of numbers and geometry has already been noted in their contemporary setting. It is necessary now to consider the later developments during the systematization of the sciences.

Geometry. As a purely theoretical study, geometry flourished to the greatest degree in Athens. Here Hippocrates of Chios in the fifth century B.C. wrote the first elementary textbook on the subject which was the model for all later geometries. The use of letters in connection with geometrical figures was originated by him.

The importance of geometry for its insight into philosophy, due primarily to the Pythagoreans, was re-emphasized by Plato. Over the door of the Academy he placed this inscription, "Let no one who is ignorant of geometry enter here." Though Plato had profound admiration for mathematics, he did not himself contribute anything of importance to either arithmetic or geometry. However, a number of his disciples became famous in this field.

Geometry received its highest development from Euclid who founded the school of mathematics of the Museum of Alexandria during the last half of the fourth century before Christ. When Ptolemy the first, who was one of his students, asked Euclid if there were an easy method of learning this science he made the celebrated reply, "There is no royal road to geometry." He was the first to bring geometry into logical order and so thoroughly did he accomplish the task that the order of propositions remains largely unchanged to this day. He did not by any means originate all the propositions in the thirteen books called the *Elements.* What he did was merely to bring into logical order the various propositions originated by earlier mathematicians. In an age when the integration of subject matter was a dominant interest, he was one of the greatest systematizers, the greatest of all time in the field of geometry.

Just slightly younger than Euclid and probably one of his students at Alexandria was Apollonius (260–200 B.C.). His particular interest lay in the field of conic sections. He was so thorough in his investigations that he left future scholars little to do in this line of study.[30]

Physics. Physical phenomena had long been observed by Greek scholars. The study of physics was greatly advanced by the celebrated Archimedes (287–212 B.C.), who was a native of Syracuse. He received the impetus for his inventions and discoveries from study at Alexandria and he kept in touch with the learned men there throughout his life. Innumerable legends have grown up about the remarkable things he did; what he accomplished was so wonderful that there was no need to invent spurious tales. He was great as an engineer and inventor. Among his inventions were the lever, the screw, and the catapult. In addition to much information on physics, hydrostatics, and mechanics, he advanced knowledge of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.

Geography. Through their extensive commerce the Phoenicians did much to expand the knowledge of geography. Among other things they circumnavigated Africa. Geography was first studied by the Ionian Greeks of Asia who were interested in founding colonies and in conducting commerce.

The first known map was made by Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, who lived about 580 B.C. Soon after, Aristagoras of Miletus visited Sparta to solicit aid against the Persians and carried a map with him.[31] His kinsman, Hecataeus, about 50 years later corrected and enlarged the map and added a commentary. This is the oldest work on geography now known. As early as the fifth century B.C., maps were used in the schools; we know this because in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes[32] mention is made of a map "of the whole earth."

Herodotus and other historians, because of their travels, were able to add much information to the subject. About the middle of the fourth century B.C., Scylax of Caryanda wrote the *Periplus,* the first work exclusively on geography. In it he described the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and gave names of places and distances. This is the first geographical work in a complete form that has come down the ages, but it was more a sailors' handbook than a scientific compendium. About the same time, Dicaearchus made new and better maps, and wrote on the geography of Greece. The commercial interests of the Ptolemies furnished new information of the coasts of Arabia and East Africa. Eratosthenes of Cyrene (276–194 B.C.) collected all known

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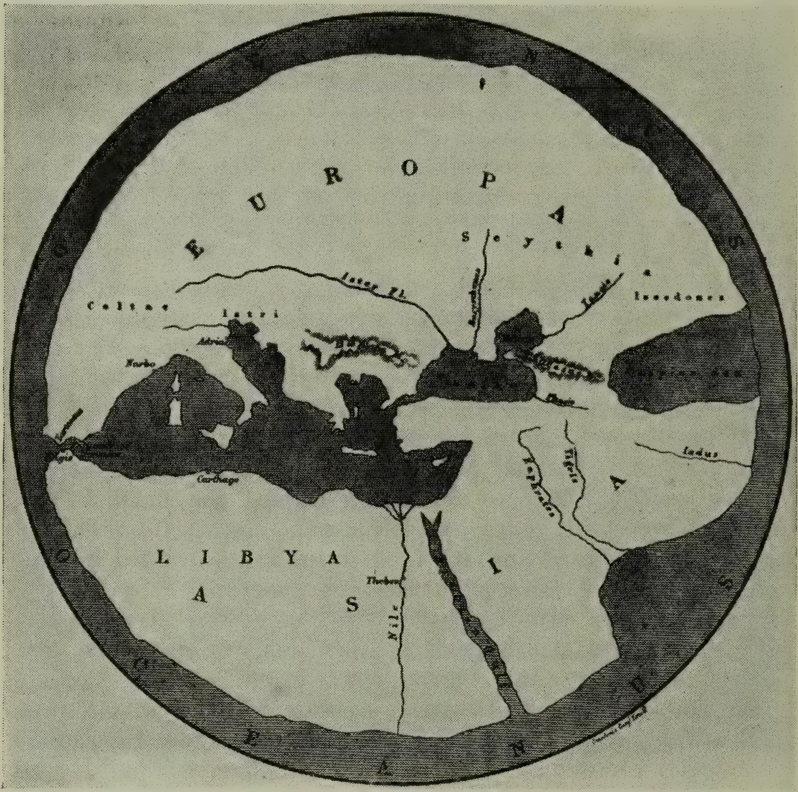
[30] Ball, W. W. Rouse, *A Short Account of History of Mathematics.* London: Macmillan and Company, 1912; Cajori, Florian, *A History of Elementary Mathematics.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917.

[31] Tozer, H. F., *A History of Ancient Geography.* Cambridge: University Press, 1897.

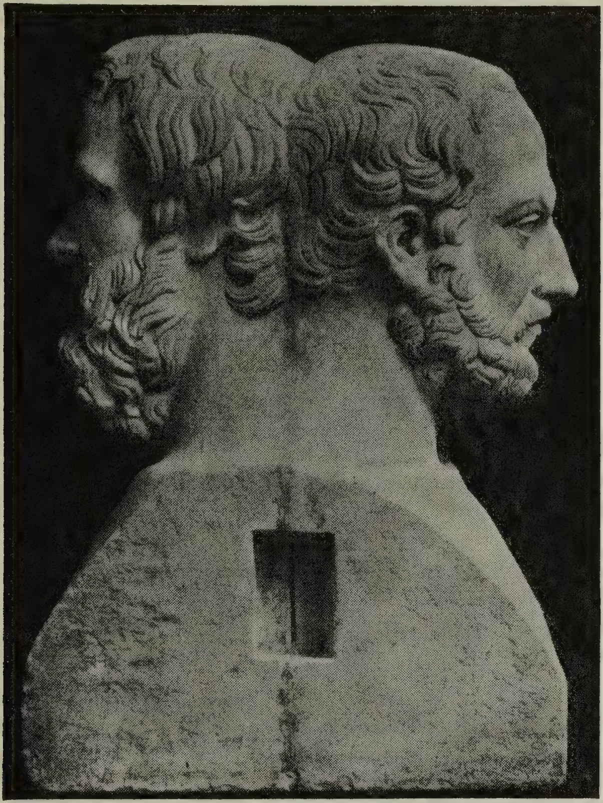
[32] Line 206.


EUROPA
Scythia
Celtae
Istri
Ister Fl.
Issedones
Tanais
Narbo
Adria
Carthage
Indus
Tigris
Euphrates
LIBYA
ASIA
Thebes
Nile

The Oldest Map: Map of Hecataeus.—*Courtesy, Edward Stanford.*

works on geography in the great Library of Alexandria, and then gathered the accumulated materials into a system. This raised the subject to the dignity of science. He was prepared for such a task because of his familiarity with mathematics, history, philology, and the physical sciences. We owe to his industry the history of geography, treated both from its physical and political aspects.

Strabo, who lived during the last century of the pre-Christian era, traveled extensively and wrote much on geography and history. He remained a long time at Alexandria, where he had access to source materials. When he wrote, he had before him the treatises of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Posidonius, but he went far beyond these. He attempted in his works to collect all knowledge that was to be had on the subject; the four phases of geography: the mathematical, physical, political, and historical, are all treated. His geography was the most important treatise on the subject that has come down from ancient times. It is evident he had in view the need of information on geography for political and commercial life.



Herodotus and Thucydides, Greatest of Greek Historians. Naples, National Museum.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

Ptolemy, the most celebrated astronomer-geographer during the second century of our era, wrote the final system of ancient geographical knowledge. It became the recognized text on the subject, and was universally used down to the fifteenth century when new information as a result of world discoveries rendered it obsolete. He illustrated his work with a series of maps which are still extant.

Astronomy. This subject was the first field of natural phenomena to challenge the close observation of mankind. The information accumulated by the Egyptians has already been discussed. The subject was further advanced by Thales, but Pythagoras was first to use astronomy as a means of liberal education. For this purpose he employed globes of the heavens and other apparatus. Heracleides Ponticus, a student of Plato, explained the rotation of the heavens by the movement of the earth on its own axis. But he did not take the other steps necessary to ascertain the whole truth; he still believed the earth the center of the universe. Eudoxus, who lived in Athens about the middle of the fourth century B.C., possessed an observatory to assist him in his astronomical investigations. He was the first man to advance mathematical proof that the world is round and that the planets move.

New progress was made in the development of astronomy by the celebrated Alexandrian scholar, Eratosthenes, mentioned above. He became head of the Library and left his mark not only on astronomy, but, as we have seen, on geography as well. He constructed various astronomical instruments that were used for many centuries and followed a most ingenious method of combining observation with calculation in finding the circumference of the earth. Though his calculations were not entirely accurate, his method is said to have been quite correct.

A contemporary astronomer, Aristarchus of Samos, was the first to maintain that the earth moves around the sun. He estimated the distances of the sun and the moon from the earth. Here again the method was right, but the instruments he used caused his calculations to be inaccurate. In any case, it was indeed remarkable that the true principles of astronomy were discovered so many centuries ago.

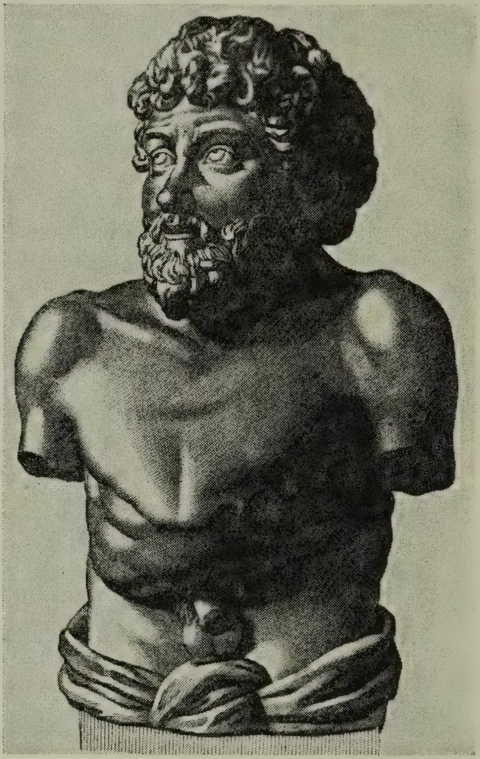
Hipparchus, who lived in the second century before Christ, was the greatest astronomer of ancient times. His birthplace was Nicaea in Bithynia, but he spent his life at Alexandria and Rhodes. A large number of interesting discoveries are marked to his credit. He discovered the procession of the equinoxes, determined more accurately the solar year and the revolutions of the moon. He calculated the distances and magnitude of a large number of the heavenly bodies, and fixed the duration of the year with so high a degree of accuracy that he was off only six minutes. He made a list of 1,080 of the fixed stars. After him, no further progress was made in astronomy for about seventeen centuries. He must be credited also with the discovery of trigonometry both plane and spherical, and he placed mathematical geography on a scientific basis.

By a strange fortune, the name of Hipparchus has been completely overshadowed by a successor in this field about three centuries later. Ptolemy, the great geographer and astronomer of Alexandria, brought together and formed a system of all the astronomical information of the ancient world. He was not a creative scholar, for he added nothing new. But he did formulate the subject in his famous work, the *Almagest*. From his day (Ptolemy died in 168 A.D.) to the time of Copernicus, the Ptolemaic astronomy remained the unrivaled authority. He did not have deep insight into the facts, for he failed to understand the discovery of Aristarchus that the earth moves about the sun. Astronomy and arithmetic were the last sciences to be systematized in the ancient world.

Social sciences. In the realm of social sciences, this period was rather barren of significant accomplishments. Government, economics, sociology, and education reached their highest development in the earlier age in the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

History alone continued to exhibit any creative vigor, more because of anecdotal interest than because it threw new light on the nature of human society. History had long been one of the main intellectual interests of the Greeks. It arose out of Epic poetry on the one hand and their passion for travel and the observation of people and events on the other. Herodotus, father of history, traveled far and wide gathering materials throughout his long life. His history is more a series of narratives than an explanation of events. He lived and wrote in the fifth century B.C. Thucydides, who followed, was one of the most painstaking and philosophic historians that ever lived. In many respects there has never been a more ideal writer of history. During the later centuries, the interest in history continued, and fragments are known from 300 different authors of history whose works have not come down to our time. But with all this extensive interest in the subject no new, great authors of history arose in Greece.

In the realm of morals, Demetrius of Phalerum made the first collection of Aesop's fables about 300 B.C. While this example of the systematizing spirit hardly ranks with the formulating of the sciences, it has, nevertheless, a special significance of its own. The fables of Aesop became one of the primary readers for many centuries, and its use in teaching morals places it among the works of the first rank so far as popularity is concerned.



AESOP.—*From Baumeister, A., "Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums," Oldenbourg.*

3. *Significance of Formulation of the Sciences*

Value of movement. This movement of the Greeks to systematize the facts of knowledge and to formulate truth into compartments of logically related subject matter is of great importance for the history of the human mind and the philosophy of education. In ordinary experience, the world is not divided into compartments or fields of knowledge. Moreover, in meeting the problems and situations of active life there is no need for the systematization of knowledge, and most minds never attempt it.

The breaking up of aggregations of raw experiences, the regrouping of the concrete data into general ideas or concepts, the work of accurate definition, and the task of bringing facts of like order together form systematized bodies of knowledge such as grammar, rhetoric, medicine, geometry, and so on. All this was one of the most important steps in the evolution of the human mind. Such an immense labor of the intellect would not have been preserved had not some genuine and permanent values resulted. Systematic formulation of truth is essential in remembering, in learning, and in teaching. Without it there would be little advancement within a particular science. Finally, it must be added, this process is accompanied by a thrill of pleasure for the logical mind because it satisfies the desire for completeness or perfection of thought.

It was the glory of the Greeks that by their quickness of thought and accuracy of discrimination they introduced scientific thinking into the world. Empiricism in thought and action must always form the beginning of learning; it cannot be neglected by elementary instruction. But for higher types of mind, knowledge is abstract and logical. Only by means of such logical formulation can the highest progress take place; for by itself the pragmatic bogs down in a welter of unrelated particular experiences.

Theory versus practice. It is a most significant fact that the great leaders of science of the Greek world had a strong aversion to the practical application of their ideas. The Pythagoreans were opposed to applying geometry to mechanical uses. When many-sided Archytas used his great intellectual capacities to invent pulleys and flying mechanical pigeons, Plato raised objection. Euclid too disapproved of the pragmatic approach to knowledge. When a youth studying geometry after learning the first proposition inquired,

> What do I get by learning these things? Euclid called his slave and bade him say, "Give him threepence, since he must gain out of what he learns." [33]

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[33] Cajori, Florian, *A History of Elementary Mathematics*, p. 65. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917.

According to Plutarch, Archimedes despised the useful, although he invented many practical devices. Plutarch declared:

> He would not deign to leave behind him any written work on such subjects, but, regarding as ignoble and sordid the business of mechanics and every sort of art which is directed to use and profit, he placed his whole ambition in those speculations in whose beauty and subtlety there is no admixture of the common needs of life.[34]

All this reminds one of the modern mathematician who thanked God that no one could ever make use of his discoveries. It is interesting to inquire why these ancient thinkers were so unalterably opposed to practical applications. Evidently they saw in utilitarian uses something that was destructive to the free pursuit of science. These great minds had an instinctive opposition to the pragmatic view of the nature and origin of knowledge. Their creative ideas did not originate from practical situations, but rather from an insatiable curiosity and a desire for logical completeness of thought.

Evaluation of the period. The Alexandrian period as well as that which followed is invariably dressed in dark colors and treated with contempt. The critics emphasize the slavish worship of past authority in literature and philosophy. "What did the master say?" was far more important to scholars of that day than the question, "What are the facts in the case?" Critics also dwell upon the infinite recapitulation of the past and the increasing pedantry of the scholars. Nothing new was produced, but old ideas were rehashed and stereotyped in innumerable commentaries. The industry of individual scholars was not merely prodigious, it was absolutely incredible. Many authors produced hundreds of works; the prize must go to one Didymus who is reported to have written 4,000 books.

Enormous as was the production, the quality of this outpouring of scholarship has been universally condemned. Long ago Charles Kingsley made the stinging indictment:

> In physics they did little. In art nothing. In metaphysics, less than nothing.[35]

> When the old Greeks lost the power of being free, of being anything but slaves of oriental despots . . . they lost also the power of pro-

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[34] Heath, T. L., *The Works of Archimedes*, p. XVI. Cambridge: University Press.

[35] Kingsley, Charles, *Alexandria and her Schools*, p. 19. London: Macmillan and Company, 1854.

> ducing true works of art; because they had lost that youthful vigor of mind, from which both art and freedom sprang. . . . As far as we can see, these Alexandrian pedants were thorough pedants; very polished and learned gentlemen, no doubt, and like Callimachus, the pets of princes; but after all, men who thought that they could make up for not writing great works themselves, by showing with careful analysis and commendation how men used to write them of old; or rather how they fancied men used to write them, for, consider, if they had really known how the thing was done, they must needs have been able to do it themselves.[36]

These criticisms are largely justified, but they do not appraise at a fair value the critical editorial work accomplished by the scholars of the Alexandrian age. The sifting of texts, the culling out of errors, the work of accurate interpretation, and the study of language were indispensable accomplishments. Without this meticulous labor, literature would have lacked accuracy; and accuracy of statement and critical evaluation of literature have importance in human progress, as have freshness of emotion and new beauty of expression.

Again, the critics do not place sufficient value upon the coordinating and systematizing of the various sciences. This work represented a real advance in logical and systematic thinking. Such coordination of knowledge has an indispensable role to play in the evolution of creative thinking.

IV. THE ROMAN PERIOD

The New Spirit. Under Roman rule, education came to have a different significance, for it was taken under the control of the Emperors and used to train men for service in official positions. Imperial control changed the character of training to a considerable extent. During the Macedonian period, oratory combined with philosophy, science, and literature in the interpretation of human life. Under the Romans there was little use for this broader training for oratory. A good evidence that Roman bureaucratic forces were at work is found in the fact that the rhetoric of the period shows a tendency toward the legalistic or deliberative style.

During the Roman era the organization of instruction reached its highest perfection in the ancient world. Public and municipal support of schools became the general rule throughout the empire.

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[36] Kingsley, Charles, *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

Imperial control was exercised over all teachers, the private instructors as well as those supported by public funds.

On the other hand, the real spirit of culture had long since departed. There was no advance made in philosophy and science. Thinkers continued to thrash the same old straw, but no new grain appeared. The rhetoricians or sophists showed the utmost diligence in training young men in speech. But they no longer demanded the broad foundation of knowledge that characterized the former ages, for their eyes were fixed upon the acquisition of technique rather than the implementing of the artistic soul. There is something about imperialistic control of culture and education that destroys its genius and substitutes regimented activities for creative achievement.

A. *Progress of Public Control of Education*

Public control of education. In Greece and other eastern lands education made marked progress under the Roman government. The main steps were as follows:

1. Julius Caesar granted the franchise to all physicians and teachers of liberal arts living at Rome during the first century B.C.
2. In banishing foreigners from Rome, Augustus made an exception of physicians and teachers because of their service to the public.
3. Vespasian (r. 67–79 A.D.) was the first Emperor to show "a marked official recognition" of Greek studies. He endowed at Rome chairs of Greek and Roman eloquence with annual salaries of 100,000 sesterces ($5,000), and also gave large gifts to poets and artists. Quintilian was the first to be appointed. Vespasian gave certain immunities from public duties to grammarians, rhetors, physicians, and philosophers.
4. Domitian (r. 81–96 A.D.), as a measure of reaction, drove out of Italy all philosophers and teachers of wisdom.
5. Hadrian established the Athenaeum at Rome "which was designed as a rally-place and theater of display for Greek and Roman sophists and poets."[37] He confirmed and extended the privilege to teachers and others. He also continued the privileges of the Museum at Alexandria and honored the sophists by making them members of the institution.

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[37] Walden, *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

6. Antonius Pius (r. 138–161) decreed that salaries be paid to rhetoricians and philosophers. They were paid by the cities themselves. Only in case the city could not pay was the money provided from the imperial treasury. Salaries were thus paid by the public from about 150 A.D. This regulation applied to all provinces. As to the number of instructors to be supported at public expense, Antonius stipulated: Small cities may have 5 physicians, 3 sophists, and 3 grammarians; Larger cities 7 physicians, 4 sophists, and 4 grammarians; Capital cities 10 physicians, 5 sophists, and 5 grammarians. These numbers could not be exceeded. In addition, philosophers could be honored; the number of these was not stated, for they would be few in any case.

The founding of the University of Athens. From the time of Alexander, Macedonian kings singled out Athens for special favors. Some of them presented her with beautiful buildings. The city became a sacred shrine venerated and admired by all men, high and low. Her achievements in art, literature, science, and philosophy gave her a special charm, and set her apart from all other cities as the international abode of culture. The city responded to this new status by renouncing all political ambition and national rivalry with other states.

The Roman Emperors and people adopted the same attitude of profound respect and veneration for the beauty and culture of Athens. Young Romans flocked to Athens to enjoy the beauty of her art and to study in her schools. Among the chief devotees was Hadrian, Emperor from 117 to 138 A.D., who had been an archon at Athens. His devotion to Greek culture was unbounded. He favored the Greek language and studies, imitated their manner of living, and when Emperor, remained on terms of intimacy with Greek philosophers and sophists. He attempted to organize all civilization into an organic unity with Athens as the center. He completed the temple of Olympian Zeus begun 650 years before by Pisistratus.

> He built the "Stoa" with its walls and colonnades of Phrygian marble, its roof glittering with gold and alabaster, and its chambers stored with books, and beautified with paintings and statues.[38]

Nor was this the limit of his constructions, for he built an entire new quarter to the city. Under the next Emperor, Antoninus

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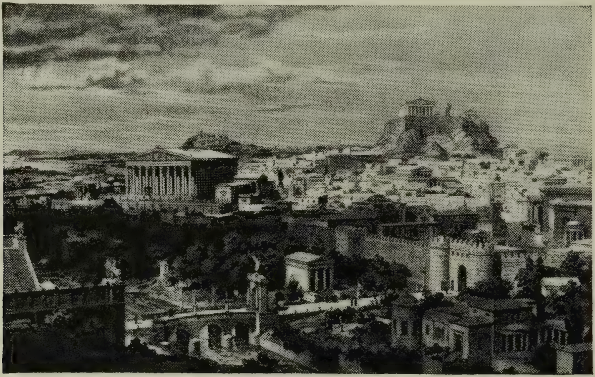
[38] Sandys, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

Pius, arrangements were made by which salaries were paid to rhetoricians and philosophers in all provincial cities. These salaries were paid out of the municipal funds wherever this was possible; otherwise out of imperial funds. A municipal chair of rhetoric and one of grammar were established at Athens.[39]

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius went to Athens in 176 to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Desiring to confer some extraordinary honor he decided to make Athens the center of learning for the whole world. To the professorship of rhetoric supported by the municipal treasury, under the law of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius added a second chair with a much larger salary paid from the imperial treasury. He himself selected the first occupant of the new post, the venerable rhetorician and public benefactor Herodes Atticus. Furthermore, he provided that eight professors of philosophy should be appointed, two each from the four schools of philosophy, the Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and Epicurean. Their salaries came from the imperial treasury, and the candidates were selected by Herodes, who was, in fact, the administrative head of what may be called the University of Athens.



ATHENS IN THE TIME OF HADRIAN.—*From Von Falke, J., "Greece and Rome."*

Herodes Atticus was not only one of the most brilliant sophists of his day, but a man of fabulous wealth. Out of generosity he built the Odeum dedicated to the promotion of music. Feeling that the Ephebic cloak of black was too somber for youth, he clothed all members of the college in white. He had been the instructor of Marcus Aurelius and remained his life-long friend.

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[39] Lollianus of Ephesus, the most noted orator of the day, was the first rhetorician to be appointed to this municipal chair.

Marcus Aurelius was the only philosopher among those who occupied the throne of the Caesars: it was his profound interest in philosophy and learning that prompted him to place higher instruction in Athens upon a permanent basis.

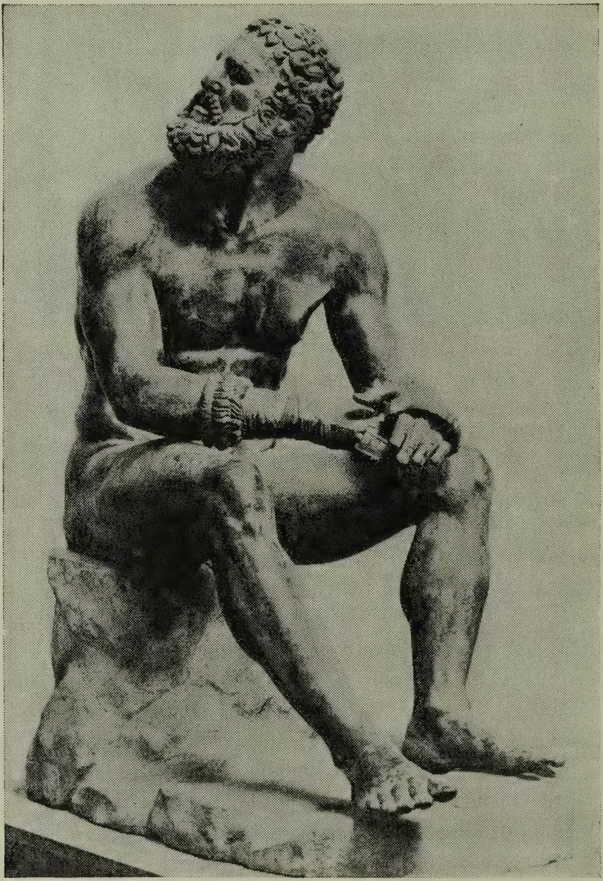
The later history of this celebrated University was fitful, alternating between seasons of deepest shadows and abounding prosperity. Frequently the ravages of war interfered with the peaceful pursuit of scholarship. But Athens struggled heroically along, proud that she was the intellectual and cultural home of civilization. She had plenty of rivals: Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamon, each of which for a time attracted the great body of students. But such was her prestige and charm that in every age to study in Athens brought high honor.

During the fourth century of our era Athens had at least three official sophists who taught rhetoric or oratory. There was also an official grammarian. These four together with the eight public professors of philosophy formed the University. They received their support from the imperial treasury. In addition to these, many others, both sophists and grammarians, conducted private schools in the city.

But in spite of imperial favor and numerous professors and students, the genius of Athens had long departed. The leaders, such as they were, of oratory, literature, philosophy, and science were to be found elsewhere. Athens was living on past glories. When the Emperor Justinian, in 529, ordered her schools closed, only feeble opposition arose, for the time was long overripe for the burial of this hoary shrine of Hellenic culture.

Progress in the study of law. It must be recognized that law is one of the most necessary of man's intellectual interests. Since the study of law is rarely considered part of a liberal education, little attention is paid to the establishment of schools of instruction in this subject. It was to be expected, however, that imperialistic Roman culture would accord extraordinary attention to it. Schools for the study of law were established in Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Berytus, Caesarea, and also at Athens. In the fourth century a professor of law was teaching at Antioch. The school at Berytus, which surpassed all others in celebrity, had as many as four chairs of law. It was here that the first codification of the law took place at the end of the third Christian century. From this time onward students began in increasing numbers to desert the study of Greek literature and sophistry and to take up Latin and law. The Emperor Justinian began the collection of all Roman law. This work, known as the *Institutes of Justinian,* superseded all other codifications and became the textbook for students. It was in use in the schools of Rome and Ravenna from the sixth century onward.

Law made considerable progress during the Roman regime. However this was the only subject for which this can be asserted. Its advance was due to the interest of the Imperial Court. The legalistic, empirical attitude of the Roman mind and bureaucratic

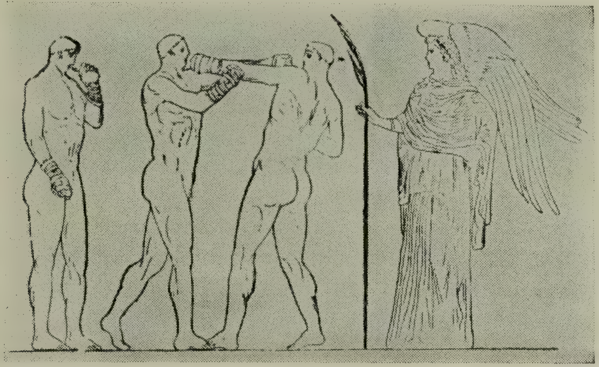


THE BOXER.—*From Bulle, H., "Der schöne Mensch im Altertum," Hirths Verlag.*

government were primarily responsible for the blight that fell on literature, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, and science.

B. *Curricular Changes*

1. *Fate of gymnastics.* What was the fate of gymnastic training during the Roman era? This was set forth by Philostratus in his work, *Concerning Gymnastics.*[40] After giving a historical sketch of the origin of the various exercises, he discussed the trends in his own times, which was the beginning of the fourth Christian century. The youth were no longer trained for all-round action; health, military fitness, sportsmanship, and virtue were no longer the ends sought. Professionalism had become the order of the day. A youth was selected for one or another exercise according to his special physical fitness. The regimen of training made them gluttonous eaters.



Pugilistic Contest.—*From Duruy, V., "History of Greece."*

> It is no wonder that these men became gluttons; for all who go in for athletic contests are taught to eat heartily in connection with their gymnastic exercises.[41]

Such was the testimony of Athenaeus, who cited cases where individuals were known to have eaten an ox. Dr. Thomas Woody has summed up the causes for the decline.

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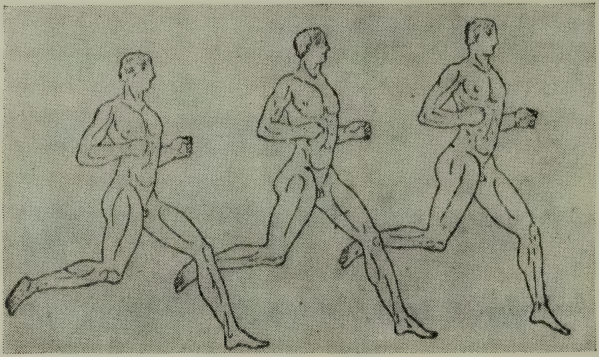
[40] Woody, Thomas, "Philostratos: Concerning Gymnastics." In *The Research Quarterly*, May 1936, Vol. VII, No. 2.

[41] Gulick, C. B., *Athenaeus*, Vol. IV, p. 373. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930.

Hero worship of the successful athlete, the increase of athletic festivals to engage the time of idle spectators, the increasing weight of the purse awarded, nicety of the requirements of training—ten months of training, one month in Olympia was required—the luxurious habits of an age of decadence, the centering of the athlete's attention upon himself rather than on any useful social end and the competition of cities for successful athletes all combined to produce a contempt for earlier standards of sportsmanship and morality.[42]



THE RUNNERS.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

Another evil that all ancient authorities acknowledged and deplored was that victory was for sale at a price. Corrupt practices were rife everywhere.

The last traces of physical education in Sparta are found early in the third century of our Christian era. In spite of strenuous efforts at revival, athleticism finally crushed gymnastics even in Sparta. Interest in the welfare of the body was dying throughout all the Greek world. After enduring for over a thousand years the Olympian games were abolished in 394 A.D. Thus one more of the main branches of Hellenic humanism finally ceased.

2. *Oratory in the Roman period.* Loss of Greek political independence was a severe blow to free speech, and for a time oratory found it best to retreat into the seclusion of the schoolroom. There inevitably it became artificial and scholastic. With the ascendancy of the Roman power, conditions were again shifted. The towns of Asia and Greece were granted a large measure of self-government, and for a period this gave a new impetus to the pursuit of rhetoric and oratory. A stronger

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[42] Woody, Thomas, "Professionalism and the Decay of Greek Athletics," *School and Society*, Vol. 47, p. 524.

stimulant was administered when the Roman Emperor and bureaucratic government recognized rhetoric and oratory as a valuable preparation for public service. Among the public officials who needed general secondary education in the encyclopaedic sciences were judges, advocates, senators, ambassadors, consuls, provincial governors, city magistrates, and secretaries of the imperial government. The ability to speak with skill was still the highway to public preferment, and teachers of oratory were necessary.

> The Greek sophist then was an indispensable and inevitable feature of every Greek community; he was the center of the intellectual life of the community; and held to that life much the same relation that the academy or the college holds to the life of the American community today.[43]

Even as late as the fourth century, Libanius could truthfully call the sophist "the mind of the city." For the first time in history the professors of sophistry were social leaders; they were sent on important embassies, and made large fortunes. No other class could match them in popularity.

Adulation of sophistry. The adulation paid sophistry knew no bounds. Kings and Emperors bowed to its spell. Young men fought to gain students for their masters. The people looked up to the great orators as divine or even as gods. Statues were set up in their honor. Emperors and kings bestowed gifts of every kind upon them. They were accorded the right to dine at public expense. The seats of honor were given them at the great games. They enjoyed exemption from taxes, and from other public burdens. Public offices were bestowed upon them—priesthoods, consulships, embassies to foreign lands and to the provinces, governorships and other important posts. They received special privileges at the courts and were called upon to display their oratorical skill on all great state occasions. Trajan bestowed on Polemo the right to travel free of all expense on land or sea, and Hadrian extended this benefit to all his descendants.

On one occasion, the enemies of Prohaeresius, a most celebrated orator, having procured his exile from his post in the University of Athens, arranged that the proconsul call them all to dispute before him. As his enemies were permitted to select the theme, they chose the most difficult and commonplace topic for him to speak upon—one in which there could be no glory. Shorthand writers were called to take down every word. Prohaeresius gave his oration on the subject, and then with dramatic transition developed the opposite hypothesis. Finally amid the utmost tension he repeated his entire speech word for word. All demonstration had been strictly forbidden, but, overcome by admiration, the proconsul broke into applause and the people were beside themselves with ecstasy.

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[43] Walden, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

> For all who were present licked the sophist's breast as though it were the statue of some god; some kissed his feet, some his hands, others declared him to be a god or the very model of Hermes, the god of eloquence.[44]

The Romans admired him so greatly that they set up a bronze statue, almost nine feet high, with the inscription: "Rome the Queen of cities to the King of Eloquence."[45]

Young and old flocked in crowds to see and hear the public displays of the sophists. Sometimes they stayed over night in the lecture hall in order to secure a seat for the morning. As the oration proceeded, the auditors wept, and at its close they clung to the orator's gown. A popular sophist would be followed from place to place by his students, who settled wherever he did.

Ostentation of later sophists. The renowned rhetorician, or sophist, Adrian, occupied the chair at Athens with the greatest ostentation: he wore expensive clothes and bedecked himself with precious gems. He went to his lectures in a carriage drawn by horses with silver-mounted bridles; always after the lecture he returned home escorted by his admiring students from all parts of the world—envied by everyone. The people generally reverenced him as a deity, and his students imitated his accent, his walk, his elegance of attire, as well as his delivery and style. No wonder chairs of sophistry were to be found in every city, and "sophists swarmed on land and sea."

The weaknesses of the sophistic culture. In the new intellectual life what was sought was victory over an opponent—not the truth that is universal. Disputation or mere verbal combat took the place of the honest search for truth. Just as in gymnastics there were rules that governed the procedure of the contest to decide when victory was fairly won, so in the intellectual gymnastics, rules of the game were elaborated in accordance with the Aristotelian logic.

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[44] Wright, W. C., *Philostratus and Eunapius*, p. 497. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1922. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

The subjects treated in their orations were entirely devoid of living interest, and became more and more purely academic. Intelligent men often satirized these silly subjects. In this spirit Lucian composed his *Eulogy to the Fly;* Chrysostom wrote *Praise of a Parrot* and *Praise of a Hair;* Synesius replied to this last by a *Eulogy on Baldness.*

During the second and third centuries, teachers still required a broad general training in the encyclopaedic sciences as a preparation for the study and practice of oratory. As time wore on there was a tendency for students to take short cuts to their goal. The young student no longer labored to acquire a body of information, nor did he submit to the long and tedious training of memory, voice, and gesture.

Lucian in his work, *A Professor of Public Speaking,* satirized this vicious practice of taking short cuts as follows:

> You need not feel any hesitation or dismay because you have not gone through all the rites of initiation preliminary to Rhetoric, through which the usual course of elementary instruction guides the steps of the senseless and silly at the cost of great weariness. You will not require them at all. No, go straight in . . . and you will not fare any the worse for that, even if you are quite in the prevailing fashion and do not know how to write. Orators are beyond all that!

Then he adds the new equipment of the orator:

> Bring with you, then, as the principal thing, ignorance; secondly, recklessness, and thereto effrontery and shamelessness.[46]

But, Lucian continued, modesty, respectability, and self-restraint were a hindrance. The oratory of the fourth century had become a hollow sound, a meaningless repetition of the past decked out in flowery language, with flights of fancy expressed with bombastic self-assurance.

Students. Rhetoric had an irresistible fascination for young men from every land. They traveled from one center to another to study under the famous sophists. Not only the well-to-do but those that had nothing but ambition were eager to press forward for an education. It is also interesting to find such poor lads sometimes singled out for special favor on the part of some sophists. Libanius wrote to St. Basil, "Let no one hesitate to come hither because he is poor, if only he possess the one qualification of knowing how to work." [47]

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[46] Harmon, A. M., *Lucian,* Vol. IV, pp. 153–155. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

An ancient classification of students was this: golden, those who paid and learned; silver, those who paid but did not learn; bronze, those who learned but did not pay. The bronze students were the most numerous. The best students in Athens in later centuries came from abroad.

V. PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

The problem of the teachableness of virtue had been altered through the centuries, but it still remained the central theme for the philosophy of education. Naturally the idea of virtue for efficient citizenship had departed, dissolved by the broader feeling of cosmopolitanism. The nature of the virtues underwent an evolution. Courage and endurance were no longer sought for military success, but in order to bear the pain, the futility, and the tragedies incident to human life. Temperance was not confined to curbing excesses of the lower appetites but was broadened to take in all kinds of pleasure. Knowledge generally came to be considered wisdom.

After the time of Aristotle and the Stoics there was no new development in philosophy until the rise of Neoplatonism in the fourth century of our era. The schools were exceedingly busy, but the thinkers and teachers were threshing over the old straw, repeating diligently what the masters had said. Plutarch, who lived from about 45 to 125 A.D., was the chief writer on education for many centuries. He summed up the final Greek conception of education.

Plutarch. Plutarch, born at Chaeronea, had the good fortune to study at Athens. Like others of the time, he traveled far and wide, spending much time in Egypt, and lecturing on philosophy at Rome. His educational importance was, however, due to his writings. Among his educational works are *Moralia,* a treatise on the virtues, and *On the Education of Children.* He was chiefly a moralist in philosophy after the model of Plato. His greatest contribution was not in the theory of education but rather in the field of biography. His celebrated *Lives* in many volumes proves to be one of the most remarkable works ever written. Plutarch's *Lives* and *Aesop's Fables* have been among the most potent books for moral instruction coming from the Greek civilization. Only the Christian Catechism can compare with these in breadth and depth of influence in the western world.

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[47] For university life in Athens in the fourth century A.D., see *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII, pp. 190, 400–402, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894; also Capes, W. W., *University Life in Ancient Athens*, New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1922. There is the highly interesting anecdote of Prohaeresius and Hephaestius, who were fast friends at the University of Athens. The two had only one cloak and one threadbare mantle between them and several rugs which had lost their color and nap. When the one attended lectures, the other lay in bed covered by the rugs. *Philostratus and Eunapius*, p. 487.

In regard to the theory of education, Plutarch summed up the conclusions of the Greek philosophy of education in the following three essentials: (1) good natural endowments, of which strength of memory is most important; (2) the forming of right habits; and (3) correct instruction. The most necessary thing is to lay a right foundation by the discipline of the moral life during the pre-adolescent age. Then follows instruction in the sciences and philosophy. He agreed with Plato and Aristotle in the conception that the pre-rational stage of life must be developed so as to harmonize with the rational when it emerges after puberty. In these three elements of education, "nature, habit, and instruction," Plutarch agrees with the analysis of Aristotle.

1. *Natural endowments.* Power of memory was the most highly esteemed natural endowment in the eyes of the educational thinkers of that age, as the following quotation from Plutarch shows:

> Above everything else, it is important to train and exercise the memory of the young, since it is the store-house of education. For this reason the myth makers have conceived Memory to be the mother of the muses, indicating in this way figuratively but plainly that nothing so much feeds and strengthens (the psychic powers) as the memory. Memory is to be exercised no matter whether it is good or bad.[48]

All the ancient educational thinkers laid great emphasis upon memory. The belief in the training of the memory was strong and practically universal. The students were required to commit an enormous amount of learning to memory. They memorized passages from the ancient authors, from their professors, and from their own compositions. By this means they thought the power of retention was being increased, that better ways of using the memory were acquired, and the mind was stored with a ready fund of words, phrases, and illustrations. The universal belief in the training of memory found one skeptic in ancient times. Because of his opposition to current views his statement is worthy of attention. Philostratus did not believe in memory training. Speaking of Dionysius, the Sophist of Miletus, he wrote:

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[48] Super, C. W. (Translator), *Plutarch on Education,* p. 71. Syracuse: Bardeen, 1910.

> There is no such thing as an art of memory, nor could there be, for though memory gives us the arts, it cannot be taught, nor can it be acquired by any method or system, since it is a gift of nature or a part of the immortal soul. . . . How was it then that his pupils had a peculiar gift of memory? Philostratus explains their good memories for his orations because of their pleasure in attending, their frequent repetition, "the more ready-witted of these youths used to engrave them on their minds, and when, by long practice rather than by sheer memory, they had thoroughly grasped them, they used to recite them to the rest."[49]

2. *Good habits.* The importance of right habits Plutarch illustrated by a story. Lycurgus took two puppies from the same litter and brought them up in opposite ways; when they were grown, he brought them before the assembled Spartans, and placed a dish and a hare a short distance away. The one dog darted after the hare, the other at the dish.[50]

Along with their confidence in the training of memory was the unanimous acceptance of the doctrine of formal discipline. As already pointed out, this principle had the approval of Isocrates and Plato. The form which this doctrine took in the ancient world was summed up by Lucian:

> We think it is not sufficient for each one to be as he was born either in body or in soul; but we wish for them education and knowledge by which their good traits may be greatly improved and their bad made better. We have the example of the farmers who shelter and enclose their plants when they are young and small so that they may not be damaged by the winds; but when the stalk thickens they prune off the excessive growth and expose them to the breezes to be shaken violently and driven hither and thither, thus making them more fruitful.[51]

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[49] Wright, W. C. (Translator), *Philostratus and Eunapius*, p. 93. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1922. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[50] This reminds one of present-day studies of the influence of different environments on identical twins reared apart.

[51] Lucian, *Anacharsis*, § 21.

The final conclusion of the ancient world as to the most fundamental principle of education was the idea of the efficacy of discipline. Not merely discipline in the form of correction, but in the form of institutional life, a daily regimen imposed and followed with scrupulous fidelity. This was the final verdict of Aristotle and Plutarch in regard to the process of education. When allied with the Christian teaching of the control of fleshly appetites, it became asceticism and formed the basis of monastic life.

3. *Instruction.* Plato had concluded that instruction is necessary for the development of the higher moral life. Aristotle after his thorough analysis of the moral nature decided that habit alone is sufficient; only for the highest intellectual enjoyment is instruction indispensable. By the beginning of the Christian era, instruction had gotten completely away from life and action, and had lost its moral significance. This condition gave rise to the oft-repeated criticism of Seneca, "we learn our lessons not for life but for the schools." Seneca stated the point in this way:

> We dull our fine edge by superfluous pursuits; these things make men clever, but not good. Wisdom is a plainer thing than that; nay it is clearly better to use literature for the improvement of the mind, instead of wasting philosophy itself as we waste other efforts on superfluous things. Just as we suffer from excess in all things, so we suffer from excess in literature; thus we learn our lessons, not for life, but for the lecture-room. *(Non vitae sed scholae discimus.)* [52]
> Betake yourself, therefore, to philosophy if you would be safe, untroubled, happy, in fine, if you wish to be,—and that is most important—free.[53]

In regard to higher scholarship, the most sensible statement came from Galen who wrote at the end of the second century of our era. He pointed out the essential factors in secondary and higher learning.

> The fact is that he whose purpose is to know anything better than the multitude do must far surpass all others both as regards his nature and his early training. And when he reaches early adolescence he must become possessed with an ardent love for truth, like one inspired: neither day nor night may he cease to urge and strain himself in order

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[52] Gummere, R. M., *Seneca ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, Vol. III, p. 223. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1925. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[53] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

> to learn thoroughly all that has been said by the most illustrious of the Ancients. And when he has learned this, then for a prolonged period he must test and prove it, observing what part of it is in agreement, and what in disagreement with obvious fact; thus he will choose this and turn away from that.[54]

Sound as this advice was, it was, nevertheless, of no avail, for the education of that day had little interest in genuine learning, especially by methods so strenuous.

The death of Greek culture. The decline of Hellenic genius and the death of humanistic culture were slowly taking place. Each generation produced fewer creative thinkers than the preceding one. During the first Christian centuries there were few great scholars in literature and science and only the Neoplatonists in philosophy.

Gradually the ancient institutions that enshrined the Hellenic ethos began to crumble and cease to be. In 324 Christianity was recognized as the state religion of the Roman Empire. In 385 the Serapium of Alexandria with the idol of the god within was destroyed by the order of Theodosius. This marked the official end of the Greek religion. Nine years later the Roman Senate became Christian, and about the same time the Olympian games were suppressed. Finally, the rescript of Justinian in the year 529 forbade the teaching of all philosophy and law at Athens. The study of law in the East was confined to Constantinople and Berytus. All grants of public funds made by the emperors in former years were withdrawn, and the endowments of the schools of philosophy were confiscated. The last philosophers to hold office at Athens emigrated to Persia. Those events marked the final dissolution of ancient Greek education.

It would be a great mistake to hold Christianity responsible for the collapse of the Greek culture which had entranced the world for a thousand years. That culture had given to mankind the highest developments in art, literature, philosophy, and science. It was the most remarkable evolution of the intellectual and aesthetic faculties of the race. Nevertheless the humanistic culture had within itself the germs of the diseases that were to destroy it.

According to Jevons the decline of Greek genius was due to the fact that readers prevailed over contact with actual conditions.

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[54] Brock, Arthur John, *Galen on the Natural Faculties*, p. 279. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1916. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

> When the audience, whether of the assembly, the law court, the theatre, the symposium, or the temple, was replaced by a reading public, then the Greek mind ceased to create, and began to draw its inspiration, not from Nature and the life around it, but from books. It became learned and imitative, pedantic and frigid.[55]

The same general drift was observable in the evolution of the Hebrew civilization; bookishness usurped the place of life.

Other students assign quite different causes for the collapse of Greek culture. The teachers of the day taught formulated statements, rules, definitions in place of direct experience with reality. In place of concrete experiences, memorizing was made to take the place of creative effort. They had too much reverence for ancient authorities and too little regard for their own abilities. This procedure indicated that Hellenism had exhausted its resources, and did not possess the power of inner regeneration. That power had to come from a different source.

Others are constrained to point to the moral weakness of the pagan culture. Egotism was colossal, for individualism had reached its climax. Fond as were the Greeks of clubs and fraternal organizations, they never learned the art of acting together in large groups. The moral rottenness of their civilization is beyond description. Had there been any genuine moral resources in the Hellenic ethos, it would have found a way to control circumstances and would have survived. Thus the tree of Humanism with all its glorious fruits was dead, following the pragmatism of Egypt, and the legalism of the Jew. A new and more universal ethical purposefulness was needed, and the old civilization had to disintegrate before a higher reconstruction could take place.

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[55] Jevons, Frank Byron, *A History of Greek Literature*, p. 48, Second Edition. London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1889.

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11

Background and Beginning of Schools at Rome

The Roman era and the modern world. Two institutions have been distinctive of western civilization in the Middle Ages and in the modern world respectively. These are the Christian Church and the large-pattern political state. The Church has disciplined, directed, and sustained western peoples since its founding; in the Middle Ages it was almost the only institution contributing to social stability or furnishing education. The large-pattern state overshadows other institutions, just as it dwarfs individuals, in the modern world. The Church arose within the Roman Empire, and under the Empire western imperialism developed. The literature and system of thought which epitomize them, moreover, took form under the Empire, and have had unbroken developments from their beginnings until the present. Jews, Greeks, and peoples long domiciled in Italy shared in forming the Church and the western large-pattern state—each race making contributions essential to the institutions. Much that each race contributed had taken form long before these peoples had been joined under Roman rule; but the men who actually created the Roman empire, and those other men who were Christian Apostles and Fathers, lived under Roman rule—many of them as Roman citizens.

I. PERIODS AND OUTCOMES OF ROMAN EDUCATION

Periods of Roman education. The history of Roman education, from the founding of the city to the closing of the Pagan schools by Justinian in 529 A.D., falls into five great periods. These periods, and the characteristic achievements of each, are as follows:

1. *The period from 753 B.C., traditional date of the founding of the city, to 275 B.C.* Throughout this period Roman culture was dominantly Etruscan and Latin, with little admixture of other elements. Children were taught principally at home, by their parents and by servants; entrance upon public life was by participation in civic, religious, and military affairs. Schools offered elementary work only, and played small part in the educational scheme. There was little literary culture.

2. *The period from 275 B.C. until 132 B.C.* In this time Rome developed a literary culture and a system of higher schools upon a Greek basis. Schools of Greek grammar and Greek rhetoric were set up in the city. Rome was mistress of the Mediterranean, and became a thoroughly cosmopolitan city. This period is frequently called "the period of transition," because it witnessed the development of Rome from an Italian state to the great power of the world, and the transformation of Roman culture from a local one, scarcely literary at all, into a cosmopolitan culture, employing the Latin language and Greek art forms and scholarship.

The Arch of Constantine and the Ruins of the Colosseum.

3. *The period, 132 B.C. to 100 A.D.* Latin literature had its golden age and the Latin grammar school took on its perfected form between these dates. The teaching of medicine and law—the latter in regular schools—was established at Rome on a systematic basis. The greatest Roman treatises on architecture and oratory were produced. Schools were private, as they had been in the earlier periods, but a beginning was made of public

subsidies to education. The government was transformed, and became an Empire. During this period Jesus Christ was born, lived, was crucified, and the Christian Church was established.

4. *The period, 100 to 275 A.D.* Roman literature passed into its silver age. Municipal patronage was widely extended to grammarians and rhetoricians. The teaching of law was greatly developed; it became a university subject. Greek medicine took on, under Galen, the form it was to keep for 1400 years. Imperial patronage of learning was increased. Christianity, in spite of persecution, spread throughout the Empire.

5. *The period, 275 to 529 A.D.* This period began with a change of the government by which it became even more despotic than before and terminated with the closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian. The government established a monopoly of education in the period—teachers were required to be licensed by the authorities. Christianity became first a tolerated, then the official, religion of the Empire. Textbooks were written by Donatus, Martianus Capella, Priscian, and others which set the pattern of school books for about a thousand years. The ancient world went to pieces; the Middle Ages were ushered in.

Why study Roman education? The part played by Rome in the development of western culture, and so in determining the history of education in Europe and America, was enormous. For hundreds of years Rome was mistress of the entire Mediterranean world, and extended her domination into the interior of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Conqueror and teacher of some of the most virile peoples in the world, Rome was able not only to impose her own language, political institutions, and ethical outlook upon them, but also to play a central role in the fusion of arts, forms of thought, and ways of feeling in all of western Europe in the centuries during which she dominated its life.

In playing her part in European history, Rome was notably a great transmitter of culture. It has been principally by way of Rome that the arts, scholarship, and religion of Greece and Judea, and of the East generally, have reached northern and western Europe. Moreover, in passing on the cultural productions of other peoples, Rome placed her own indelible stamp upon them. An illustration will indicate how significant were the cultural riches transmitted by Rome, and how fundamental were the changes in their characters which resulted from their becoming Roman possessions before they were passed to the Celtic and Teutonic worlds. It is this: Roman higher scholarship was taken, initially, from Greece. But Rome clothed scholarship in the Latin tongue; its organization and aims were Roman. Thus adapted it lost much of its Greek character.

But the Romans did far more than adapt and pass on the products of the genius of other people. They added to the world's culture original contributions of their own. The bent of the Romans was for strong, aggressive action, for organization and for construction, not for intellectual speculation. They so excelled in the application of knowledge to the control of men and of natural energies that the fact of their originality is somewhat obscured; but they were creators. They were a practical people; the finest expressions of their genius were superb roads, aqueducts, public buildings, a system of law marvelously conceived and executed, and a governmental and military machine so wonderfully developed and articulated that it dominated the world for centuries, and has served as a model for imperial rule ever since. It was the Romans who gave to Europe the idea of delegated authority, of the separation of the powers of government, and of a governmental bureaucracy. It is true that they owed a debt to the Hellenistic kingdoms in connection with these achievements; but, in taking over principles of administration and administrative machinery, Rome so adapted and developed on the basis of her borrowings that the patterns which resulted were actually Roman creations. Such achievements involve the use of creative imagination in the highest degree. The practical and realistic bias of the Romans resulted in the disciplining of imagination to useful ends, but did not cause it to be atrophied.

Productions of Roman creative genius which affected the course of the history of education most profoundly were: (1) the institutional organization built by Rome, a structure which found its finest and most enduring expression in the Roman Church; (2) the Latin language—a language which was the tongue of religion and scholarship in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, which gave rise to all the Romance languages, and which has enriched English tremendously; (3) Latin literature, long the most generally read secular literature in Europe; (4) Roman law, which held a most important place in medieval scholarship and was of the utmost importance in the formation of modern systems of law; and, finally, (5) the course of study and organization of Latin grammar schools.

A marked peculiarity of Roman higher education has particularly affected western education. That peculiarity is this—the literary and scientific culture, which gave content to Roman education under the Empire, were not indigenous, but had a Greek basis. Roman boys actually were advised by some writers to study Greek before taking up the formal study of their mother tongue. Translation became an important school activity. There was, therefore, a great chasm between everyday Roman life and Roman higher culture, and between the learned man and the plain man. Culture was not a matter of the ordinary business of life, nor was it for ordinary people, but of a peculiar sort and for the few who were elite. This peculiarity of Roman education was very significant, because the example of Rome in this particular was widely followed. All through the Middle Ages there existed side by side, in Roman Catholic countries, a native culture of the people and a culture rooted in other lands—a culture, furthermore, clothed in a language quite incomprehensible to the vast majority of the plain people. European secondary schools to the late eighteenth century concerned themselves almost exclusively with Latin and Greek scholarship. This scholarship, as medieval and modern Europe before 1800 received it, was a product of schools, and was singularly divorced from the ordinary business of living.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL FORCES IN ROMAN EDUCATION

Roman lands. The stage of the great drama of Roman history was the world from the Euphrates River in Asia to the Firth of Forth in Great Britain, from the Pillars of Hercules to beyond the Black Sea, and from the line of the Rhine and Danube deep into the interior of the Sahara Desert. The center and capital of the vast empire, the outlines of which have just been indicated, was the city of Rome.

Rome is situated about midway in the Italian peninsula. With the island of Sicily the peninsula almost bridges the Mediterranean, and so divides it into an eastern and western basin. Since the harbors and plains of Italy are principally on the western side of the country, she looks to the west. Italy is, moreover, very close to Africa and to Greece; so that Rome was splendidly placed for her role as transmitter to the West of the culture of the East.

The Latin language, Roman character, and certain exceedingly significant features of Roman family life and government developed at Rome, or very near Rome, before the city made itself head of an empire. Later cultural developments of the Roman world were the achievement of a Roman State which included first of all Italy, then virtually the entire Mediterranean basin, and at length added England and all of southwestern Europe. The lands which furnished the setting for Roman history, and upon the life and institutions of which the Empire left an indelible stamp, placed at Roman disposal a wealth of economic resources of every sort; and the exploitation of these resources presented every conceivable challenge to Roman courage and ingenuity.

Racial stocks in the Roman Republic and Empire. The Romans were never a homogeneous people. An Indo-European stock which gave rise to the Italic tribes had settled in Italy hundreds of years before the founding of the City. A second racial stock, the Etruscans, had entered Italy, probably about 800 B.C. It is thought that the Etruscans were indigenous to Asia Minor, and were at an advanced stage of civilization when they established themselves in Italy. In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., Greek settlements were established in the south of Italy and in Sicily. Greek was spoken there as a vernacular tongue until the Norman conquest of the region in the later Middle Ages. In the fifth century before Christ, the north of Italy was overrun by the Gauls, who established themselves there. A great number of other peoples were indigenous to or had settled in the various countries conquered by the Roman armies. People from all of these stocks were living at Rome in the day of the city's greatest wealth and power. Latin and other Italic stocks, Greeks, Etruscans, Jews, Egyptians, and Gauls from what is now France made especially important contributions to Roman civilization.

At the time of the very first glimpse we have of Rome, Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines were living there. The time was to come when people from the other stocks which have just been mentioned furnished citizens to Rome, even members of her equestrian and senatorial ranks. In 210 A.D., all freemen in the Empire who were not already citizens were granted citizenship.

The political background of Roman education. The traditional date of the founding of Rome is 753 B.C. Little is known of the early history of the city, but it is certain that in the seventh century before Christ there were villages on the Roman hills inhabited by people of Italic extraction. In the sixth century B.C., Etruscan kings ruled in Rome, and the city was a part of a great

Etruscan confederation.[1] The Etruscans were extraordinary builders and engineers. They drained and irrigated the soil, developed mines, manufacturing, and commerce, and built a great wall drain, and public buildings for the city. They gave Rome a cult, when they erected a temple to Jupiter. They developed a strong, well-organized army; and brought into existence a large industrial and commercial class.[2]

In 509 B.C. the Etruscan dynasty which ruled at Rome was expelled, as the result of a revolt led by noble, or patrician, Roman families. Etruscans had given the Romans an alphabet, a cult, a great number of words, and a long start in building and other forms of engineering—fields in which they were to excel. Etruscan commerce, moreover, had brought the Romans into relations with the Greeks and Carthaginians.

Upon the expulsion of the kings from Rome, an aristocratic republic was established. There followed a long struggle between the ruling class—the patricians—and the *plebs,* as the commoners were called. The plebeians gradually won a satisfactory status in the Republic. An outcome of this struggle was the publication, about 450 B.C., of a code of laws called the *Laws of the Twelve Tables.* For centuries this code furnished a large part of the intellectual basis of Roman life and of the intellectual structure of Roman education.

Early in the fourth century before Christ, the Gauls, from just south of the Alps, invaded central Italy. They inflicted heavy losses upon the Etruscans and took and sacked the city of Rome. Following the Gallic invasion, Rome was drawn into a series of wars with the Italic tribes about her. She had, during the Gallic wars, taken the Etruscan city of Veii. Victorious in her wars with the Italic tribes, Rome went on to a series of conquests which made her by 264 B.C. mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon river. These wars had, however, involved her in disputes with Carthage and with Macedonia. Before the end of the third century the power of Carthage had been broken in the Punic wars. Rome had beaten the Gauls and extended her borders to the Alps. The destruction of Corinth, in 146 B.C., marked the completion of the conquest of Macedonia. Rome was without a serious rival in the Mediterranean. She held all of Italy, virtually all of modern Switzerland, Spain, ancient Greece, and the islands of the Mediterranean, and had an important foothold in Africa.

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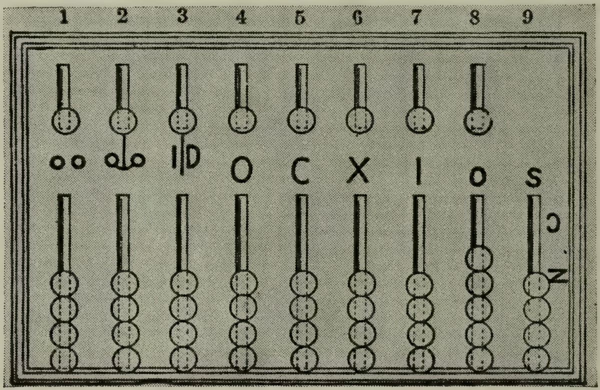
[1] Homo, Leon, *Primitive Italy,* pp. 99–123. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927.

[2] *Ibid.*

Conquest had completely transformed Rome. The size of the city, the business of its citizens, and their very tastes, moral standards, and recreations were changed. Adventurers from all over the east swarmed to Rome; bringing every object, trick, skill, or idea that could conciliate a patron or win a follower. Oriental religions, scholarship, arts, amusements, and vices were introduced, and all found their practitioners. Within a few generations the culture of Rome had become cosmopolitan. Her higher culture had a Hellenistic basis: captive Greece had "led captive her rude conqueror."



A ROMAN ABACUS.—*From Johnston, W. H., "The Private Life of the Romans," Scott, Foresman, 1932.*

There followed a period of extraordinarily rapid development in Roman political institutions. Privileges of citizenship were extended to conquered peoples, and colonies of citizens were established at a distance from Rome. This process was continued. Non-Romans received full Roman citizenship in ever-increasing numbers. Men who came to Rome as slaves were freed, became wealthy and influential, and established prominent Roman families. Tension was engendered within the Republic: the political disturbances which resulted from the clash of the older families with the newly rich and newly established ones were intensified by the failure of the Republic's political machinery to keep pace with the increasing burden of administration imposed upon it by the extension of Roman authority over an ever-widening territory. The social revolution, brought about by Rome's conquests, had affected agricultural life in a fashion detrimental to the small farmers who made up a large part of the Roman armies. The necessity of a professional army, moreover, was becoming evident; and able leaders laid the foundations of such a military establishment. These changes and the disturbances attending them led to civil war and to the downfall of the Republic.

In 27 B.C., Octavian assumed the title of *Princeps,* effecting this revolution under the guise of restoring the ancient liberties of the Republic. Rome had actually, however, become an empire. Augustus and his successors did succeed in building up a bureaucracy capable of ruling the empire. Violent disturbances in the third century of the Christian era, which culminated in the assassination of Alexander Severus, were followed by a reorganization of the Empire as a result of which it became a despotism. The emperor assumed the title of *Dominus.*

The closing stage of Roman history was a period of absolutism in government, of disintegration in social life, and of decline of Roman power and prestige. Of most importance is the fact that it was the period of Roman history in which Christianity became first a fully tolerated religion and then the official religion of the Roman world.

In the fourth century an attempt was made to lessen the strain upon the governmental machinery of the Empire by establishing a second capital on the Bosporus. Constantine, who undertook this important innovation, had no thought of dividing the Empire. He proposed merely to reform its administrative organization. The new capital was named Constantinople, after its founder.

In the late fourth century the barbarian enemies of Rome were able, for the first time in centuries, to break the lines of defense of the Empire. Alaric sacked Rome itself in 410 A.D. Successive waves of barbarians swept over southern Europe, until at length Roman political and military power in the west collapsed. Barbarian kingdoms arose in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Roman Africa, and Roman Britain.

The eastern section of the Empire was, however, able to repel the invaders. Constantinople was now the only Roman capital after the barbarians had destroyed Roman political institutions in the west. The Empire was Christian, and paganism steadily lost standing until, in 529, Justinian closed the schools of Athens. The ancient world had passed, and a new age had begun.

Continuity and change in Roman education. In the midst of the vast changes which marked Roman history, the practical arts and habits of the plain people changed but slowly. The continuity of craftsmanship, of family life, of moral and social conventions, and of the Latin language runs through all transformations. The numerous violent revolutions, which marked the course of the more than a thousand years of Roman history, affected principally higher culture, high finance and economic organization, political organization and administration, and the formal side of religion. The one change which at length effected a revolution in the lives of the plain people was the conversion of the Roman world to Christianity. When the schools became Christian, every department of life in the ancient world was deeply affected; but until the last revolution, cultural change took place principally at the top of the social scale. Revolutions in Roman education—which nearly coincide with political upheavals—were revolutions in literary culture and in the organization of schools. Continuity in handicrafts, the Latin tongue, and the Roman habit of life maintained themselves, and as a result western Europe was Romanized. As we deal with the changes in Roman political organization, literature, and schools, therefore, it is important to remember that the native culture of the Latin people—their moral character, tongue, family life, and arts—were continued through all changes.

III. ROMAN CHARACTER AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Roman character. The conquest of the Mediterranean world and of western Europe by the Latin tongue and by Roman organization cannot be explained in terms of any group of circumstances or of any single Roman trait; but prominent among the factors which contributed to this conquest were the Roman habit of subordination to constituted authority and the Roman power of governing. Basic to this habit and to this capacity were a group of moral qualities which were built into Roman character by the discipline of the family and state. First among these traits stands the quality—so prominent in the Roman moral ideal that it has become synonymous with worth—manliness *(virtus)*, the most prominent components of which are courage and strength. Cato the Elder describes the Roman of his ideal as "a man, strong and energetic" *(Vir, fortis et strenuus)*. A second Roman trait is reverential regard for one's ancestors, for the divine powers, and for sacred custom *(pietas)*. Other virtues celebrated in Roman history and literature are hardihood, dignity of manner, close attention to business, modesty, frugality, and perseverance.

Nowhere did Roman character express itself to more advantage than in the sense of professional, family, and public responsibility. The literature of Roman oratory and that of Roman architecture alike reflect the sense of duty which the professional man owes to his client and to the public interest. As son, father, and husband, the Roman felt his duty to the family—to the ancestors who had gone before and to generations to come after him—always superior to individual impulses or interests.

The Roman state and Roman character. The element in Roman government which was crucial in building into Roman character the habit of ready obedience to lawful authority was the unquestioned power *(imperium)* of the magistrates. Before the magistrate the lictor carried the ax and bundle of rods *(fasces)*, symbol of a justice which might not be resisted. This justice was administered according to sacred custom *(mos majorum)*. It was not arbitrary, but it was absolute. Every Roman was trained to recognize it and to bow to it. Within the state was a second authority, recognized as equal, within its sphere, with the power of the magistrate, this was the power *(patria potestas)* exercised within the Roman family by its head.

The Roman family. No institution at Rome was more important in shaping the character or in determining the status of its members than was the family. No other purely Roman institution, moreover, has had a greater influence upon the social and cultural development of Europe. A Roman, in addition to being a citizen, was a member of a local administrative group, a *curia;* of a clan or kinship group, a *gens;* and of a smaller group, the *familia.* This last consisted of the head, called the *pater;* his wife, the *mater;* their children and, as long as a family remained together, their children's children; the clients of the *pater;* the slaves of the *familia;* and—invisible but potent and inseparably involved with the fortunes of the group—the spirits of the household. There were many of these last: *Vesta,* spirit of the hearth; *Lar,* guardian of the land and household; *Terminus,* guardian of boundaries; *Penates,* guardians of the store-room and all that it contained; and the *Genius* of the head *(Pater),* which insured the family's continuance, were a very few of the hundreds of spirits associated with every Roman household. The Roman *familia,* it is clear, included elements and discharged functions that have no place in the modern American family. Although the family greatly deteriorated in later Rome, and lost many of the functions which it exercised under the Republic and the early Empire, it remained an exceedingly important institution. It disciplined its members, imposed duties upon them, gave them status in society, and discharged economic functions without number. It was, by all odds, the most important educational agency in early republican Rome, and it continued to be an important educational agency throughout the whole period of Roman history. Later the family was greatly modified; but it retained certain of its essential features through all changes; so that even today the characteristics developed by the Roman family can be distinguished in the social institutions of all the Latin countries of Europe and of America. The authority of a father over his household and his responsibility for it are such characteristics.

The head of a Roman *familia* exercised an absolute authority *(patria potestas)* over his wife and children. This power was recognized by sacred custom, by judicial decisions, by imperial codes, and by the code of the Frankish kingdom which arose upon the ruins of the Empire. The father's authority extended to the power of life and death over his children. The jurist Gaius writes: "The right of dominion which we have over our children is peculiar to the citizens of Rome, nor is there any race of men who have a dominion over their children similar to ours." [3]

But even more potent for the maintenance of discipline among the Romans was the complete domination of Roman life by established social usage. Ancient practice called the "custom of the ancestors" *(mos majorum),* formed the constitution of the early Roman state. The *mos majorum* was backed by religious sanctions and was rooted deep in every Roman soul. As respects the *patria potestas,* custom decreed that no husband or father should proceed to extreme measures of discipline against any member of its household without first consulting the council of heads to which he belonged. In reaching a decision, moreover, the heads were bound by custom, even as to the details of their actions. The head was the *patronus* to his clients, and here custom prescribed reciprocal rights and duties. To his slaves the head was master *(dominus)*, and they were, until imperial times, completely at his disposal.

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[3] Gaius, i. 55; *Inst.,* 9; *Digest* i. 6, 3. Quoted by Gwynn, ***Roman Education,*** p. 12.

The place of the matron *(mater)* in the Roman family was one of great influence and importance. The marriage formula "Where you are master, I am mistress" *(ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia)* reflects not only the element of free choice in the marriage compact, but equality, as respects personal dignity, of husband and wife.[4] There was indeed, difference of authority, but husband and wife were united in a sacred community of interest, in which the personalities of both were respected.

Life in a Roman family. The Roman family, of course, provided those essentials of human society the supplying of which make up its primary functions—the consummation of affection between men and women, the bringing of children into the world and caring for them in their very early years, and intimate companionship. But the institution filled an even larger place in Roman life than the exercise of its primary functions. Work, worship, moral standards, public duties, personal rights, social status, and history all centered about the family.

Under the Republic the typical Roman family lived upon the land and maintained itself by agriculture and allied arts. Men of wealthy families devoted themselves to war, politics, and the management of their estates. Poorer people worked with their hands as farmers, craftsmen, laborers, or common soldiers. Women spun, wove, made garments, prepared and served food, cared for the training of children, and, in general conducted the whole round of domestic duties. Matrons of wealthy families oversaw the work of their domestic servants.

The religious activities of the *familia* are of crucial interest. The head was the priest, and each member of his household performed particular religious functions assigned by custom. Examples of such duties are those of young, unmarried Roman girls in connection with the worship of Vesta, or the duties of sons to participate in the funerary rites of their parents. Such rites gave the young person a sense of responsibility, status, and dignity; they gave, too, a sense of the continuity of the life of the *familia,* and of their own share in the public order. They were among the most powerful bonds of social unity and the most effective agencies in the shaping of the social conscience that history exhibits.

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[4] See A. S. Wilkins, *Roman Education*, p. 6. Roman law provided "A lawful marriage is not contracted against the will of the parties."

Political status was to a considerable extent a matter of birth, so that political right and duty were closely connected with family life. Since religious, economic, and political activities were so inextricably associated with family life, it is clear that the Roman family had a larger part in shaping the mind of the child and in maintaining his character than that held by the typical European family of today.

IV. DOMESTIC EDUCATION AMONG THE ROMANS

Education in the Roman household. The family dominated education under the Republic. Schools had small place at Rome until after 250 B.C., and even after they became important there, the family and household continued as important forces in education. Most of the accounts which we have of domestic education under the Republic were written by men who lived in later times. There is evidence that the picture they have drawn was colored by distance; but though we must discount what they tell us of early days at Rome, much remains that is of great value. If accurate details are lacking, we can still trace, in outline, the educational practices which formed the men who created the Roman state and enriched it with their works.

Of paramount importance in Roman education was the respect, amounting almost to reverence, with which children were regarded.[5] The high place of children in the Roman home was due, to no small degree, to the fact that the bond of family unity at Rome was a religious one.[6] The ties of nature were not enough—children born into a Roman household were made members of the *familia* by a religious rite, which introduced them to the spiritual members of the group. Children were the bearers and the hope of the family cult. It was this high destiny and dignity of theirs which made their sense of filial duty and of submission to parental authority of such great importance.

Prominence of the mater. In republican Rome the care of young children was the peculiar responsibility of their mothers. Tacitus, praising the matrons of early Rome, says:

> The infant . . . was reared and cherished in the bosom of its mother,

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[5] Plutarch, *Cato the Censor*, c. 20; Gwynn, Aubrey, *Roman Education*, p. 17. Juvenal's phrase, "The utmost reverence is due to boyhood," will be recalled. Juvenal XIV, 47.

[6] de Coulanges, Fustel, *The Ancient City*, c. 4.

> whose highest praise it was to take care of her household affairs and attend to her children. It was customary likewise for each family to choose some elderly female relation of approved conduct, to whose charge the children were committed. In her presence not one indecent word was uttered; nothing was done against propriety and good manners. The hours of study and serious employment were settled by her direction, and not only so, but even the diversions of children were conducted with modest reserve and sanctity of manners. . . . The consequence of this regular discipline was, that the young mind, whole and sound, and unwarped by irregular passions, received the elements of the liberal arts with hearty avidity. Whatever was the peculiar bias, whether to the military art, the study of the laws, or the profession of eloquence, that engrossed the whole attention, that was imbibed thoroughly and totally.[7]

The pater's part in education. The father's part in domestic education was no less important than the mother's, for no interest of a Roman took precedence over the training of his son. The son assisted the father in the performance of the rites of the family cult. He worked beside him, or stood close to him as the father received his acquaintances or clients; with him he called upon neighbors, and went on trips for purposes of business or state. A Roman boy's father, as Pliny observes,[8] was his principal teacher. By his father a son was instructed in all the knowledge, skills, and manly exercises proper for a Roman gentleman. Plutarch, after praising Cato the Censor as a good husband, father, and manager of his estate, goes on to tell how seriously he regarded his duties as a father and husband, and how carefully he watched over and taught his son. Cato "preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator." Plutarch writes:

> . . . Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. But he tells us that he did not choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning; or that he should be indebted to so mean a person for his education. He was, therefore, himself, his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises. For he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim the most

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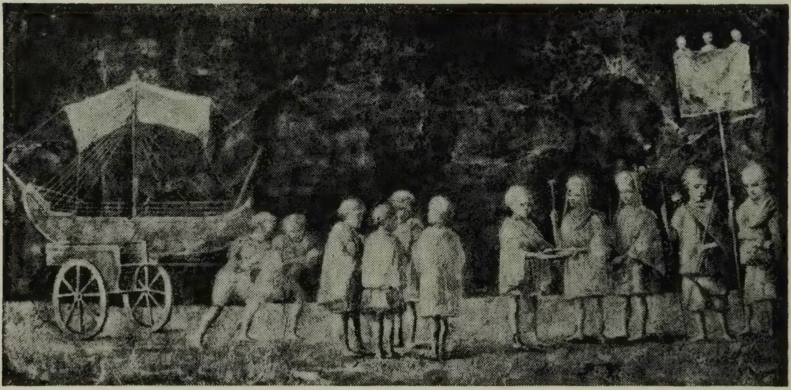
[7] Tacitus, *A Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, Chapter 28. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858.

[8] Pliny, *Epistles*, viii, 14, 6.

rapid rivers. He farther acquaints us, that he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that, without stirring from his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins.[9]

Domestic education of girls. While their brothers learned the *Laws of the Twelve Tables,* Roman history, the procedure of court and senate, the conduct of war, business, and agriculture, practiced manly sports, and acquired skill in the practical arts and in the use of weapons, Roman girls were being prepared to assume the duties which would be theirs as Roman matrons. The daughter shared in the performance of religious rites and in household work; and held a place both of duty and of responsibility in the *familia.* She was instructed by her mother in the deportment, knowledge, and skills required of one of her station. Girls quite generally learned to read.



ROMAN BOYS CELEBRATING A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.—*Alinari Photo.*

V. PUBLIC EDUCATION OF ROMAN BOYS

Participation in public ceremonials. No father, and no domestic circle, can prepare a youth fully for the duties of life. This principle was recognized by the Romans, even before schools came to play a large part in preparing boys for their public careers. The Romans, therefore, developed a system of education and training which supplemented that of the home, and which gave final preparation for the duties of adult life. In youth, boys participated in public religious ceremonies, those of the highest class visited the Senate in company with their fathers or other male relatives, and attended banquets at which they sang patriotic songs. The funerals of illustrious persons were celebrated. It was customary for each noble family to preserve masks representing its deceased members. At a funeral of any member of the family the masks were brought out. An oration was pronounced, in which the achievements and exploits of the person who had recently died and of other members of the family were recounted. The young were thus taught the history and ideals of Rome, and were inspired to heroism and loyalty.[10]

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[9] Plutarch (John and William Langhorne, Translators), *Lives*, "Cato the Censor." Baltimore: William and Joseph Neal.

Apprenticeship to public life. In the later Republic, sons of distinguished families served a sort of apprenticeship to public life, under the care of some distinguished man. A youth from such a family, for example, after having laid aside the garb of boyhood *(praetexta)* and assumed that of manhood *(toga virilis)* would be attached for a time to the staff of some general for a period of military service. After this tour of duty a boy took up public office, passing through the grades of office, and was perhaps entrusted with an independent command at some period of his public service.

Under a system in vogue during the period of the Republic, a youth planning a career as an orator was sponsored and advised by some distinguished advocate. This system of preparation, the "initiation to the forum," involved the introduction of the youth into the society of orators and his education by the example and direction furnished him by his mentor.[11]

The education of the common people. The plain people had no education save that of their simple homes and of every-day work. Farmers and artisans trained their sons and apprentices. Lads rose from the ranks to become the line officers of the army. Sailors rose to command much as they have since men have sailed ships.

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[10] Polybius, *Histories*, Bk. VI, pp. 53–54. London: Macmillan and Company, 1889.

[11] See Tacitus, *A Dialogue Concerning Oratory*, chapter 34. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858.

VI. ROME ESTABLISHES SCHOOLS OF THE GREEK TYPE

Schools at Rome in the days of the early Republic. For hundreds of years there was little teaching in schools at Rome. The Etruscans certainly had schools at a very early date, and there are indications that there were elementary schools at Rome in the fifth century B.C., but the school had small place in Roman life until the third century B.C.

A literature, based upon the Greek, is developed at Rome. After the fall of the Greek city of Tarentum in 272 B.C., the Romans brought to Rome a great many Greek captives, among whom were many educated persons. Other literate Greeks came to the city of their own accord. Among the captives was a young man named Livius Andronicus. In course of time he was freed and made a reputation as a teacher and writer. About 240 B.C., Andronicus made a translation into the Latin tongue of Homer's *Odyssey.* This translation of his was used for a long time as a reader for Roman boys. The Romans were accustomed to present each year musical miscellanies called *saturae.* Andronicus produced plays, translated or adapted from Greek dramas, which were substituted for these dramatic presentations, and thus made a beginning of Latin dramatic literature. He was soon followed by other writers who translated or adapted Greek works, or produced more original works in imitation of Greek models. Naevius made his appearance as a literary man about 235 B.C. Plautus (254–169 B.C.) was regarded by the Romans as the father of their literature. He is credited with introducing "into his Greek plots a genuinely Roman tone," and with inventing a new form of literature which he employed in his *saturae.* He was the most important literary man at Rome before Cicero.[12]

In spite of conservative Roman opposition to the new literature—as to all things foreign and novel—it gained popularity with great rapidity. Within a hundred and fifty years after the appearance of the Latin version of the *Odyssey,* the victory was complete, and no vestige of opposition to Greek letters was to be encountered among educated Romans.

Romans in this period began to have some familiarity with Greek philosophy, and to develop history as a field of literature.

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[12] "Quintus Ennius," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 14th Edition, Vol. 8, p. 614.

The *saturae* of Ennius reflect Greek physical speculations;[13] and his *Annales* treats of Roman history. About the middle of the second century B.C. two of the most eminent Athenian philosophers of the time visited Rome, as ambassadors. They delivered public lectures, attracting much the sort of following that had been drawn to the great sophists at Athens in the fifth century B.C. Plutarch writes:

> Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight.[14]

Carneades delighted the Roman youths, and the report went abroad that they forgot all other diversions and "were quite possessed with an enthusiastic love of philosophy."[15]

A literature of farming was developed. Varro mentions a number of Greek works that he had used in composing his great work on the subject. After the destruction of Carthage, the senate ordered the twenty-eight books of Mago, the great Carthaginian authority on agriculture, translated into Latin. Cato wrote interestingly and well on the various arts associated with farming.

Schools of the Greek type introduced at Rome. Parallel with the development of a Latin literature based upon the Greek, was the introduction at Rome of schools in which this literature, the Greek and Latin languages, and the whole round of studies as developed in Greek schools, were taught. This was a revolutionary development; for, although the Romans had long had schools in which reading and writing were taught, and had had some familiarity with the Greek language, they were almost destitute of higher scholarship until some time after the First Punic War. So rapid was the progress of the new schools, offering a course of training which consisted almost exclusively of the study of literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, that they were fully accepted among the Romans by 150 B.C. Half a century later their triumph was complete, and the Graeco-Roman schools stood on the threshold of their golden age.

Livius Andronicus has been called "the first great schoolmaster of the Roman people."[16] Brought, a captive Greek lad, to Rome after the taking of Tarentum, he was attached to the household of one of the members of the Livian *gens,* as a tutor. Ennius, who was brought to Rome by Cato the Censor, was also a teacher of Latin and Greek. It became fairly the fashion for wealthy Romans to have as members of their households highly educated Greek grammarians and physicians. In the next century, Paulus Aemilianus secured Greek teachers for his sons. After his victory in 168 B.C., over Perseus, he took, as his part of the victor's spoils, only the king's library,[17] and encouraged the friendship of his sons with the Greek historian Polybius, who had been brought to Rome as one of the Greeks disaffected with Roman rule.[18] Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, had her sons taught by Greek tutors.

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Plutarch, "Cato the Censor," *Lives*, Baltimore, 1831.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] "Livius Andronicus," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 14, p. 241.

Cato the Censor had a slave named Chilon, "who taught many children to read," but did not employ him as the teacher for his own son. About the middle of the third century B.C., a freeman named Spurius Carvilius—he had taken the name of the consul Carvilius, whose slave he had been and who freed him—opened a school.[19] The practice of permitting slaves to teach for hire seems to mark a stage in the development of elementary schools. Teaching appears to have been principally a domestic matter before this time, but the practice now developed of setting up schools open to all who cared to pay tuition fees.

Reaction against Greek schools. About 170 B.C., Crates, of Mallus in Cilicia, came to Rome as envoy of the king of Pergamum. Crates was a stoic philosopher and grammarian. While he was in Rome, he broke his leg, and relieved the tedium of the period of his convalescence by giving lectures at his house. He attracted a very considerable popular following. The conservatives were, however, alarmed, and in 161 B.C., the Senate passed a decree empowering the praetor "to take such measures and make such provisions, as the good of the Republic and the duty of his office, require, that no philosophers or rhetoricians be suffered at Rome." [20] Cato the Censor was loud in his denunciations of Greek philosophers, rhetoricians, and physicians. The reactionaries succeeded in expelling two Epicurean philosophers from Rome. This opposition was, however, in vain. Greek teachers of rhetoric were firmly established at Rome within a very short time after the passing of this decree. Within the next century the greatest of Roman poets, Lucretius, fully accepted the natural philosophy of Epicurus as the basis of his thinking.

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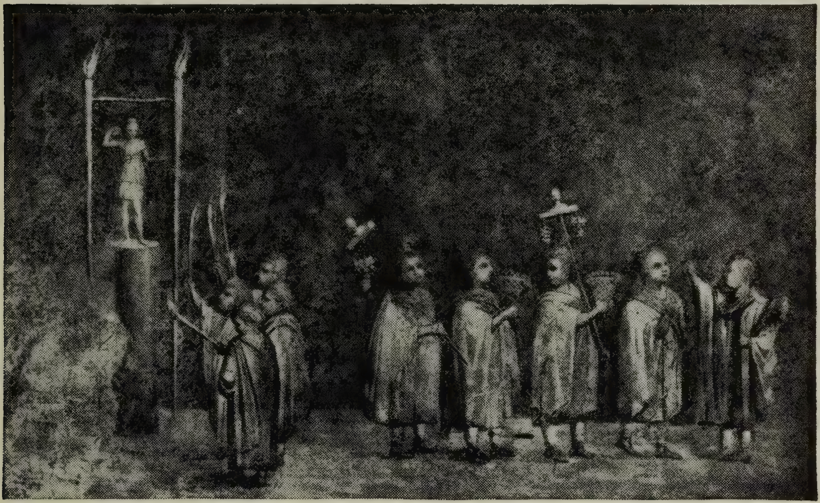
[17] Plutarch, "Aemilianus Paulus," *Lives.*

[18] Polybius, *Histories*, XXXII, par. 9.

[19] Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, LIX.

[20] Suetonius, *On Rhetoricians*, I.

The ground of Cato's objection to Greek scholarship was his fear that it would destroy ancient custom. In his old age Cato turned to the study of Greek literature—a circumstance which has caused frequent comment. The irony of events is to be more clearly discerned, however, when Cato's concern over what a few stray lecturers might do to affect the ancient customs of Rome is contrasted with his own course in business. He abandoned ordinary farming for speculative enterprises of all sorts—speculating in slaves, marine insurance, the draining of marshy land, and cutting off wood for sale. He thus joined in promoting the very processes that were changing Roman life profoundly, and which were, in the long run, to transform it completely. It was slavery, speculation, the ruin of the small farmers, and the flooding of Rome with all sorts of foreign social and economic influences that made it at length impossible for the forces of reconstruction to keep pace with those of disintegration and led to the downfall of the Republic. Roman capitalism was intent, not upon creating new sources of pro-



A SANCTUARY OF DIANA, WITH ROMAN BOYS CELEBRATING A FESTIVAL. —*Alinari Photo.*

duction or conserving and developing the bases of national wealth, but upon seizing upon all available economic resources and wringing from them quickly all they would yield.

Three levels of schools. With the establishing of schools of rhetoric, Rome had schools of the Greek type at three levels. The schools were: (1) the elementary school, in which little was taught save reading and writing—the teacher of this school was the *ludi magister,* or the *litterator;* (2) the grammar school, a school teaching the whole round of the liberal subjects, the teacher of which was called the *grammaticus* or the *litteratus;* and (3) schools of rhetoric, in which boys were prepared for careers as professional orators, or advocates—their teachers were called *rhetors.* These schools will be described rather fully in connection with the account of Quintilian's writings.

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12

Roman Education in the Dying Republic and in the Empire

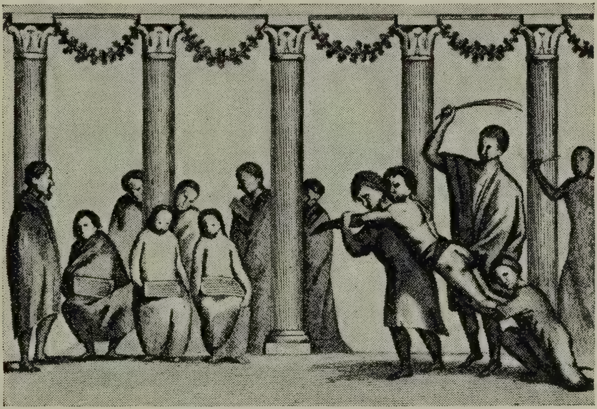
Political movements and the beginning of Latin grammar and rhetoric, 132–60 B.C. The assassination, in 132 B.C., of Tiberius Gracchus marked the entrance of Rome upon a period of bloody revolution and of war with her Italian allies, which wrought profound and far-reaching changes in Roman political institutions. Rome had early developed a city-state, but had become, over a period of about two centuries, mistress of a vast territory without having adapted her political machinery to the government of an empire. Power had been gradually assumed by the Senate, a selfish, self-perpetuating oligarchy, blind to the rights both of Rome's Italian allies and of the humbler Roman farmers. The struggles between Rome and her allies and between classes and parties at Rome continued for a century and resulted in the fall of the Republic and the establishment of a military empire.

The popular party placed the taxing of the provinces under the oversight of the equestrian class at Rome, instituted the custom of selling grain to the Roman populace at less than cost, and in general undermined the power of the Senate and established the principle of popular sovereignty. The struggle thus inaugurated stimulated the study of Greek oratory. The power placed in the hands of the equestrian order stimulated the growth of a wealthy class, creating a group which furnished a new clientele for higher schools.

The class struggle continued, and Marius (*c.* 157–86 B.C.), a military genius of the first rank, rose for a time to the leadership of the popular party. Marius reorganized the army. The tactics which he instituted demanded long and careful training of troops, so that the tendency for armies to be made up of professional soldiers was stimulated. The time was rapidly drawing near when Rome would be dominated by her professional military leaders; when that time came, the old-fashioned statesman and the training which had produced him went out of date at Rome. It is significant that the last of these statesmen of the old school, Cicero (106–43 B.C.), was a consummate literary artist, whose writings were the models used in a system of education very different from that which had produced him.

I. SCHOOLS OF LATIN GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC

Beginnings of higher Latin studies. At the very time when Marius was recreating the Roman army, schools of Greek grammar and Greek rhetoric were supplemented at Rome by schools of Latin grammar and Latin rhetoric. The earliest notable teacher of Latin grammar was Servius Nicanor, and the earliest notable teacher of Latin rhetoric was Lucius Gallus.[1] The school of the latter was very popular; of him Cicero writes: "As great numbers flocked to his school, so that all who were most devoted to study were eager to take lessons from him, it was a great trouble to me that I was not allowed to do so." Men of learning dissuaded Cicero from taking the new training, convincing him that the study of Greek rhetoric was better



A Roman School.

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[1] Suetonius, *On Rhetoricians*, c. 2.

adapted to the cultivation of genius than the newer discipline. Mr. Gwynn presents evidence to show that Plotius Gallus was connected with the Marian party, and that this connection explains a puzzling incident in Roman educational history.[2] The incident is this: The two Censors of the year 92 B.C. were members of the aristocratic party. They issued an edict forbidding the teaching of Latin rhetoric. Now, this course is somewhat surprising, since Greek rhetoric had long been firmly established at Rome, and one of the Censors who issued the edict was L. Licinius Crassus, the foremost Roman exponent of Greek oratory at the time. Gwynn believes that the Censors, through a general law, were striking a blow at a political opponent.

The edict is puzzling, too, because it seems to imply systematic control of education by the Roman government, whereas Cicero[3] explicitly says that Roman education was neither regulated by law, publically supported, nor standardized. Boissier believes that the "ordaining" of instruction by the ancestors, as mentioned in the edict, was not a detailed regulation of it, but that what is meant is simply that custom and tradition broadly prescribed the sort of education a young Roman should have.[4]

The victory of Latin studies. Political maneuvering does not seem greatly to have retarded the development of Latin grammar and rhetoric. Before a decade had elapsed after the issuance of the edict against Latin rhetoricians, an anonymous textbook of Latin rhetoric, called from the name of the man to whom it was addressed, *ad Herennium,* appeared. The book reflects a very definite bias against Hellenism. It is obviously written in imitation of Greek models, but its examples and illustrations are drawn from Roman history. The age produced the first studies in Latin grammar and the history of the language.

A beginning of Latin linguistic research was made by L. Accius (*c.* 170–90 B.C.), by the poet Lucilius (180–103 B.C.), and by Q. Valerius, a younger contemporary of Accius. L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus (*c.* 154–*c.* 74 B.C.), teacher of Varro and of Cicero, was the most accomplished critical scholar of his age. Sandys writes of him, "much of his lore passed into the pages of Varro and of Verrius Flaccus, of Pliny the Elder, and of Gellius."[5]

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[2] Gwynn, A., *Roman Education,* pp. 60–66.

[3] *De Republica,* Bk. IV, c. 3.

[4] Boissier, G., *La fin du paganisme,* Vol. I, pp. 146–147. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1894.

[5] Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Scholarship,* Vol. I, p. 176. Cambridge: The University Press, 1906.

Stilo was, however, eclipsed by his pupil, M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), who was called by St. Augustine "the most learned man of the Romans." Varro wrote on a great variety of subjects, but his three books on life and work in the country *(de Re Rustica)*, six books of his work on the Latin language *(de Lingua Latina)*, which is the oldest extant work on Latin grammar, and some fragments are all the modern age possesses of his enormous literary output. Of particular interest among the books of his which are lost is his encyclopedia on the nine scholarly arts *(disciplinorum libri novem)*. The nine books, the first attempt in the Latin language to deal with the whole round of scholarship, treated, respectively, of: (1) grammar, (2) logic, (3) rhetoric, (4) geometry, (5) arithmetic, (6) astronomy, (7) music, (8) medicine, and (9) architecture. In the first century A.D., Remmius Palaemon, teacher of Quintilian, produced the first textbook of Latin grammar.[6]

Grammarians of the late Roman Republic and early Empire established the terminology of Latin grammar. Case, number, and gender were distinguished, and the various cases, and genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter, and the numbers—singular and plural (first *multitudinis*, later *pluralis*) were given their respective names. Varro, Nigidius Figulus, Remmius Palaemon, M. Valerius Probus, Quintilian, and Aulus Gellius all make substantial contributions to the nomenclature of Latin grammar; while Julius Caesar may be responsible for naming the Ablative case.[7]

Progress of literature. The development of a critical literature in Latin paralleled the production of the noblest writings in the Latin tongue. Great literary monuments of the age are the writings of Caesar (102–44 B.C.), Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Lucretius (95–51 B.C.), Sallust (86–34 B.C.), Valerius Catulus (87–47 B.C.), Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), Ovid (43 B.C. to 18 A.D.), and of Pliny the Elder (23–79 A.D.). The works of Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Plautus, and other early Roman writers had made their way into schools. Soon the writings of the great poets, orators, and sages of the Golden Age of Roman literature were conned by schoolboys, annotated by commentators, and dissected by philologists and textual critics.

The victory of Latin rhetoric and grammar came at a crucial moment. Roman citizenship had throughout the centuries been somewhat sparingly granted. As a result of the Social War the Italian allies of Rome were granted citizenship. Caesar placed foreigners and even former slaves in the Senate itself. Romans colonized Gaul, taking their schools into what is now France, at the very time when many foreigners were winning places of substantial leadership in Roman life. The steady increase of the cosmopolitanism of the Empire culminated (in 212 A.D.) in the conferring of Roman citizenship upon all free men of the Empire. The firm establishment of schools of Latin grammar and rhetoric had secured the status of the Latin language and literature in this cosmopolitan empire. In the East, Greek held its own, and eventually triumphed; but in the western part of the Empire, Latin, which was taught in the grammar schools and schools of rhetoric, became the language of all educated classes, and, at length, pushed out or profoundly modified the languages of all that area now included in modern Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium, and England.

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[6] Suetonius, *On Grammarians*, c. 23.

[7] Sandys, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 194–195.

Literacy and the publication of books. The Roman genius for mass action produced very interesting effects in relation to education. Literacy was so nearly universal that centurions, instead of giving commands orally, wrote them out and passed them down the files. Public libraries, to borrow a phrase from Vitruvius, "made learning a common possession." Books were multiplied by gangs of slave copyists, who were trained to take the dictation of a single reader so that a number of copies of a work were made simultaneously. So efficient did they become that books were produced quite inexpensively, expense being the less because of the use of paper, which had long been manufactured in Egypt.

II. EFFECT ON EDUCATION OF THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

The conquest of Gaul and fall of the Republic. The most significant political events of the middle period of the first century B.C. had to do with Caesar's conquest of Gaul, his defeat of the Senate and assumption of dictatorial powers, the struggles (44–31 B.C.) which followed his murder, and the making of Octavius Princeps, with the title of Augustus, in 27 B.C. Caesar's conquest of Gaul, and the conferring of Roman citizenship upon the Gauls in the north of Italy, resulted in the transference of Mediterranean civilization to a people whose face was to the West. The administrative reorganization which he undertook involved the decentralization of the Empire. Rome was to be the first among many great, self-governing cities.[8] The development of provincial capitals affected education, since each of them was a center of schools of grammar and rhetoric, and many had schools of Roman law, in this way diffusing Roman culture widely.

The effect of the fall of the Republic on oratory. The transformation of the government by which Octavian was made *Princeps,* or Emperor, involved the extinction of efforts to restore the republic of an earlier day, and the beginning of government by men of a new type. No longer was Rome to be ruled by men who could sway the aristocrats and lead them and their clients; the masters now were to be those who could control the army and the governmental bureaucracy associated with it. Cicero was the last great public man of his type—trained in the forum, and master of it. Roman eloquence was to be supplanted by Latin rhetoric, and this last was to be taught in schools and to have little to do with real life. The bureaucracy which was forming could neither produce nor use men of the type of Cato the Elder, the Gracchi, Crassus, and Cicero. Great scholars, literary men of distinction, governmental officials, and able soldiers were to come out of the new schools; but republican statesmen could have been formed only as they were formed in an earlier day—by active participation in the conduct of republican institutions. These institutions had been destroyed, in the first century B.C., by war, conquest, immigration, and the demands made by the government of an empire. With the passing of the old Roman way of life the education that had been its corollary also passed away. The last and finest flower of Roman republican education was Cicero. Let us now consider his career and contribution to education.

III. CICERO ON THE EDUCATION OF THE PUBLIC MAN

The significance, career, and writings of Cicero. Few men have exercised an influence over the development of literature and of education in western Europe comparable to that of Marcus Tullius Cicero. This greatest of Roman orators was one of the principal writers in the Golden Age of Roman literature and set the standard of taste in Latin prose for ages. Quintilian, greatest of Roman teachers of rhetoric, held him up as the pattern of Latin orators. He was known throughout the Middle Ages. Renaissance grammarians made him the model for the imitation of all writers of Latin. To the close of the nineteenth century few lads entered college who had not read some, at least, of his orations. His style and his conception of the public man and of public duty were part of the scholarly tradition of the western world from his death until the ruin of the schools of Latin rhetoric, and from the Renaissance almost until the present.

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[8] Buchan, John, *Julius Caesar*, pp. 148–149. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1932.

Cicero was the son of a Roman knight of one of the new families. He was excellently educated in Greek rhetoric—he rejected the training in Latin rhetoric just then taking form—and in the eclectic Greek philosophy of his time. He studied in schools at Rome, Athens, and Rhodes. His legal education was entrusted first to Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, and upon the death of this great *jurisconsult* the young orator was attached to Q. Mucius Scaevola the *pontifex maximus,* an even greater lawyer than his uncle the augur. Cicero, at about the age of 17, served for a time in the army. He entered upon his career as a pleader in the courts at the age of 25, but ill health led to his withdrawing for a time from the practice of his profession. The two years of retirement Cicero spent, principally at Athens and at Rhodes, in the study of philosophy. At Rhodes he studied once more with Molo, a teacher of his in earlier days, who corrected faults in his oratorical style. Returning to Rome, Cicero launched his public career anew. He was soon Rome's foremost orator and served with great distinction as consul and as governor of the province of Cilicia. Although Cicero was both patriotic and brilliant, his career was filled with trouble and ended in defeat. The nobles used him, but could never forget that he was a "new man," and so never stood firmly by him. He was bitterly disappointed by the course taken by the parties both of Pompey and of Caesar. As political disappointment and family troubles oppressed him, the great statesman sought solace in literary work, producing his treatises on philosophical and rhetorical subjects. After the assassination of Caesar he was once more drawn into active leadership of public affairs, and became the leader of the republican party. With the temporary ascendency of Mark Antony, the great republican patriot was proscribed and put to death.

The numerous published works of Cicero fall into four groups. They are: (1) the letters; (2) the speeches; (3) the political and philosophical works; and (4) the treatises on rhetoric. The letters are a principal source of knowledge of life in Rome in the first century B.C. The orations are unequaled examples of Latin eloquence, and reflect, as do no other works, the movement of political thought and events in the closing century of the Republic. Cicero's political and philosophical treatises were composed in haste, and are neither profound nor original. They are important principally because they have been very widely read and because they represent the views of a great leader in one of the crucial periods of human history. The statement by so consummate a literary artist of the doctrine of personal immortality, of the refutation of materialism, of the law of nature, of the nature of divinity, and of the nature of the moral law could not be without effect. Cicero's writings contributed to the intellectual basis of the Christian faith. The philosophical and political works contain many passages which reflect Cicero's theory of education, but his ideas on this subject are to be found principally in the writings on rhetoric. In his chief works on rhetoric, Cicero describes the professional education of the orator. Since the plan of the orator's education is to be treated quite fully in connection with the discussion of Quintilian's writings, the details of Cicero's scheme will not be given. His views respecting the general principles of education are, however, of great interest.

Basic principles of the orator's education. Cicero was a champion of a well-rounded education in the liberal arts as a basis for the higher professional education of the orator.[9]

The liberal arts and sciences are all to be regarded as "attendants and handmaids of the orator."[10] His ideal is the cultured orator, and in *The Orator* he declares that his own eloquence "was due to 'the groves of the Academy, not to those workshops, the schools of rhetoric.'"[11]

He says:

> It is pertinent . . . to remark that no man could ever excel and reach eminence in eloquence without learning, not only the art of oratory, but every branch of useful knowledge.[12]

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[9] *De Oratore*, Bk. I, cc. 6, 16. London: George Bell, 1881.
[10] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 17.
[11] Gwynn, *Op. cit.*, p. 114.
[12] *De Oratore*, Bk. II, c. 1.

Cicero refers often to philosophy, and speaks specifically of mathematics—he mentions geometry and astronomy as branches of mathematics—physics, "life and manners," history, music, grammar, rhetoric, logic, and civil law. History he calls "the witness of the age, the light of the truth, the life of the memory, the teacher of life, and the herald of antiquity."[13]

Cicero's references to "the instruction of youth" *(puerilis institutio)* and "refinement in the humane studies"*(politior humanitas)* make it clear that he distinguished between basic, general education, and liberal culture. The latter is to be classed with the highest good. Consulships and military commands are "things necessary rather than things desirable";[14] only the wise can say that all things are his—for by the law of nature, things belong to him who can use them.

> . . . though others may be called men *(homines)* those alone are such who are perfected in the sciences proper to humanity.[15]

The conception of the "humanities" was central in Cicero's thinking. It carries a note of human sympathy and a sense of human dignity. It was to replace the earlier Roman conception of family tradition *(mos majorum)* and the later Greek conception of development in the arts of civilization as the master principles in education.

As respects the relation of knowledge, experience, and value, Cicero adopts a definitely pragmatic position. Experience and domestic instruction he regarded as superior to the speculative treatises of the Greeks in teaching statecraft.[16] An orator does not attain distinction by learning the systematic rules of speech and adhering to them, but by practicing, and later formulating his principles upon the basis of his practice.[17] Fertility of invention is the trait most to be desired in the young orator—it is easier to prune a vine than to produce shoots.[18] Cicero retains this same grasp of reality in his discussion of the canons of writing history. The historian must tell only the truth, all the truth, and without partiality or prejudice. He must attend to the factors of chronology and geography. His account of events must include the intention of actors, their action, and the effects of what has taken place. Style should be flowing and smooth, suited to narrative.

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[13] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 9.
[14] *De Republica*, Bk. I, c. 17.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 22.
[17] *De Oratore*, Bk. I, c. 32.
[18] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 22.

IV. THE BEGINNING OF PUBLIC PATRONAGE OF ART AND OF EDUCATION AT ROME

Early Roman education was private. As a matter of settled policy in ancient Rome, parents controlled the education of their children.[19] Although sumptuary laws regulated the affairs of citizens in many ways, and the magistrates exercised censorship over conduct, there was a minimum of state interference with the instruction of children, and only a negative control was exercised over their education. No positive prescriptions of the government determined the amount or character of the instruction furnished a Roman child, or who his teacher should be. The decrees of 161 B.C. and 92 B.C. reflect efforts to exclude certain elements from the city, but not to impose teachers or subjects of study upon pupils. Harrent cites as evidence of the freedom of teaching at Rome the fact noted by Suetonius, that, during the dicta-

Master and Pupils in Grammar School.—*Courtesy, Provinzial Museum at Trier.*

M·CORNELIO·MF·PAL·STATIO·P

The Rearing and Education of a Roman Child.—*Courtesy, Giraudon, Paris.*

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[19] Harrent, A., *Les Écoles d'Antioche*, pp. 47–49. Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1898.

torship of Sulla, the grammarian Laberius taught the children of proscribed persons gratuitously, and was not molested for doing so.[20]

Public patronage of arts and sciences. State intervention in Roman education did not begin with active control or even with active encouragement of instruction, but rather with public patronage of the fine and liberal arts and sciences. Instances of the encouragement of agriculture and medicine have already been noticed. Julius Caesar and Augustus adorned Rome with a great multitude of public buildings, thus encouraging the development of architecture. Augustus was actually the patron of Vitruvius. Caesar extended the rights of citizenship to all practicing physicians and to all of the teachers of the liberal arts at Rome.[21] Later, Augustus, when ordering foreigners from Rome in time of famine, exempted physicians and higher teachers.

Patronage of learning steadily became more direct. In 39 B.C., Asinius Pollio provided the first public libraries at Rome.[22] Claudius constructed a museum at Alexandria in 54 A.D. Augustus, Claudius, and Nero all were patrons of music. Nero encouraged gymnastics and dancing especially. Emperor after emperor encouraged the military and gymnastic games—of which the mimic war between the Athenians and the Trojans was an example—which were performed by the sons of nobles.[23] Agrippa advised Octavian, about 29 B.C., that the sons of senators and knights should attend school until they became youths—that is to say until the age of 14—and that "they should then turn their minds to horses and to arms, and have paid public teachers in each of these departments." [24] Ferrero and Barbagallo see in Augustus' patronage of civic, religious, gymnastic, and military exercises the founding of *collegia juvenum,* which were "schools for training in citizenship and in the national religion." [25] Barbagallo draws a parallel between the Greek and Roman *ephebi.* Certainly Augustus was rapidly making education an instrument of the government. He chose the famous grammarian Marcus Verrius Flaccus as tutor of his sons and grandsons, and moved him, with his entire school, to the Palace, paying him a large salary. He thus established a school, under imperial patronage, in which literature was made the instrument of the education of the ruling class.

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[20] Harrent, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[21] Suetonius, *Caesar,* pp. 33, 43, 44.

[22] Barbagallo, C., *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero romano,* pp. 16–17. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1911.

[23] *Dio's Roman History,* Bk. 49, c. 43; Bk. 53, c. 1.

[24] *Ibid.*, Bk. 53, c. 26.

[25] Ferrero, G., and Barbagallo, C., *A Short History of Rome,* Vol. II, p. 202. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919. Barbagallo, C., *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero romano,* pp. 23–27. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1911.

First salaries to higher teachers. About 76 A.D. the Emperor Vespasian took an important and even revolutionary step in providing public patronage for the liberal arts at Rome. Not only did he reward artists, poets, and engineers, but he provided salaries from the imperial treasury for both Latin and Greek teachers of rhetoric.[26] From the establishment of such professorship of grammar and rhetoric in particular cities, it was but a step to the establishment of regular municipal schools of rhetoric and grammar, and from the establishment of schools, it was but one more step to governmental control of education.

A. B.

A. Silver-work from Roman Britain: the Bust of an Empress. At her right a traveler carrying a pack, at her left a Shepherd with his sheep.—*Courtesy, British Museum.* B. A Blacksmith of Roman Britain.—*Courtesy, Yorkshire Museum.*

The architect Vitruvius and the rhetorician Quintilian are outstanding exponents of two learned professions which were developing under imperial patronage during the early empire. The latter is of especial interest; his writings furnish the most adequate picture which we have of Roman literary education in its golden age. The career and writings of Vitruvius and of Quintilian illustrate and describe the culture and education of the engineers and of the public men in the early empire.

V. VITRUVIUS ON THE EDUCATION OF ENGINEERS

Engineering an important profession. Three professions stood highest in the esteem of the ancient Romans; these were the profession of high military command, of the orator or advocate, and of the councilor *(jurisconsult)*. Beneath these in dignity but definitely superior even to the skilled manual trades were the professions of higher teaching, of medicine, and of architecture. The Roman architect may well be spoken of as an engineer, for he was concerned with every sort of building—roads, basilicas, aqueducts, residences, pipe organs, and military engines.

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[26] Suetonius, *Vespasian.*

Vitruvius. About the beginning of the Christian era, the tradition of Roman architecture was formulated by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio in a great treatise of ten books entitled *About Architecture (De Architectura).* Mr. Frank Granger describes fourteen extant medieval manuscripts of this great work.[27] The basilica of Vitruvius was adopted as the basis of Christian church architecture. He was the one great authority respecting architecture during the classical revival. Bramante, Michelangelo, Palladio, Vignola, and other great architects all consulted him.[28] He is important also in the history of science; he furnishes interesting data to the student of the subject.[29]

General training essential to the engineer. Every art, Vitruvius says, is composed of craftsmanship for one part and theory for a second. Craftsmanship is peculiar to the practitioners of a particular art, but the theoretical basis of any art is common to many: for example, musicians, astronomers, physicians, and architects all make use of mathematics.[30] The architect, therefore, "should be a man of letters, a skillful draftsman, a mathematician, familiar with scientific enquiries, a diligent student of philosophy, acquainted with music; not ignorant of medicine, learned in the responses of the jurisconsults, and familiar with astronomical observations." [31] Vitruvius mentions also optics and acoustics, and discusses points of geography and aesthetics. He advocates some knowledge of medicine on the part of architects for the sake of public-health engineering, and points out that the builder should know some law in order to safeguard his clients' rights in building. The study of philosophy makes a man magnanimous without avarice or arrogance, loyal, polished, and just. The engineer should, therefore, study philosophy, "for no work can be done truly without good faith and clean hands."[32] Vitruvius insists that the architect must be liberally and broadly educated.[33] To avoid scattering, studies should be interrelated, so that the body of one's knowledge can be one, just as a body with many members is one.

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[27] Granger, Frank, "Introduction," Vol. I, pp. 22 and 23, *Vitruvius on Architecture.* Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann, 1934. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[28] "Vitruvius," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 23, p. 224.

[29] Granger, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 22.

[30] *De Architectura*, Bk. I, c. 1 § 15.

[31] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Craftsmanship and architecture. The architect must also be a craftsman. The craftsman must have a natural gift for his art, but actually acquires it by "continued and familiar practice."[34] Vitruvius evidently expects that training of this type will not be had at school, but at work, for he speaks of craftsmen training their own sons and apprentices.[35]

No other writer of antiquity has pointed out more clearly than has Vitruvius the continuity of things, action, and knowledge. He understands perfectly how closely allied are the practical arts, fine arts, and systematic knowledge; that manipulation and thought are interdependent—as are practical and scientific thinking.[36] Greek theorists did not regard the training of the hand as worthy of being called real education; but Vitruvius, though he recognized the supremacy of reason in human action, recognized also that ideas grow from craftsmanship, so that thought and workmanship together have "equipped with delights the refinements of life, increased as it were by their several crafts."[37]

VI. QUINTILIAN ON THE EDUCATION OF AN ORATOR

The significance, career, and writings of Quintilian. Developments in Roman education and literature between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. are reflected nowhere more fully than in the writings and life of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (*c.* 35–97 A.D.). He was possibly the first Roman professor of rhetoric to receive a salary from the imperial treasury; he wrote the most important Roman treatise upon the education of the orator—that is to say, upon the theory and practice of Roman schools of grammar and of rhetoric; he was the greatest exponent in his age of the training of orators in schools. A study of Quintilian's life and work is, therefore, a convenient way to understand Roman higher education as it was in the first century of the Christian era. An additional reason for study of Quintilian's writings is the great influence they exercised over renaissance education, and over educational theory in general from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The dominant school in western Europe of the Renaissance and the three centuries which followed it was the Latin grammar school, of which Quintilian's writings are the greatest literary monument.

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[32] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 7. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[33] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 11.

[34] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 1. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[35] *Ibid.*, Bk. VI, "Preface," § 6.

[36] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 2; Bk. II, cc. 1, 5.

[37] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 1, § 7.

Quintilian was born at Calagurris in Spain, about 35 A.D. He was thoroughly educated at Rome for a career as an orator, having Palaemon for a teacher. He lived for a number of years in Spain and then, in 68 A.D., returned to the capital. There he practiced as a pleader in the courts and taught rhetoric with great distinction. Pliny the Younger was his pupil, and, after he had announced his retirement from teaching, he was entrusted with the education of two grandnephews of Domitian; his services in this connection resulted in his being raised to consular rank. Vespasian, in 76 A.D., made provision for salaries from the imperial treasury for teachers of rhetoric, and under this provision Quintilian became a public teacher. About 88 A.D. he retired from teaching in order to devote himself to study and writing. Later he found in study, solace for the loss, by death, of his wife and sons.[38] In his retirement he wrote his famous work on the education of the orator, the *Institutes of Oratory (Institutio Oratoria),* a treatise in twelve books.[39]

Literary merit of Quintilian's work. Quintilian took Cicero as his model of style, and refers often, moreover, to the great Greek orators and teachers of rhetoric, notably to Isocrates and Demosthenes. Of the matter and style of the *Institutes of Oratory,* Rev. John Selby Watson writes:

> The great merit of Quintilian's treatise on oratory, above all works of the kind that had preceded it, was its superior copiousness of matter and felicity of embellishment.
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> . . . [Quintilian] manifests great judgment, extensive reading, and the utmost capacity to do his work well.[40]

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[38] Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory,* Bk. VI, "Introduction." London: Bohn, 1856.

[39] *Ibid.,* Bk. I, "Preface."

[40] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, "Introduction," pp. 8, 9.

Quintilian on the orator's character and responsibility. The role of the orator in Roman life was a leading one. Panegyrics in honor of the distinguished dead, addresses on matters of public policy and interest, exhortations to armies about to go into battle, and pleas before law courts were of great importance in forming public opinion, inciting to action, determining policies, and deciding cases. Oratory was, therefore, an accomplishment of great value to every public man, and Quintilian's great treatise actually deals with the education of boys and youths for public life.

Quintilian adopts Cato's definition of the orator as "a good man skilled in speaking," and declares that the first qualification of the orator is good moral character. This idea appears in the preface of the first book of the *Institutes of Oratory* and is elaborated in the first chapter of the twelfth book. The orator should be a good man, for if he lends the power and influence which are his to the support of evil, he can do a great deal of harm. The orator needs strength and integrity of character, moreover, and these are destroyed by vice.[41]

The orator's second qualification is mastery of the liberal arts. He should have completed the circuit of the sciences. Quintilian writes:

> Let the orator, therefore, be such a man as may be called truly wise, not blameless in morals only, . . . but accomplished also in science, and in every qualification for speaking.[42]

The orator's third and crowning qualification is the ability to speak well.[43] Pronunciation and enunciation should be carefully cultivated, while manner, walk, and use of hands should be perfected until they do not appear to be art, yet are completely adapted to the orator's aim. Inflection, force of voice, gesture, and facial expression are all to be studied and used in expressing emotion. Style of delivery is to be suited to content. The orator must please, persuade, and command his audience.[44]

Since the content of speeches is of first importance, the orator must store his mind with facts, literary and historical allusions, and pleasing anecdotes. He must be tireless in reading, inventing, writing, and in correcting what he has produced.[45] He foresaw that objection might be made to the very high ideal he had set up for the education of the orator on the ground that it was unattainable. May not the orator win fame and fortune without so difficult and time-consuming a course of preparation? Quintilian feels that those who ask this question have a low ideal of the function and dignity of oratory.[46]

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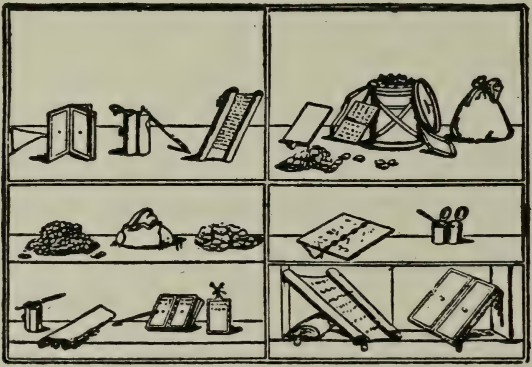
[41] *Ibid.*, Bk. XII, c. 1, 2–5; II, c. 3, 33, Bk. I "Preface."
[42] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, "Preface," § 18.
[43] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 15, § 37.
[44] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 2.
[45] *Ibid.*, Bk. X, cc. 1–7.

Quintilian condemns mercenary motives in orators, but he believes that they should live by their profession—a practice forbidden by earlier Roman law. The advocate must exercise the utmost care to maintain correct relations with his client, accepting nothing "more than shall be just sufficient." He must be especially careful in regarding his client's ability to pay in computing the size of the honorarium he will accept, and should accept money not as pay but merely "as a friendly acknowledgment of services, being conscious that he has conferred much more than he receives."[47]



WRITING INSTRUMENTS AND MATERIALS OF THE ROMANS.—*From Johnston, H. W., "The Private Life of the Romans," Scott, Foresman, 1932.*

The advocate must advise his client always with a view to the latter's own good. He has, moreover, a public responsibility that takes precedence over every other sort of responsibility whatsoever. He may not, therefore, "open the salutary haven of his eloquence to pirates"; nor align himself with the powerful against the humble nor with the poor against the rich—for his concern is with justice, and justice is not a matter of class.[48]

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[46] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 12, §§ 16–19.
[47] *Ibid.*, Bk. XII, c. 7, §§ 9–12.
[48] *Ibid.*, Bk. XII, c. 7, §§ 4–6.

Quintilian on the general principles of education. Education, in Quintilian's view, is especially the concern of fathers; he who would be solicitous for the proper care and training of his children should conceive the highest hopes for them, should choose nurses and pedagogues with the utmost care, and should be most careful always to set children a good example of learning and of character. Mothers, too, have special responsibility for the education of their children.

> In parents I should wish that there should be as much learning as possible. Nor do I speak, indeed, merely of fathers; for we have heard that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi . . . contributed greatly to their eloquence. . . . Nor let those parents who have not had the fortune to get learning themselves, bestow the less care on the instruction of their children, but let them on this very account, be more solicitous as to other particulars.[49]

The education of a child's earliest years is highly important. "We are by nature most tenacious of what we have learned in our infant years."[50] Young children, moreover, learn readily, and the whole course of their education is determined by the fashion in which they are then taught. The very best teachers, therefore, should be secured for little children.

Quintilian makes a somewhat unfortunate use of the idea that young children can learn readily. He writes: "The temper of boys is better able to endure labour than that of men."[51] From this proposition he argues that there is little danger of pushing boys too rapidly in the literary subjects—an error which was not fully exposed until the publication of Rousseau's *Émile.* Quintilian has, therefore, a measure of responsibility for much of the abuse of which grammar schools were guilty, from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century, of pushing young boys into the Latin grammar before they were ready for abstract thinking.

It is of advantage, Quintilian holds, for students to carry a variety of subjects simultaneously, instead of taking grammar, music, geometry, and so on in succession. A single subject pursued without relief, becomes tiresome, but variety gives spice to study. Relaxation should be secured for students by periods of play and rest. Play, moreover, affords masters opportunity to judge the dispositions and character of boys. Quintilian warns, however, lest play generate habits of idleness. He approves of games which are of use for "sharpening the wits of boys." [52] Play may be of positive moral value in teaching poise, self-control, and honesty.

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[49] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 6.
[50] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 5.
[51] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 12, § 10.

Quintilian is interested principally in literary education. He has very little to say of health and physical education. His attitude toward training in gymnastics may be understood from the following quotation:

> Nor do I think that those orators are to be blamed who have devoted some time even to the masters of the palaestra. I do not speak of those by whom part of life is spent among oil [that is in the gymnasia], and the rest over wine, and who have oppressed the powers of the mind by excessive attention to the body; (such characters I should wish to be as far off as possible from the pupil that I am training).[53]

The author goes on to point out that in the palaestra youths preparing for public life may acquire strength and grace, which will be reflected to advantage in their gestures and general carriage when they appear before audiences. He does not, however, approve of gymnastic exercises for the mature orator, fearing artificiality of gesture and movement, if these are prolonged beyond the period of boyhood.

Public versus private education. It was long the custom for persons of wealth at Rome to have their children trained at home by tutors. Quintilian weighs the relative advantages of private education, in the home, and education at school, and unhesitatingly gives his verdict in favor of education in schools. He dismisses the charge that schools corrupt the morals of pupils, charging that it is the conduct of their elders—often of their own parents—that sets bad examples before youths; and that pupils thus corrupted bring bad morals to schools. Against the claim that boys educated privately receive more of their tutor's attention than do pupils in schools, he sets the following considerations: boys learn very effectively in groups; pupils may work alone to advantage for a considerable portion of each day; the most effective teachers cannot be tempted to serve as private tutors, but prefer work as public teachers. Pupils profit, moreover, by being taught in company with companions of their own age. They form friendships at school which endure all of their lives, are stimulated by competition, learn by sharing the experiences of others, and become accustomed to the society of their fellows. Those who are taught exclusively at home are denied these advantages. There is an added value of instruction in schools: a large and good class stimulates a teacher to his best efforts. Care must, however, be exercised lest teachers take such large classes that they neglect individuals. Class size must be kept down to a point where efficiency is not lost.[54]

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[52] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 3, § 11.
[53] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 11, § 15.

The character of the teacher. Quintilian's first rule for the teacher is this: "Let him that is skilled in teaching ascertain first of all, when a boy is entrusted to him, his ability and disposition."[55] Teaching should be adapted to the traits of the pupil, the tutor having special regard to a child's age. Having argued that a child of three years of age is not too young to begin study, Quintilian goes on:

> Yet I am not so unacquainted with differences of age, as to think that we should urge those of tender years severely, or exact a full complement of work from them; for it will be necessary, above all things, to take care lest a child should conceive a dislike to the application which he cannot yet love, and continue to dread the bitterness which he has once tasted, even beyond the years of infancy. Let his instruction be an amusement to him; let him be questioned and praised; and let him never feel pleased that he does not know a thing; and sometimes, if he is unwilling to learn, let another be taught before him, of whom he may be envious. Let him strive for victory now and then, and generally suppose that he gains it; and let his powers be called forth by rewards, such as the age prizes.[56]

Corporal punishment versus rewards as motives for study. The great rhetorician does not approve of the infliction of corporal punishment on schoolboys—though flogging and whipping were the accepted practice in Roman schools. It is bad, he holds, first because it is disgraceful and an affront to a boy of spirit; second, because, if a boy will not respond to reproof, flogging will merely harden him; and third, because a teacher can secure better work by close attention to his own duty. Flogging affords opportunities for unworthy tutors and fellow pupils to hurt and humiliate boys. The shame of punishment, moreover, may enervate a boy, cause him to shun society and feel uneasy. "No man," Quintilian declares, "should be allowed so much authority over an age so weak and so unable to resist ill-treatment."[57]

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[54] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 2.
[55] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 3, § 1. See also Bk. II, c. 4, §§ 9–14.
[56] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 20.
[57] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 3, § 17.

Quintilian returns to this topic in the second book, where he says:

> . . . the powers of boys sometimes sink under too great severity in correction; for they despond, and grieve, and at last hate their work, and, what is most prejudicial, while they fear everything, they cease to attempt anything. . . . A teacher ought therefore to be as agreeable as possible, that remedies, which are rough in their own nature, may be rendered soothing by gentleness of hand; he ought to praise some parts of his pupil's performance, to tolerate some, and to alter others, giving his reasons why the alterations are made.[58]

As incentives to study, Quintilian advises teachers to have recourse to the pupil's love of praise, to emulation, and to prizes. While he expects that application will generate love of study and of the subjects studied, he relies rather upon extrinsic than upon intrinsic interests. Roman schools and later Latin grammar schools alike generally failed to follow Quintilian's advice respecting corporal punishment, though they did adopt the other incentives of study which he suggests.

Pre-eminent among the traits of a teacher in Quintilian's opinion, is his ability to interest his pupils.

> Above all, . . . and especially for boys, *a dry master* is to be avoided, not less than a dry soil, void of all moisture, for plants that are still tender. Under the influence of such a tutor, they at once become dwarfish, . . . To them leanness is in place of health, and weakness in place of judgment; and, while they think it sufficient to be free from fault, they fall into the fault of being free from all merit.[59]

Emphasis upon memory. It has been noted that Quintilian believes that the student of oratory should complete the circuit of study "which the Greeks call *engkuklios paideia.*"[60] The pupil's general education should be completed before he is committed to the rhetor. The orator needs detailed knowledge, "not because questions about *horns* and *crocodiles* can form a wise man," but because a wise man must be furnished with a great fund of accurate knowledge. Grammar he commends especially, because those who study it discover "subtlety on points, which may not only sharpen the wits of boys, but may exercise even the deepest erudition and knowledge."

The view which Quintilian here adopts leads inevitably to excessive emphasis upon mastery of facts in schools, and so to cramming. Memory he regards as "the chief symptom of ability in children."[61] The essential features of Greek method—contact with reality, contact at first hand with the great monuments of literature, and a great number of diverse and well-balanced activities—were abandoned for the use of outlines, summaries, and catechisms. In a mistaken notion that, because a well-educated man commands a great array of accurate information, it is the great aim of the earlier stages of education to pile up stores of facts, Quintilian contributed to the excessive use of memory in education which was its bane for centuries.

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[58] *Ibid.*, Bk. II. c. 4, §§ 10 and 12, *passim.*
[59] *Ibid.*, Bk. II. c. 4, § 9.
[60] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 10, § 1.

The early studies of an orator. The central and basic study of the orator, so Quintilian holds, is grammar. He writes of it:

> Those . . . are by no means to be regarded who deride this science as trifling and empty, for unless it lays a sure foundation for the future orator, whatever superstructure you raise will fall; it is a science which is necessary to the young, pleasing to the old, and an agreeable companion in retirement, and which alone, of all departments of learning, has in it more service than show.[62]

The study of grammar is, however, not the only preliminary to later rhetorical studies, but must be preceded and accompanied by the study of other subjects. The learned education of the orator actually begins in very early childhood, as he begins to acquire his mother tongue. Since this is gotten by imitation, children must be allowed to hear no ungrammatical expression; a learned pedagogue is to watch the nurse and correct any error of speech of which she may be guilty. The little child, moreover, should be given ivory letters and other toys, and as he plays with them he is to be encouraged to recognize the letters and to utter the names of letters, syllables, and words. He is to trace the letters by following grooves cut in boards, and so learn to "form his hand," preliminary to writing. To write a good hand is highly desirable.[63]

Right habits of reading—of moving the eyes steadily over the text, of pronunciation, of emphasis, and the rest—should be formed from the first. In writing, care must be taken to make every exercise count; since the child will pick up the meaning of common terms, let him be required to study obscure ones; let the copies set as models in writing lessons be useful moral maxims, so that the child may learn two things at once. To its loss, the world long followed the advice of Quintilian given here, and pedantry ruled the schools. Not until the writings of Pestalozzi was any voice effectively raised to call attention to the necessity of teaching properly the common things, and to show how important is incidental moral instruction, as constrasted with formalized precepts.

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[61] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 3, § 1.
[62] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 4, § 5.
[63] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 1, §§ 28, 29.

Once a pupil has acquired facility in reading and writing, he is, in Quintilian's view, ready for instruction in grammar. The study of Greek should precede that of Latin, because a pupil's mother tongue is more likely to be acquired than a foreign language and therefore requires less special attention. Latin learning, he points out further, had been derived from the Greek, and this fact forms an additional reason for placing it first in order in the course of study of the grammar school.[64] Caution should, however, be exercised lest a boy neglect his own language. "The study of Latin ought therefore to follow at no long interval, and thereafter keep pace with the Greek."[65] The parallel study of one's native language and a classical language as a method of literary education, here discussed by Quintilian, constitutes one of Rome's most important contributions to western education. Cicero had commended translation from the Greek into the Latin as a means of improving one's literary style.[66] With the rise of modern vernaculars, translation from Latin into the various languages of western Europe became a principal means of teaching the literary use of those languages.

Content of studies of the grammar school. Grammar, it is pointed out in the *Institutes of Oratory,* consists of two parts: "the art *of speaking correctly,*" and "the *illustration of the poets.*" Correct speaking, as a division of grammar, includes correct writing; "the illustration of the poet" presupposes wide reading; and for intelligent reading and correct writing one must be trained in the canons of literary criticism.[67] This training is built up by careful study of the standard authors.

The prospective orator must master, also, astronomy, philosophy, geometry, and music. Music is particularly valuable to the orator because it aids him to develop his mastery of sound and rhythm. Geometry, also, is a study of special value for him, because by its use he learns the nature of one very important type of proof; and for the further reason that by the study of this subject an adequate world-view is to be acquired, and the student delivered from superstition. Geometry, moreover, furnishes much information of direct, practical value to the orator, who is required to speak on all sorts of topics, including "questions which . . . are accustomed to be solved by these geometrical demonstrations."[68] He further reports the common opinion respecting geometry: that study excites the power to think, sharpens the intellect, and improves the powers of perception.[69]

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[64] *Ibid.,* Bk. I, c. 1, § 12.
[65] *Ibid.,* Bk. I, c. 1, § 14.
[66] *De Oratore,* Bk. I, c. 24.
[67] Quintilian, *op. cit.,* Bk. I, c. 4, §§ 2–4.

The school of rhetoric. The greater part of *The Institutes of Oratory* is devoted to an account of the culminating stages of the orator's education—the studies of the school of rhetoric and the orator's private studies. The studies of the school of rhetoric overlap with those of the grammar school and with those of the school of law. They are principally literary; covering history, literature, what we should today call composition and rhetoric, logic, and professional ethics. Quintilian deals quite fully with formal rhetoric and with the preparation and delivery of speeches. Prominent among the topics dealt with in the section of the treatise devoted to the narrowly professional studies of the advocate are: the nature of oratory; its three types—panegyric, deliberative, and judicial; the nature of proof, the kinds of argument and the value of various types, appeals to the emotions, the employment of humor in public addresses, the parts of speech, and figures of speech. Quintilian lays great stress upon style and delivery. He describes at length the exercises by means of which the orator may build up his literary style and the quality of his delivery.

PEDAGOG AND CHILDREN.—*From Johnston, H. W., "The Private Life of the Romans," Scott, Foresman, 1932.*

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[68] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 10, § 49.
[69] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 10, § 34.

VII. PUBLIC PATRONAGE AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION AFTER 100 A.D.

State patronage. Public subsidies to education, begun by Vespasian, were continued and increased by the emperors who followed him. Trajan (98–117) founded the greatest of all Roman public libraries, the Ulpian. He also made provision for the care and education of 5,000 poor children at Rome.[70] Hadrian and both of the Antonines later made similar grants in the provinces. Hadrian, who was a great builder, constructed a gymnasium and a library at Athens; and, at Rome, he erected the *Athenaeum,* a school of literature. He was an intimate and patron of philosophers, rhetoricians, and poets. Antoninus Pius (138–161) granted status and privileges to a limited number of physicians and higher teachers in every city and ordered salaries paid to philosophers and rhetoricians in the provinces.[71] Marcus Aurelius (169–180) was especially liberal in establishing professorships of oratory and philosophy at Athens. Each of the four major schools of philosophy—Platonism, Aristotelianism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism—was represented by public professors.[72] Alexander Severus (222–235) was an especially liberal patron of science, art, literature, and legal scholarship. Dio Cassius, the famous historian, and Ulpian, the great jurist, were his advisors. He erected a new center of higher studies at Rome; and established in the city public professorships of grammar, haruspices, astrology, medicine, engineering, and architecture. He also provided scholarships for poor children.[73]

It is evident that by the middle of the third century A.D. the practice of the Hellenistic kingdoms of providing public support for higher schools had been fully adopted as a policy of the Roman government. Schools seem to have been principally supported by municipalities.[74] Privileges and immunities—such as citizenship, equestrian and senatorial rank, and freedom from certain onerous duties—were granted by the imperial government. State encouragement to education was steadily increased. Constantine reaffirmed and increased the honors and immunities of higher teachers. Gratian ordered payments equal to their municipal salaries to all higher teachers in the Gallic capitals. Theodosius actually founded, in 425 A.D., a great imperial university at Constantinople. The Theodosian *Code* contains the provision that the public teachers there should be: three rhetoricians and ten grammarians for Latin; five rhetoricians and ten grammarians for Greek; one philosopher; and two jurists.[75]

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[70] Wilkins, *Roman Education*, pp. 94 f. Barbagallo, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 114–122.

[71] Barbagallo, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[72] Boissier, G., *La fin du paganisme*, Vol. I, p. 165. Barbagallo, C., *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[73] Barbagallo, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 187–191.

[74] Boissier, C., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 168–171. Laurie, S. S., *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, pp. 394–395.

Increase of public control. Increasing imperial patronage of education was paralleled by increasing state control of education. Emperors extending favors to scholars interested themselves in appointments to positions they had provided. In 362 A.D., Julian, called "the Apostate," required that all nominations of public professors in municipalities be submitted to the emperor, for confirmation or rejection. He forbade Christians to practice the learned professions or to teach the higher subjects. Valentinian repealed this law,[76] and passed one permitting all persons of character and abilities suitable in teachers of the young to open schools. Valentinian, Valens, and Theodosius continued, however, to regulate teaching. Theodosius, at length, established a state monopoly of education, forbidding public teachers to take private pupils and likewise forbidding private teachers to teach publicly.[77] The principle that opinion and teaching are proper subjects of governmental regulation was generally accepted by governments in Western Europe. Not until the eighteenth century was there a genuine movement toward freedom of thought and teaching.

VIII. MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LAW AT ROME AND IN THE EMPIRE

The study of medicine. Medicine at Rome was a Greek science, and its earliest as well as its most famous practitioners were Greeks. Archagathus, first Greek physician to become prominent at Rome, established himself there so successfully that, in 219 B.C., the senate granted him Roman citizenship and bought for him a building to be used in the reception and treatment of his patients—evidently a sort of pharmacy and physician's office.[78] The popularity of Greek medicine grew slowly at

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[75] Boissier, G., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 171.
[76] Harrent, A., *Les Ecoles d'Antioche*, p. 58.
[77] Boissier, G., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 172.
[78] Albert, M., *Les Médicines grecs à Rome*, p. 35.

Rome for more than a century. Gradually, however, wealthy Romans adopted the practice of securing physicians—many of them slaves—to care for their households. In the first century B.C., Greek medicine had a secure place in Roman life. Medicine was taught, quite unsystematically, by physicians who took their pupils on visits with them. Later regular schools were established, where problems of medicine, both theoretical and practical, were discussed. Medical instruction was never standardized at Rome, however, and the empiric and charlatan were never restrained.[79]

Physicians practiced both pharmacy and surgery. The Greek physician Dioscorides, who served as an army surgeon during the reign of Nero, may fairly be regarded as the father of pharmacy. His travels with the army gave him an unusual opportunity to study medicinal plants, so that a solid basis of observation underlies his descriptions. His *Materia Medica* was very popular in the Middle Ages.[80] Rome's most distinctive contributions to the practice of medicine were the development of hospitals and municipal medicine. A medical corps formed a part of the permanent military organization of the Empire, and army and navy hospitals were established for the care of sick and wounded soldiers and sailors.[81] Many cities employed public physicians. The hospitals of the Middle Ages were continuations of the Roman public care of the sick.

The most famous physician to practice at Rome was Galen (*c.* 130–*c.* 200 A.D.). Galen was a genuine experimentalist and an accomplished anatomist. He wrote very extensively, and his books were standard in European medicine until the seventeenth century. The writings of Galen, Celsus (Greek historian of medicine at Rome) and Dioscorides are of very great interest to students of education because of their use by the medical faculties of medieval universities.

Philosophy. Greek philosophy became popular at Rome in the second century B.C., just at the time when it had taken on a distinctively utilitarian outlook in the Hellenic world. This practical trend in philosophy accorded very well with the interests of the Romans, who cultivated philosophy less for its intellectual outcomes than for its use in giving breadth and soundness in judgment, comfort in sorrow, and strength and stability of character. Epicurus was much esteemed because he taught reliance upon the intellect and delivered those who followed in his footsteps from the weakness and fears of superstition. Stoicism was highly regarded not only for the insights which it afforded into the nature of things, but also because the ethical principles which it inculcated accorded well with the duties of the Roman public man.

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[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137.

[80] "Dioscorides," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 7, p. 401.

[81] "History of Medicine," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 15, p. 198.

Dominated as it was by utilitarian considerations, philosophy was cultivated at Rome by two very different groups, neither of which was at all similar to the schools of great speculative philosophers of ancient Athens. Philosophy was cultivated in the first place by literary men and men of affairs; Lucretius, Cicero, Vitruvius, Marcus Aurelius, and Boethius are examples of men of this type. They found in philosophy enrichment and freedom of mind, breadth of vision, understanding for the conduct of the practical affairs of life, and consolation in life's reverses. Philosophy was no adventure into the unknown, but was a practical part of the life of every day. The second group who cultivated philosophy at Rome were the professional purveyors of wisdom and consolation, called the "philosophers." These men adopted a professional garb. They were called in for consultation by persons needing advice touching ethical and religious matters. Many of them were inmates of the homes of the wealthy, where they were sustained, much as domestic chaplains formed part of the households of the wealthy in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages. The philosopher had so large a place in Roman life because the Roman local cults had never had any considerable intellectual element or appeal, and because, after the Punic Wars, educated Romans were, quite generally, sceptical of their ancestral religion.

Roman philosophy added nothing of any importance to the sum total of the world's speculative thought. It is of great practical importance, however, not only for its effect upon Roman life and education, but also because of its influence upon Roman law and the development of the Catholic Church. By contributing to the breadth and tolerance of the Roman mind, Epicureanism undoubtedly helped in developing the one trait which, above all other, made the Empire possible. No ancient people ever allowed greater freedom of opinion and personal religion than did the Romans. Stoic philosophy, moreover, made the Roman mind familiar with the idea of the universal, an idea of great importance in the evolution of Roman law. Finally, Greek philosophy as it was developed at Rome was one of the "schoolmasters" which prepared the minds of the Romans for Christian theology, and the habit of listening to the rhetorician and philosopher helped the Christian missionary to a hearing.

Importance and character of Roman law. Roman law is, by all odds, the most original and most significant achievement of the Roman intellect. While Rome remained a small city-state, her laws were few, being the Laws of the Twelve Tables and an oral tradition of their interpretation. In the later Republic the body of the law grew very rapidly. Mucius Scaevola, about 100 B.C., wrote eighteen books on the law in which he laid down general principles, and "outlined legal institutions."[82] The creation of the imperial system changed the character of Roman law profoundly. The public interest and the prerogative of the *Princeps* more and more limited the power of the *pater,* of the master of slaves, and of the local magnate. The narrowly and exclusively Roman features of the law were gradually lost, and those elements which were the result of the common political needs of the entire Empire and of logical demands dominated the system. The lawyers of the later Republic and of the early Empire still received the culminating parts of their professional training in the law courts, but they came to their professional studies deeply read in history, literature, and philosophy. A great succession of legal scholars built up the body of Roman legal literature.

How Roman law developed. From very early times Roman Praetors, supreme judges and legislators, issued their edicts annually. Each Praetor, in the edict which he posted at the beginning of his term in office, announced the laws and rules of procedure by which he proposed to be guided during his term of office—reaffirming such decrees of his predecessor as he planned to adopt and making such changes as he saw fit. The practice of incorporating into edicts elements of permanent value from the edicts of predecessors was reinforced by the powerful sanction of the "customs of the ancestors" *(mos majorum),* so that a "Perpetual Edict" (a body of principles continuing through successive changes of the law) gradually emerged. In 157 B.C., the Senate ordained that "praetors should administer the law in terms of the Perpetual Edict," and this law was re-enacted in 66 B.C.[83] Under Hadrian (117 A.D.) an attempt was made to put the Edict in final form, and an eminent jurist named Salvius Julianus, then Praetor, was commissioned by the Emperor to do this work. This measure virtually deprived the Praetors of their power to make laws. The Edict was not to be changed. New cases not covered by it could only be decided by the Emperor; who, in making decisions respecting cases not covered specifically by the Edict, adhered as closely as possible to its principles.

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[82] Sherman, C. P., *Roman Law in the Modern World,* Vol. I, p. 135.

[83] Amos, Sheldon, *Roman Civil Law,* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Company, 1883.

Hadrian's effort to put the Edict in final form forced lawyers to pay a great deal of attention to precedent; there was little of the experimental attitude in Roman legal scholarship. Roman law was conservative. Under the Empire it was increasingly dominated by the Emperor.

Hadrian's reforms were followed by a period of intense activity in legal scholarship. A great succession of legal writers—among whom Gaius, Paul, Ulpian, and Modestinus were pre-eminent—developed Roman law into one of the most extensive and closely articulated bodies of scholarship in the history of thought.

In the later Empire the law could grow, it is clear, by the decisions of the Emperor. It could grow in a second fashion. The opinions of properly qualified jurists were accorded the force of law: the writings of Papinian, Paul, Gaius, Ulpian, and Modestinus, and the free comments of other professional jurists carried the weight of imperial authority. As first the Praetors and then the Emperors issued their edicts, as cases were decided and opinions were given, in this manner, Roman Law grew.

In deciding cases involving persons of different nations, the Roman jurists attempted to appeal to principles common to the laws of all nations, and so to build up a universal law *(jus gentium)*. The idea of a universal law was reinforced by the Stoic conception of a law of nature; the idea was at last attained of a body of law applicable everywhere, not subject to change, and metaphysical in character—grounded in the nature of things, or in the Will of God.

The teaching of law. In the very early Empire, private schools of law were established, the teachers of which were sustained by their pupils' fees—during the reign of Augustus, Massurius Sabinus maintained himself by the fees paid to him by his students. Schools of the law seem to have been private until the fifth century, when Theodosius established public professorships of law at Constantinople. Great private law schools had long been maintained at Rome, Arles in Gaul, Beyrout, Carthage, Athens, Alexandria, and other centers. The private schools had developed the teaching of law with great success, and had influenced the development of the law itself.[84] The work of the law schools was of university level.

The language of Roman law from the first was Latin. Greek, however, came to be used in the East, and Justinian, although strongly attached to the Latin language, was forced to use Greek in issuing his later laws.

Lecturers on the law adopted a method developed for teaching of literature: a textbook was read, and the lecturer made comments. It was a practice of students to commit to memory the very words of the edicts and of legal commentators, the lack of printed books making such a practice necessary. The fully developed law course required four and sometimes five years for its completion.

Theodosius made the teaching of law a public monopoly. In the latter half of the fifth century, candidates aspiring to practice in the courts of the Praetorian Prefect were required to show a certificate, signed and sworn to by a professor of law, that they had studied law and were proficient in it. Justinian permitted the public teaching of law in three cities only—Rome, Constantinople, and Beyrout.[85]

The great Codes and the survival of Roman law. There were two especially notable formulations of Roman law in antiquity, those effected, respectively, by the Emperors Theodosius and Justinian. The *Code* of Theodosius is of especial interest because it furnished the Roman element in the barbarian codes which were drawn up to govern the kingdoms established on the ruins of the western part of the Empire by the invaders who had destroyed Roman government there. Much of Roman law survived for centuries in the compilations of the barbarian kingdoms.

Of even greater interest is the great compilation of Roman law made by Justinian (*r.* 527–565 A.D.). The commissioners, empowered to carry out the great editorial task ordered by this Emperor, prepared the following works, the whole comprising the *Body of the Civil Law (corpus juris civilis):* (1) *the Institutes of Justinian,* a textbook of the fundamentals of Roman law; (2) the *Code,* containing the imperial ordinances which were to be regarded as in effect after its promulgation; (3) the *Digest* or *Pandects,* a collection of opinions from the writings of 39 famous Roman jurists; and (4) the *Novels,* which contained the imperial decrees issued after the publication of the *Code.*

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[84] Amos, Sheldon, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Justinian was greatly interested in the teaching of the law, and the consolidation of Roman law into the *Body of the Civil Law* had, as a principal aim, the reform of legal education. His *Code* reaffirmed the provisions of the Theodosian *Code* affecting the University of Constantinople and established standards of teaching and the content of courses in law. When, in 554 A.D., he reconquered Italy, he made provision for public professorships of literature, medicine, and law there.

The course of study at the three public law schools allowed by Justinian—Constantinople, Beyrout, and Rome—was five years in length. The *Institutes* were studied first, and in the latter part of the first year the *Digest* was taken up. Its study was continued through the fourth year, and in the fifth pupils studied the *Code.* The Prefect of the City of Constantinople saw that this scheme was put into effect in his city; and, for Beyrout, the scheme was enforced by the President of the Maritime Province of Phoenicia, assisted by the Bishops and professors of law of the city.[86]

Statuette of a British Ploughman of Roman Days.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

Roman law continued to be taught at Constantinople throughout the Middle Ages. The reconquest of Rome, effected by Justinian in 554 A.D., was of great moment in the history of legal scholarship. The *Code* of Justinian was established in Italy. New successes of the barbarians drove the Empire from much of Italy, but it held the Exarchate of Ravenna until the middle of the eighth century, and within the territory of the Exarchate, the

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[86] Amos, Sheldon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.

University of Bologna was to rise in the eleventh century. The Emperors, moreover, continued in close alliance with the Bishops of Rome, so that the *Body of the Roman Law* continued to live by being taught and practiced in courts, and maintained no small hold for centuries in the north of Italy, where it was to have so glorious a revival.

Later Roman textbooks. One of the exceedingly important ways in which later Roman scholars affected schools in the Middle Ages was by the production of textbooks. Certain of these books were used more widely and over a longer period than any other manuals ever written. Writers of textbooks most widely used in medieval Europe were *Donatus, Martianus Capella,* an author, name unknown, who produced a book called the *Distichs of Cato,* and *Priscian.*

Aelius Donatus, who was a grammarian of Rome and a teacher of St. Jerome, flourished about 350 A.D. Donatus wrote commentaries on Virgil and Terence and a long grammar which treats every department of the subject. He is best known, however, for a brief treatise on the parts of speech, usually called the *Ars Minor,* a contraction of a widely used title of the book which may be translated the *Lesser Study of Donatus about the Parts of Speech (Donati De Partibus Orationis Ars Minor).* The *Ars Minor,* popularly known as the *Donat,* is a small book. The text, which, with an English translation, Professor W. J. Chase prints as a part of a study, fills less than fourteen pages.[87] From about 400 until 1500 A.D. no other elementary Latin grammar was used so widely. Other introductions were imitations of it. The form which it imposed upon the subject was followed until recently, and the earliest English grammars adopted the same form. Every schoolboy began the climb up the steep stair to learning with the *Donat,* and the term came to be used of any introduction whatsoever.

One of the most popular textbooks of the Middle Ages was the collection of moral maxims in verse, called the *Distichs of Cato.* This book was certainly a product of the later Roman Empire, but in the Middle Ages and even later it was thought to be the work of Cato the Elder. The *Distichs* is an elementary reader, consisting of one hundred and forty-three couplets. Self-control, duty to others, prudence, and religion are subjects of most of the maxims.[88]

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[87] Chase, Wayland Johnson, *The Ars Minor of Donatus.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and in History, No. 11, 1926.

Early in the fifth century there resided at Carthage, in northern Africa, an advocate named Martianus Mineus Felix Capella, who produced, probably between 410 and 429 A.D., what has been called "the most successful textbook ever written."[89] The book of Martianus Capella is a small encyclopedia, and the name of it is the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury.* In an edition edited by A. Dick, and published at Leipzig by Teubner, in 1925, the text of the *Marriage,* with rather extensive footnotes, runs to 535 pages—4½ by 7 inches. The work is in nine books. Two books are introductory, and one book is devoted to each of the seven liberal arts. The scheme of the book is this: A marriage was projected between Mercury, one of the Olympic Gods, and Philology, or encyclopedic learning. The bride was placed among the immortals. At the wedding, gifts were brought in, and among the gifts were seven maid servants who were introduced by Phoebus Apollo himself. The seven were Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic (Logic), Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. Each maid stepped forward in turn and was described, as respects her outward appearance, by the teller of the tale. After each had thus had her appearance described she spoke for herself, expounding her own art. The result was an epitome of the seven liberal arts.

The most popular advanced grammar throughout the Middle Ages was that produced early in the sixth century by Priscian, a grammarian of Constantinople. Sixteen of the eighteen books of Priscian's great work were devoted to accidence, and books XVII and XVIII were devoted to syntax. So popular was his magnificent compendium that more than 1000 medieval manuscripts of it survive. Late in the seventeenth century the phrase had it that to make a false syntax was to "break Priscian's head."

Schools in Italy and Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries. Schools of reading, Latin grammar schools, and schools of Latin rhetoric, as developed at Rome on Greek models before the beginning of the Christian era, continued to be popular and widespread in western Europe, even after the disintegration of Roman political power was well advanced. These schools were predominantly literary. Quintilian, the last great writer on education of the ancient world, was the authority on schools and teaching, and Cicero and Virgil were the authors most diligently studied in schools. Closely connected with the literary emphasis of the schools were the encyclopedic nature of studies, attempts to boil knowledge down to its briefest compass and to present it in epitomes, excessive use of memory in schools, and severity of school discipline. The isolation of literary studies from the main currents of life has seldom been more complete. Roman scholarship had in very large measure lost even the rather limited contact with reality which it had enjoyed earlier. The use of epitomes, the approach to the study of languages through logical grammars, and the formal nature of the study of such literary classics as were used in schools deprived even the study of literature of reality. There was practical teaching. Government clerks, of whom Roman bureaucracy employed a vast number, were taught shorthand and other practical proficiencies either by private teachers or in connection with their work. Land surveyors, architects, and physicians seem to have been taught under a sort of guild system, very largely through practice. Law, as has been indicated, was cultivated in a number of publicly subsidized law schools, but Roman lawyers were now bureaucrats. They were no longer free professional men, but had become cogs in the machinery of the bureaucracy. There were no longer such defenders of the Roman Constitution as was Cicero, or such constitutional lawyers as Ulpian and Gaius. The dictatorship could neither develop nor use them. Roman rhetoric and Roman law had survived the freedom which had created them, and steadily they were becoming mere shells.

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[88] Abelson, Paul, *The Seven Liberal Arts,* p. 16. New York: Teachers College, 1906.

[89] Cole, Percival, *Later Roman Education,* p. 16. New York: Teachers College, 1909.

It is not to be imagined that the weakness of the school system was at all apparent to the educated Romans of the time. Even the Christian leaders of the age were so blind to the internal weakness of the Empire that its collapse under the blows of the barbarians came as a stunning surprise to them; there is no indication that any scholars of the time saw the weakness beneath the veneer of Roman scholarship. Scholarship never showed more devotion to its externals. Minute points of criticism were stressed; polish and finish in literary style were highly esteemed; and conventional forms were elaborated. Much of the poetry of the age is distinguished for charm and finish, but is lacking in depth.[90] The activity of legal commentators and codifiers of the law must have obscured the fact that the great creative age of Roman legal scholarship had passed.

The importance, in this age, of the schools of Gaul is a fact of particular significance. So famous were the schools of Gaul in the fourth century that St. Jerome went from Italy to study in them. They had an important part in the preservation of classical scholarship through the confusion and disruption of the fifth and sixth centuries, and in the transference of learning to the Church. In this connection it may be pointed out that in the fourth and fifth centuries scholars were turning in great numbers to Christianity. There were schools in which pagan scholarship was barely disguised behind a thin veneer of Christianity, there were others in which pagan learning was so distrusted that it was reduced to a minimum, and there were still others in which a serious effort was made to preserve the older literature and scholarship in schools truly Christian. The salvaging of much Latin culture in the Church will be more fully discussed in Chapter XIV of this book. For the present, it must suffice to say that for several generations there were both pagan and Christian teachers in the schools of Italy and Gaul; the gap between ancient and medieval culture was bridged to no small degree by virtue of this mingling of the currents of Christian and pagan cultures.

Studies and methods were, at least as respects outward form, much as they had been in the golden age of Latin scholarship. Elementary education was still virtually a private matter. Paulinus of Pella attributes his own elementary education to his parents.[91] In the elementary school the child learned his letters, and was taught to combine them into syllables and words, after the fashion prescribed by Quintilian. He learned to write, using first wax tablets and later paper or parchment. Arithmetic, too, was taught in elementary schools.

The Roman boy of the fourth or fifth century advanced from the elementary school—the school of the *litterator*—to that of the *grammaticus,* where he passed through the circuit of the liberal arts as had his predecessors of earlier centuries. He approached the study of Latin literature—which made up the principal part of the curriculum of the Latin grammar school—principally through grammar. Great care was taken to train pupils to speak both correctly and beautifully.[92]

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[90] For a detailed account of Roman literary scholarship in this age see Sandys, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. I, pp. 217–250. Third Edition. Cambridge: The University Press, 1921.

[91] Haarhoff, Theodore, *Schools of Gaul*, p. 54. Oxford: The University Press, 1920.

From the school of the *grammaticus*, the pupil passed to the school of the *rhetor*. Studies and methods were very much those of the earlier grammar schools described by Quintilian. Formal debates on prescribed topics, reading, lectures, composition, and public exercises in oratory and in the criticism of speeches made up the principal work of the school.

While the decline of Roman schools and learning was due in no small degree to the decline of the cultures which sustained them, some elements of weakness in Roman scholarship itself contributed to that decline and to the ruin of Roman civilization. First, the Romans always took a too narrowly utilitarian and practical view of the value of studies and of the arts. This led them to exploit the arts rather than to cultivate them. They were throughout their entire history parasitic upon the Greek world and upon southwestern Asia and northern Africa as respects the fine arts, practical arts, and pure scholarship. They organized, applied, and used the arts and sciences developed by other peoples, but their creative work was never of the quality of that of some of the peoples whom they conquered and used. Theirs was the life of dominating power, rather than that of the free creative activity; of material force rather than of the self-sustaining spirit. Second, Roman scholarship was, to a most unusual degree, divorced from real life. Its basis was taken from the Greeks, and it had no such "natural" rooting in a sustaining culture as had that of the Athenians. Roman oratory and law did, for some time, enjoy such a connection with significant activities, but the Empire found little place for the man of public spirit and independent judgment. Once the *jurisconsults* became servants of imperial power, Roman legal scholarship sank to the level above which Roman letters and science never rose. Third, the Romans lost their liberties in the second and first centuries before the birth of Christ; or rather, they traded them for membership in the vast fellowship of freebooters which was the Roman Empire. Now scholarship and civilization, which are its creation, are possible only in free societies, held together by good will. Lacking freedom and good will, Roman civilization ran down steadily until it fell in ruins.

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

The ruin of the Latin world. The weakness of Roman imperialism became clear late in the fourth century and in the fifth century when band after band of barbarians broke the Roman line and marauded or settled in parts of western Europe and in Africa which had been Roman for centuries. Goths and Vandals raided with but little check. The legions were recalled from England, and the Saxons imposed their will on the Britons, made helpless by centuries of dependence. Rome itself was sacked. Roman political power declined, until there was no leadership among the people save that afforded by the clergy. The barbarians established kingdoms. They employed Roman civil servants, drew up written codes of law, and permitted cases involving Romans to be tried by Roman law. But the integrity of ancient civilization had been destroyed, and nothing could restore or save ancient culture from complete wreck. Tyranny stalked the kingdoms erected by the barbarians, and was rather stimulated than arrested by the assassinations and civil wars which it provoked. Cities and villages wasted away. Roads and lines of shipping were abandoned, and western Europe settled down to the centuries of religious devotion, of local and personal government, and of farming, which laid the bases for the rise of commerce, cities, the fine and liberal arts, scholarship, universities, parliaments, and constitutional monarchy in the later Middle Ages. Before a body of responsible rulers could once more be built up, centuries of government by public enemies and consequent anarchy were to intervene.

Many answers have been made to the question: What had so weakened an empire of 100,000,000 persons that relatively small bodies of barbarian troops could raid over it at will? The prevalence of malaria, the victory of Christianity, and excesses of luxury and of immorality have all been suggested as explanations. Now evidence of any serious decline of the virility of the peoples of western Europe is lacking, so the first explanation is unconvincing. As to the second explanation: it was not the fact that the weary and heavy-laden of Rome turned to Christianity, but the evils which made them weary and heavy-laden that sapped the morale of the Roman people. As for the last explanation: luxury and vice are themselves symptoms, rather than causes of social decline.

The root of the difficulties which destroyed the Roman Empire was inherent in imperialism itself; for imperialism exists to exploit. Since it exists to exploit it tears down civilization in any area which it controls faster than the creative forces within that area can build it up. Where imperialism is successful, it inevitably destroys itself and everything it touches by gradually using up and wearing out all the material and spiritual resources which come under its power. The nobles and bureaucrats of fourth- and fifth-century Italy and Gaul dominated the Empire in their own interests. They had attained senatorial rank either by the power of their money or by virtue of some service they had rendered the emperor and the bureaucracy which sustained him and of which he was head. The class of small, independent, landowning farmers had disappeared. Land was held by the nobles in vast estates, and cultivated by semi-free peasants, who were bound to the land, and who were virtually deprived of civil rights. The nobles enjoyed special privileges, and were usually able to evade paying taxes. The vitality of the provincial towns was steadily sapped. The great nobles did not patronize the traders or artisans of the smaller towns, and the agricultural laborers had no buying power. The burden of taxation, evaded by the nobles, fell heavily upon the towns. Members of the upper classes of the towns were appointed tax-collectors, and held responsible for the payment of taxes into the treasury. Not infrequently these unfortunates fled from the Empire and took refuge among the barbarians, in order to escape from intolerable difficulties. Some of the wealthiest among the townsmen were able to purchase agricultural estates and join the class of the nobles—the privileged class of the Empire. Others sank in the social and economic scale. The middle class, a principal stabilizing force in any social order, had all but vanished.

The machinery of the Empire, moreover, was poorly adapted to maintain Roman political organization in the West. Constantine the Great had established a second capital on the Bosporus, but in the sixth century Constantinople had become the only capital. The Teutonic tribes were professedly protectors for the Empire of particular areas, and churchmen from the West had their elections approved by the Emeror's government at Constantinople. But differences of language and points of theology were driving a wedge between the East and the West. Late in the sixth century, Greek became the official language of the Empire. The rulers of the Frankish and Gothic kingdoms dropped all pretense of being dependents of the Emperor. The independence of the Roman Church was asserted and maintained. Europe was about to shake itself free from Asia, and build independently for hundreds of years.

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13

Early Christianity and Education

I. A NEW ETHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL FORCE

Influence. In the progress of western education, Christianity has been the supreme influence. It is impossible to understand the institutions and culture of occidental civilization during the past two thousand years without this new ethical force. The Christian religion not only introduced higher ideals of moral life, but it furnished new motive power for the regeneration of personality and the reorganization of society. For these reasons it is essential that educational history and genetic and social psychology recognize the profound role of Christianity in the evolution of human culture.

What is Christianity? As to the essence of Christianity and its real significance in human evolution, men have always disagreed—most violently; that it created a new spiritual ethos none can deny.

The Christian ethos had its original source in the profound ethical capacities of the ancient Hebrews; it was the final fruitage of their genius for religion and of their spiritual strivings. At its birth Christianity took the form not primarily of a new doctrine but of a transcendent Personality—a Personality that challenged the supreme reverence of all genuinely good men. All great religions, it may be observed, have grown out of striking personalities. This cannot be otherwise, for man can find spiritual satisfaction only in the worship of personality. Christianity arose because men saw in the teachings and conduct of Jesus the concrete exemplification of those attributes which they associate only with their most exalted ideals, the concept of God. It was a new step in the process of human evolution by which mankind, individually and as a whole, is being gradually lifted to a higher level of emotional and ethical existence. This evolutionary movement takes the individual out of the narrow confines of selfhood by filling him with a universal spirit.

The new consciousness of God. Long before the beginning of our era the religious genius of the Hebrew had evolved the idea of God as a creative, spiritual, and holy ruler. He was conceived as personal, but rather too exalted and remote for the enthusiastic devotion of ordinary mortals. Accepting these attributes as fundamental, Jesus went further and perfected the concept of God by emphasizing his universality, his benevolence, and his ethical nature. To the legalistic Jews, God was a local deity who could be worshiped most acceptably only in Jerusalem. Jesus insisted that God is an infinite, and therefore omnipresent, spirit and can be worshiped anywhere. To the formalists, worship was ritualistic and legalistic. Jesus rejected both of these modes of religious devotion and declared that true worship is not so much a matter of form or ceremony as an attitude of the heart.

Again, Jesus emphasized the fatherhood of God. He is a benevolent Being who feels a profound and providential concern for all creatures, especially for every human being. Jesus assumed that men may experience a much more direct and personal communion with God than had been thought possible. He did not define God in metaphysical terms, as did the philosophic Greeks, but revealed his emotional and volitional, that is to say, his personal character: God is spirit; God is love. No one had ever fully conceived of deity in just this way, and the idea, though not absolutely novel, was startling, and, to the formalistic Jew, blasphemous. The idea of God as father, as has already been seen,[1] was conceived by many during Old Testament times; but it had come to be completely overshadowed by the idea of God as creator and lawgiver. As Jesus conceived him, God is goodwill and embraces in his loving providence all animate nature from the insignificant sparrow to man himself. This new view found a deep response in the hearts of multitudes who heard Jesus teach.

Finally, Jesus insisted that God is an ethical being. Only those who approach him according to the inner law of ethical life can enter into intimate relation with him and know his true nature. "Blessed," declared Jesus, "are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Again, "He that willeth to do his will, shall know of the doctrine." In this conception of God, Jesus perfected the deep ethical insight of the prophets of the Old Testament, and brought the spiritual genius of the Hebrew to full fruitage.

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[1] See page 130 of this text.

The new ideal of human personality. Jesus' conception of deity carried with it a new view of men, and of the transcendent dignity and significance of individual life. He placed the individual soul in the balance over against all earthly possessions, even the material world as a whole, and still maintained that the soul of every man is infinitely greater in value. By revealing the infinity of the moral universe and the immortality of goodness, he did more for the ethical evolution of the race than had been done by any other teacher. The hope of a glorified existence beyond this disappointing vale of tears gilded the humblest and most miserable existence in this world with sublime significance; the sufferings of the present are as trifles in comparison with the happiness and glory which are to come to the believer who follows Christ.

Christianity revealed to the individual a new goal and purpose for his striving. It held up before man as the only ideal that can completely satisfy the human heart and the ultimate end for which he was created the perfection of divine personality. Jesus commanded his disciples, "Be ye perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect." Again, in answering the inquiry of the good young Pharisee, "What lack I yet?" he declared: "If thou wouldest be perfect, go sell all that thou hast," thus revealing to him an absolute imperative for his life. This ideal provided a new goal for every individual, one in which all elements of human personality may be harmoniously coordinated.

Jesus insisted, furthermore, that the realization of the ideal life must come in accordance with the principle of the cross, that is to say, the law of continued self-sacrifice. This principle he discovered in nature: "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This fundamental law of plant life, Jesus believed, is likewise the universal law of the whole ethical universe. "He that saveth his life shall lose it, but he that loseth it for my sake shall find it." Like the plant, man must die and be reborn to live anew in a larger, better life. Happiness, or the state of inner peace called "blessedness," can be attained not by self-assertion and self-aggrandizement, but only by the sacrifice of the individual in service to God and to fellowman. The principle of the cross seemed strange and baffling to human thinking. But to the mind of Jesus it was the inescapable law of nature and of God; a law so universal in its scope that even he owed implicit obedience to its demand.

The code of ethics announced by Jesus differed radically from the precepts of all other teachers; it was at variance with the rigid legalism of Judaism, the cold rationalism of the philosophical schools, and with the bestial sensuality of the pagan world. Christianity demanded the unqualified subordination of every human appetite and desire to the dominion of divine goodness. Of sexual vice, so repulsively prevalent everywhere in the pagan world, it was commanded, "Let it not be once named among you." Avarice also was sternly condemned, for "no covetous man shall inherit the kingdom of God." Every item of the old moral law was reaffirmed, but its interpretation was deepened by the Founder of Christianity. In place of the old humanistic virtues—temperance, courage, endurance, wisdom, and justice—Christianity substituted the virtues of the spirit: faith, hope, and love.

The motive power for the realization of this exalted ideal and ethical code of Christianity was nothing less than passionate love and devotion for Jesus. Christianity appealed most strongly to those who had a burning desire for righteousness. For the Christian this devotion was directed to a living being who incarnated the ideal personality or selfhood that every man must strive to attain for the perfect realization of his own ethical nature. In place of Platonic love of an abstract and frigid ideal, Christianity offered the glowing devotion of the heart for the divine personality objectified in the living "Son of God." This devotion combined the various sentiments of friendship, filial piety, love of heroism, and love of the ideal, into one sublimated emotion, the love of Christ. Love may be defined as intensified goodwill, and this is the motif of the Christian life, the genuine Christian spirit *per se*. Such was the new ethical power that made men willing missionaries of the cross, ready to endure the most excruciating suffering and martyrdom for the Master's sake.

The reorganization of society. In the ancient world the preservation of the state or communal life was the basic reason for moral behavior. The patriotic citizen was the dominant ideal, and civic or tribal interest was the organizing motive for moral conduct. With the loss of national independence, first by the Jew and later by the small Greek states, patriotism could no longer be the supreme moral sanction. The consequent growth of the individualistic spirit was at once the result and the cause of moral decay in ancient civilizations. To find a substitute for the loss of civic patriotism in the building of character—that is, to find a new motive for the organizing of individual personality that would prove sufficiently powerful for the purpose—was the greatest ethical and educational need of the ancient world.

The human spirit cannot be permanently content within the circumscribed bounds of any civic or social institution or conventional patterns. By virtue of his power to conceive the universal, man's thought and action became potentially infinite. Loyalty to the group is a vital educational force in the more primitive stage of society, but as man's experience broadens, he becomes conscious of an imperative mission to a larger whole. Differences of race, class, nationality, and creed may divide men on the lower levels of life, but all such divisive factors must be subordinated in the moral universe. Jesus revealed the kingdom of God or of Heaven, as the most comprehensive form of human society. This kingdom is spiritual or ethical and, therefore, universal in its scope and in its dominion. Loyalty to God and his kingdom must supersede the narrow feeling of patriotism for all tribal institutions whatsoever.

In this new society all men are on an ethical equality, for all are fellow citizens. The Stoics conceived the brotherhood of man, basing their idea upon the possession of a universal rationality that is innate in every individual. This principle was too narrow, because rationality is not active in the infant, nor in the mass of humanity. Jesus affirmed brotherhood on the principle that all men are children of the universal Father, and they must needs strive to be like him in love and holiness. One must love his neighbor as much as he loves himself, and every man is his neighbor. Moreover, in this spiritual realm there must be no assumption of domination of one over another, for all are on an equality of brotherhood. When Jesus forbade his disciples to exercise lordship over one another, or even to accept the title "Master," he proclaimed an entirely new order of human relationship.

The kingdom of Heaven is the most ideal institution in that it harmonizes all the legitimate interests of the individual with all the essential interests of society. It balances the desires and needs of the individual with the welfare of society as a whole, and it equalizes the higher, spiritual goods of life. So perfect is this new principle that men can never hope to realize it fully. Nevertheless, ideal though it may be, it has not been without profound influence upon the evolution of human society and institutions.

The new Christian society was based upon the personal love of its members for Christ and for one another. Sacrifice of self and service to others and "the esteeming of one another better than oneself" were its basic principles. By putting all individuals regardless of their qualities upon the same ethical level, Jesus did away with individual ambition and the natural antagonisms that divide races, sects, and classes. The appeal of these new principles to the lower classes of human society was dynamic, for it brought to them a deeper sense of the dignity and value of their individual lives.

The new kingdom was not indifferent to the economic aspect of society. Jesus was raised in relative poverty, and he observed everywhere about him an intense struggle for bread. His first prayer was "Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done"; then followed, "Give us this day our daily bread." He admonished his followers, "Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or, What shall we drink, or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."[2] The setting up of the new spiritual order was the indispensable preliminary step; a more benevolent economic order would follow as a matter of course. Jesus and his Apostles pooled their resources and lived out of a common purse. After his departure the Church of Jerusalem practiced a voluntary communism. Further hints of the working out of the economic principles of Christianity are given in the *Acts of the Apostles* and in the *Didache*,[3] or *Teachings of the Apostles*. Christian charity was made the basis for the progress of the new civilization.

The Church. Jesus left a small body of disciples and an institution in a most incipient state of organization but no writings. To this institution he gave no detailed instructions or directions.

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[2] *Matthew*, 6:31–33.

[3] The practice of Christian charity was a powerful force in winning men to the Church. At one time the Church at Antioch supported 3,000 poor and supervised establishments for the care of the sick, of strangers, and of widows and others. Strange to say, no pagan critic charged that many joined the Church as bread-and-butter Christians. Persecution prevented such hypocrisy.

His reliance was not on authority and fixed patterns but upon the Spirit, which, he promised, would come upon his followers to guide them in all things. The Church, therefore, was neither a mere aggregation of individual believers, nor was it like ordinary human institutions, but a genuine spiritual organism with Christ as its central head and many members on absolute equality.

The Christian Church as the visible form of the Kingdom became the training school for the new pattern of human relationship. In the primitive Church, master and slave sat side by side and treated each other as "brothers beloved."[4] This attitude was strikingly novel and appealing at a time and in a social order in which there was not as much regard for human personality as for the beast of the field. Infanticide was prevalent; murder, gladiatorial combats, and inhuman cruelty abounded. Slavery was accepted without the slightest question as to its humane character. Woman was regarded merely as a tool for man's pleasure. The wildest and most degrading sexual abuses were openly practiced. Against these and all similar evils, the new ethical principle was unalterably at war.

Relation of the Kingdom and the Church to the State. The new institutions that Christ established were speedily challenged to define their relation to the state as the ruling power in human affairs. Conflict from inherent differences of interest was inevitable. The Church and Kingdom represent the universal, the absolute; the state tends to be particularistic. Jesus resolved the conflict by his principle, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." Later Peter, when threatened with arrest for preaching, declared, "We must obey God rather than man." Paul counseled obedience to civic authorities as a Christian duty, but early Christianity made loyalty to Christ its primary aim and did not emphasize civic patriotism.

II. THE NAZARENE TEACHER

Jesus a teacher and educator.—Jesus must be acknowledged as the greatest teacher of all time in both the general and specific use of the word. With several unimportant exceptions New Testament authors invariably speak of him as a teacher or as teaching. He was commonly addressed as "Rabbi," which means teacher. In an age when every Jew venerated the teaching office with fanatical respect, it was natural that he should follow the rabbinical method of propagating his doctrines. Both in dealing with the large crowds of people and with the small group of disciples "he sat down" after the manner of the teacher and gathered his pupils about him. Only by the procedure of careful instruction could he hope to lead men to understand doctrines so profound and radical and to prepare disciples to spread these doctrines throughout a hostile world. Old ideas had to be uprooted and new interpretations of truth inculcated; men of narrow and unstable character had to be transformed into willing martyrs for the crucified and despised Redeemer of men; and poor and unlearned folk had to be trained to be heroic missioners of the novel, invisible kingdom. For this reason he rarely preached, but constantly resorted to those calm and dignified modes of instruction that make the most permanent impressions on their hearers.

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[4] As an example we have the interesting case of the slave, Onesimus, whom Paul sent back to his master, Philemon. In his letter Paul states that he is sent back, "not now as a bond servant, but above a bond servant, a brother beloved." (*Philemon*, 16)

His education. As to his own education, one may conjecture that Jesus received an elementary education either from his mother or at the synagog school in Nazareth. Doubtless, too, he availed himself of opportunities to hear the peripatetic rabbis, who from time to time visited the village of Nazareth to instruct the people in the law. Then there were the weekly services of the synagog which he attended "as was his custom." His behavior in the Temple at Jerusalem when at twelve years of age he became a "son of the law," indicated a profound interest in learning, precocious for his years. Other than such occasional instruction, he received none. There is no reason to believe that he drew his doctrines from sources other than the Old Testament, from observation of life and nature about him, and from the depth of his own inner consciousness. He learned to read and write, and probably spoke Hebrew and perhaps some Greek as well as the Aramaic which was the common language of Palestinian Jews.

Socrates and Jesus compared. As a teacher, Jesus has sometimes been compared to Socrates. There are several points of striking resemblance between the two supreme masters of the pedagogical art. Both confined their attention strictly to the ethical realm of thought; both were extremely simple, direct, and fearless; both displayed wonderful art in using the common objects and ordinary situations of life to explain their ideas. Moreover, their aims were similar: to lift men to a loftier plane of thinking and living. They agreed also in that they did not teach knowledge already formulated, but opened to view new realms of truth. Both were put to death because of teaching, and neither of them left any written statement of his doctrines. Here, however, the similarity ends and we find the greatest divergency.

Socrates was always critical and analytic. He employed the dialectical and inductive methods of research. He was intent upon provoking reflection, awakening intellectual insight, and arousing a critical judgment; Jesus was affirmative, Socrates skeptical. By skillful questioning that usually ended in exasperating his auditor, Socrates endeavored to provoke independent thought. Primarily the appeal of Jesus was not to the intellectual nature, but to the heart, the conscience, and the will; that is, to the spiritual center of man. He sought to quicken man's ethical sensibilities and to recall his spiritual nature from the wilderness in which it was lost because of religious formalism. Jesus' instruction was simple, sympathetic, and wholly devoid of dialectic subtlety or argumentation.

Jesus' methods. Jesus' methods of instruction, though not without precedence, were really original and deserve much more pedagogical consideration than they have usually received.

1. *The conversational method.* Throughout his public teaching, Jesus usually employed informal conversations. He resorted to this method in dealing with individuals, and in the intimacy of the circle of the twelve disciples. It was direct, natural, familiar. Questions were asked and answered, difficulties were proposed and removed. Examples of such discussions were the conversations with Nicodemus, with the Samaritan woman at the well, and the last discourses with the disciples. These occasions were somewhat more formal than ordinary human intercourse, and they were invariably marked by a purpose distinctly pedagogical. The same method was also employed at times in combating the subtle attempts of his enemies to entrap him.

2. *The gnomic method.* During the early period of his teaching, Jesus frequently resorted to the use of *gnomes* or proverbs. He never delivered reasoned or analytical addresses such as we are accustomed to today; even his sermons, so far as they have

been recorded for us, did not partake of the exegetical character in which a central theme is logically expanded. His utterances were sharp, short statements of truth of the epigrammatic type. They were often figurative and always vivid and pungent. The use of the gnome or apothegm as the current mode for the expression of moral truth had long ago become universal among the Jews through the *Proverbs* of Solomon, and it continued to be one of the methods employed by rabbinical instructors.

This gnomic method for the expression of ethical wisdom was not accidental; moral experiences readily crystallize into conceptions which are best retained and communicated as proverbs. Examples of the proverbial expressions of Jesus are the following: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, and among his own people." "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it." "The first shall be last and the last first." And, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." Jesus was especially creative of such expressions.

3. *The parable.* The use of the parable[5] distinguished the teaching method of Jesus above all others. Even here, however, he was not the absolute innovator, for the Old Testament and rabbinic literature contained a number of parables. Though he did not invent this picturesque mode of instruction, no one before or since has approached the matchless examples he has given to literature. The parables of Jesus stand preeminent as the most sublime products of literary and didactic art.

The resort to parabolic expression appeared early in his career, but its full use did not come until later. There was, in fact, a gradual transition from the gnomic form of expression to the fully developed parable. The parable was employed in addressing the disciples and also the multitudes, but more particularly in the presence of the scribes and Pharisees. Jesus resorted to the parable as the most suitable instrument for expressing the deeper truth which he had to communicate. But there was a still more subtle reason for his resort to parables.

On the surface the parable was a plain and simple delineation of some common life situation. It was directed to the imagination, and in this respect was comprehensible alike to the literate and illiterate. At the same time it suggested a deeper spiritual significance that would be apprehended only by those whose minds were not rendered impervious to new views because of prejudice and religious formalism. Parables revealed the spiritual to those who were spiritually minded, and concealed it from those who seeing could not perceive and hearing could not understand. They revealed at the same time that they veiled the truth. Jesus was early convinced of the futility of appealing to "the wise and understanding" of the world, but turned with hopefulness to the "babes" whose moral insight rendered them more susceptible to spiritual enlightenment. He resorted more completely to the use of parables, or, as they were called, "dark sayings," when the mounting enmity of the scribes and Pharisees prompted them to catch him in his words. Under these circumstances came the statement, "and without a parable spake he not unto them."

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[5] *Parable* means a placing or throwing of one thing alongside another as if for comparison; the drawing of an analogy.

The parables distinguish Jesus as the master of the sublime art of addressing the imagination in order to appeal alike to the emotions and reason. The language of the parables was particularly picturesque and dramatic. He selected the common incidents of life and ordinary objects of nature as the vehicles to convey profound lessons. Moreover, the parables had another advantage in that they adapted his teachings to the capacity and level of intelligence of his auditors; young and old, the simple as well as the most learned—all were provided food for thought. It may finally be added that on several occasions he devised parables of action for the effective presentation of great lessons. Such, for example, were the washing of the feet of the disciples and the cursing of the fig tree.

✓ *The manner of his teaching.* The manner of his teaching was no less significant than his method, for he taught "with authority and not as the scribes." In his attitude, however, there was neither presumptuous egoism, nor arrogant dogmatism, but always the sublime dignity of a serene spirit which spoke with a certainty and assurance that cannot be disputed. He was positive but not dictatorial. The calm confidence with which he rested his doctrines upon a purely spiritual appeal to the hearts of men is the grandest tribute that has ever been paid to the genuine soundness of the human conscience. In manner, he was fearless, denouncing Pharisaism and hypocrisy in the most scathing terms, even when he clearly foresaw what the inevitable result would be. Above all was the patent fact that he never sought to be coercive, and never disregarded the sanctity of an individual will.

III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN ETHOS

Education is more than the acquisition of a certain body of knowledge; it comprehends the transmission to the younger generation of the entire culture of a people. Now the culture of a people involves an ideal of character and of religious faith, a system of behavior, together with some theory of the universe, however simple it may be. This combination may best be designated by the term *ethos*. In the ancient world there was, for illustration, the Jewish ethos, the Greek ethos, and the Roman ethos. An ethos is the result of development over a long period of time. It normally has a distinctive literature in which the cultural tradition is embodied, but it inheres especially in the customs, habits, prejudices, and attitudes, songs, and myths of the people. How Christianity came to produce such an ethos must now be explained.

1. *Beginning of the Christian ethos.* The Apostles and other early Christians were inspired by contact with a transcendent personality. From this contact they went forth to utter a burning testimony of actual experience; a witness to "what they had seen and heard and handled of the bread of life." They proclaimed their experience with a fiery zeal, and they lived on the promise of the speedy return of the Lord. In view of this expectation there was no need to set up institutions and make preparations for generations to come. The emergency that confronted them required that they rescue with all haste as many souls as possible from eternal fire. They had no literature other than the Old Testament, but this they proceeded to interpret in the light of Jesus as the Messiah. After some years of such evangelistic fervor, it dawned upon the Apostles that it was necessary to take thought for recording and transmitting their personal experience and testimony in written form.

2. *The growth of Christian literature.* The first Gospel to be written was that of Mark. Tradition has it that Mark recorded the life of Jesus as he received the account from Peter with whom he was long associated in missionary work. The date of writing was around the years from 65 to 70. The second Gospel to be written was *Matthew* which followed from about 70 to 75. A few years later the Gentile physician, Luke, who had been the companion of Paul, became interested in investigating at first hand the events in the life of the Lord; as a consequence he wrote the Gospel which bears his name. Later he followed this by the

Acts of the Apostles. During the last decade of the first century, John, "the beloved disciple," wrote out his memories of the life and discourses of the Lord. He was also the author of several Epistles and of *Revelation.* Meanwhile Paul and other Apostles wrote their various epistles for the edification of believers.

In addition to the writings of the New Testament there gradually arose a voluminous literature. The new works took a different character according to the age in which they appeared. The most important of the earlier writings were: (a) The *Didache,* or *Teaching of the Apostles;* (b) *The Epistle of Barnabas;* and (c) *The Shepherd of Hermas.* In the second and third centuries appeared an extensive apologetic and polemical literature. In all these writings, Christianity was forging the main instrument for the embodiment and perpetuation of its teachings.

3. *Development of Christianity.* Christianity began in an experience that was not only uncritical but at the same time was without formulated doctrines. As soon as it came into contact with the learned class, especially those trained in Greek philosophy and science, it was forced to reflect upon its own beliefs and to formulate its positions. As we have already observed, Christianity arose in the era when scholarly men had long engaged in systematizing all branches of knowledge. Under such conditions it was natural that Christian theology and morals should likewise be put into systematic form. To set down a creed now became the need of the time in order to distinguish the true from the false exponents of Christianity. To give consent to or to subscribe to the creed became the official test of orthodoxy. Under the new circumstances the inner experience of Christianity withdrew into the background.

Such was the Christian ethos at the beginning of the second century.[6] Through the following centuries Christianity evolved into an institution with a definite form of government, an ideal of personality, a body of doctrines, and a life of discipline.

IV. INTEGRATION OF GREEK CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY

Attitude of the Eastern Fathers. The Greek Church Fathers were generally favorable to Greek literature, philosophy, and the sciences. They objected to much that was in the literature, especially the stories of the immoral behavior of the gods. In this, however, they were not alone, for none of them could have been more scathing in their criticisms than Plato and Lucian.

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[6] The student will find in any good history of the Christian Church detailed discussion of these developments. Some of them are touched upon again in this text insofar as they concern education.

Paul, the most learned by all odds of first-century Christians, and an Apostle in his own right, did not hesitate to quote from the Greek poets.[7] Moreover, though he does not quote directly from their writings, his thought was plainly influenced by Stoic philosophy.

Late in the second century the greatest Platonist thinker of the day, Clement of Alexandria, became a Christian. Henceforth he interpreted Christianity from the standpoint of Plato's philosophy, for he felt that Greek learning was the pedagog that led the world as well as the individual to Christ. It was natural that a mind steeped in Platonic ideas should apperceive Christianity entirely from this point of view. Philosophy, he contended, was as much a revelation from God to the Greeks as the Old Testament was a revelation to the Jews. It is, furthermore, an indispensable aid to every Christian who would advance to the higher levels of insight into Christian life and truth. A man can be saved without philosophy, but without it he cannot comprehend the deeper things of faith. The Apostle Peter had himself advised, "Add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge." [8]

Origen, the pupil and assistant of Clement, when teaching at Caesarea counseled his young friend Gregory of Thaumaturgus, in regard to his studies as follows:

> I am anxious that you should devote all the strength of your natural good parts to Christianity for your end; and, in order to do this, I wish to ask you to extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a course of study or a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what will serve to explain the sacred Scriptures, in order that all that the sons of the philosophers are wont to say about geometry, and music, grammar, rhetoric and astronomy, as fellow-helpers to philosophy, we may say about philosophy itself in relation to Christianity.[9]

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[7] Paul incorporated the following quotations in his addresses and epistles:

(a) From Aratus, his fellow-townsman of Tarsus, "For we are also His offspring." (*Acts* 17: 28).

(b) From Menander, "Evil communications corrupt good manners." (I *Cor.*, 15: 33).

(c) From Epimenides, "Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons." (*Titus*, I: 12).

[8] 2 *Peter*, 1, 5.

[9] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. X, p. 388, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869; Quoted by Geraldine Hodgson, *Primitive Christian Education*, p. 204. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906.

Gregory of Nazianzen, another of the great Fathers of the East, had a lofty regard for education and held secular literature in high esteem. In his eulogy on his schoolmate, the great Saint Basil, he declared his views:

> I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education; and not only this our most noble form of it which disregards rhetorical ornaments and glory, and holds to salvation; but even that external culture which many Christians ill-judging abhor, as treacherous and dangerous, and keeping us afar from God . . . And as we have compounded healthful drugs from certain of the reptiles; so from secular literature we have received principles of enquiry and speculation, while we have rejected their idolatry, terror, and pit of destruction. Nay, even these have aided us in our religion.[10]

When Julian the Apostate, in the year 362, interdicted Christians from teaching rhetoric, grammar, and philosophy, Gregory of Nazianzen boldly opposed the order by declaring:

> I trust that everyone who cares for learning will take part in my indignation. I leave to others fortune, birth, and every other fancied good which can flatter the imagination of man. I value only science and letters, and regret no labor that I have spent in their acquisition. I have preferred, and shall ever prefer learning to all earthly riches, and hold nothing dearer on earth next to the joys of Heaven and the hopes of eternity.[11]

Most Greek Fathers took the same attitude. Basil "the Great," wrote a small treatise entitled "Address to the youth, how they can read heathen authors to their profit." The correspondence of Saint Basil and the celebrated pagan Sophist, Libanius, is highly interesting. It shows very fully Basil's admiration for learning and literature. In one of these letters be declared,

> I have read your speech, and have immensely admired it. O muses; O learning; O Athens; what do you not give to those who love you! What fruits do not they gather who spend even a short time with you! [12]

This correspondence shows another very revealing point; Saint Basil, although a Christian Bishop, continued to send many young men to Libanius for instruction. Friends in youth, the two men remained on most cordial terms, and the Saint did not hesitate to recommend the instruction of the pagan rhetorician.

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[10] *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII, p. 398, Gregory of Nazianzen, *Panegyric on St. Basil.* New York: Parker & Company, 1894.

[11] Quoted by Hodgson, Geraldine E., *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[12] *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII, p. 325; see also p. lxv. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1895.

In these quotations from the most eminent of the Eastern Fathers, it is clearly seen that they were friendly to Greek culture and learning. It is to be expected, nevertheless, that there should be some exceptions even in the East.

Severe criticism from many modern historians has been hurled at the attitude of Christian leaders toward pagan culture. It is asserted that Christianity was obscurantist and responsible for the Dark Ages.[13] There can be no question that there were many men of distinctly narrow vision and practical tendencies who saw nothing but danger in the pursuit of the higher learning of the pagan world. Not only was this literature morally degrading, and its philosophy misleading, but the science of the pagan world was even attributed to demoniac inspiration. The *Apostolic Constitutions,* written in Syria about the middle of the third century, condemned in bitter terms the use of heathen books.

> Abstain from all the heathen books. For what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? For what defect dost thou find in the law of God, that thou shouldst have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if thou hast a mind to read history, thou hast those of the Prophets, of Job, and of the Proverbs, in which thou wilt find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God. If thou desirest something to sing, thou hast the Psalms; if the origin of things, thou hast Genesis; if laws and statutes, thou hast the glorious law of the Lord God. Do thou therefore utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books.[14]

That a change in the attitude of the Greek Church Fathers took place seems clear from later writings. This change was probably caused by the bitter resentment against persecution by Julian the Apostate and the intense opposition to Christianity on the part of teachers of rhetoric and sophistry. Saint Basil in his older years experienced such a reaction.[15] In writing to Libanius he tells of his preoccupation with the Old Testament and with delightful frankness informs him that he has forgotten all the Sophist had taught him:

> I am now spending my time with Moses and Elias, and saints like them,

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[13] For an impartial discussion of this matter read Argus, S., *The Religious Quest of the Graeco-Roman World,* Chap. VII, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.

[14] Roberts, Alexander, and Donaldson, James (Translators), *Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* Vol. XVII. The Apostolic Constitutions, VI, p. 20. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870.

[15] In his treatise to the youth he cautions them on the indiscriminate reading of pagan poets, historians, and philosophers.

> who tell me their stories in a barbarous tongue . . . If ever I learned anything from you, I have forgotten it.[16]

Western Christianity and culture. True to their practical character, the attitude of the Western Church Fathers was positively hostile to Greek culture. Whereas the Greek was imaginative, creative, and theoretical, the Roman was literal, imitative, and practical. A system of philosophy like the Stoic or Epicurean was a matter of speculative interest for the Greek, but an actual way of living for the Roman; the same was true in regard to Christianity. The Greek-trained Fathers had no difficulty in integrating their knowledge of literature and philosophy with Christian doctrines. The Romans, on the contrary, interpreted Christian ethics more narrowly; Christianity was not merely a theory, but a daily regimen to be practiced in deadly earnest.

The Western Church Fathers, Tertullian, Tatian, Augustine, and Jerome, interpreted Christianity in realistic fashion and vigorously opposed an alliance with Greek philosophy, literature, and science. The attitude of Tertullian was determined by his view of the depravity of human nature. He believed that in the fall of man, Satan "has entirely changed man's nature." As a consequence even his reasoning faculty became perverted. Man, therefore, cannot in his unregenerated state think straight, and his reasoning cannot be trusted. The very fact that Christianity appeared to the unregenerated intellect as absurd and incredible is the very reason Tertullian believed in it. He was the first Christian leader flatly to avow a lack of confidence in human reason.

Tertullian believed that the theories of the pagan philosophers were not to be trusted, even though they borrowed these theories originally from the prophets. Because of the perversion of their minds, they misconceived and altered the truth, "so that what they found certain they made uncertain." Their disputes made "the simple revelation of God" a network of contradictions.

> These are "the doctrines" of men and "of demons," produced for itching ears of the spirit of this world's wisdom: this the Lord called "foolishness," and "chose the foolish things of the world" to confound even philosophy itself. For (philosophy) it is which is the material of the world's wisdom, the rash interpreter of the nature and the dispensation

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[16] *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* Vol. VIII, p. 322. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1895.

> of God. Indeed, heresies are themselves instigated by philosophy. . . . Unhappy Aristotle! who invented for these men dialectics, the art of building up and pulling down; an art so evasive in its propositions, so far-fetched in its conjectures, so harsh in its arguments, so productive of contentions—embarrassing even to itself, retracting everything, and really treating of nothing! Whence spring those "fables and endless genealogies," and "unprofitable questions," and "words which spread like a cancer." From all these, when the apostle would restrain us, he expressly names philosophy as that which he would have us be on our guard against. Writing to the Colossians, he says, "See that no one beguile you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, and contrary to the wisdom of the Holy Ghost." He had been at Athens, and had in his interviews (with the philosophers) become acquainted with that human wisdom which pretends to know the truth, whilst it only corrupts it, and is itself divided into its own manifold heresies, by the variety of its mutually repugnant sects. What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? What between heretics and Christians? Our instruction comes from "the porch of Solomon," who had himself taught that "the Lord should be sought in simplicity of heart." Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition! We want no curious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus, no inquisition after enjoying the gospel! With our faith, we desire no further belief. For this is our palmary faith, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides.[17]

Saint Augustine (354–430), greatest, most learned, and most liberal of the Western Church Fathers, when a young man could not read Virgil without tears because of admiration for his poetry. For some years he was a teacher of rhetoric and won fame as an orator. When he became a Christian, he still commended grammar and rhetoric for mental discipline or for clarity of thought, but he urged that the literature of the pagan world be read with caution. No one exemplified better than he the utilitarian spirit of Roman scholarship. "What purpose is served," was the test of his interest in Greek rhetoric, science, literature, and philosophy. As he grew older, he became more mystical and saw in the faith of the Christian heart the means of attaining truth. The following excerpt shows this attitude:

> What discourses or writings of philosophers, what laws of any commonwealth in any land or age, are worthy for a moment to be compared

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[17] Holmes, Peter, Translator, *The Writings of Q. S. F. Tertullianus*, Vol. II, pp. 8–10. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870.

> with the two commandments on which Christ saith that all the law and the prophets hang: "Thou shalt love the Lord God with all thy heart, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"? All philosophy is here,—physics, ethics, logic: the *first,* because in God the Creator are all the causes of all existences in nature; the *second,* because a good and honest life is not produced in any other way than by loving, in the manner in which they should be loved, the proper objects of our love, namely, God and our neighbour; and the *third,* because God alone is the Truth and the Light of the rational soul. Here also is security for the welfare and renown of a commonwealth; for no state is perfectly established and preserved otherwise than on the foundation and by the bond of faith and of firm concord, when the highest and truest common good, namely, God, is loved by all, and men love each other in Him without dissimulation, because they love one another for His sake from whom they cannot disguise the real character of their love.[18]

Saint Augustine's view of education will be treated at some length in another connection.

The dream of Saint Jerome. The attitude of Saint Jerome toward pagan literature was typical of many others in the West. As a young man he was an ardent admirer of Cicero, whose works he always carried with him. Nevertheless he was unable to harmonize his love of literature with his devotion to Christ. "What communion," he asked, "hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? What has Horace to do with the Psalter, Virgil with the Gospels and Cicero with Paul? . . . We ought not to drink the cup of Christ and the cup of devils at the same time." He related a dream he experienced when he was about to die of a fever:

> Suddenly I was caught up in the spirit and dragged before the judge's judgment seat: and here the light was so dazzling and the brightness shining from those who stood around so radiant, that I flung myself upon the ground and did not dare to look up. I was asked to state my condition and replied that I was a Christian. But He who presided said: "Thou liest; thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian. For where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." Straightway I became dumb.[19]

From that time Jerome resolved to forego his pleasure in pagan literature, a resolution that he found extremely difficult to keep.

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[18] Cunningham, J. G., Translator, *Letters of Saint Augustine,* Vol. II, pp. 192–193. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1875.

[19] Wright, F. A., *Select Letters of St. Jerome,* p. 127. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1933. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

The opposition of Western Christianity deepened as time went on. In 398, the Fourth Council of Carthage formally prohibited the reading of secular works even by the bishops. Pope Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century (540–604) was the most vigorous advocate of the Roman policy. He extended the power of the papacy not only in matters ecclesiastical but also in temporal affairs. He received a good education, but, nevertheless, opposed liberal culture and the reading of pagan literature. There were several reasons for this; first, he was austere in his ideals and habits, and a man practical-minded rather than one of deep insight and intelligence. Furthermore, at this time Eastern Christianity was breaking down because of interminable and innumerable controversies, heresies, and schisms. The Greek Church like the Greek people and city-states was quite incapable of harmony. In the interest of unity the Roman Church found it necessary to reject those liberal studies that led to division of Eastern Christianity. Writing to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne in France, Gregory the Great severely condemned even the elements of culture.

> A report has reached me, a report which I cannot mention without a blush, that you are lecturing on profane literature to certain friends; whereat I am filled with such grief and vehement disgust that my former opinion of you has been turned to mourning and sorrow. For the same mouth cannot sing the praises of Jupiter and the praises of Christ. Consider yourself how offensive, how abominable a thing it is for a bishop to recite verses which are unfit to be recited even by a religious layman. . . . If, hereafter, it shall be clearly established that the information I received was false, and that you are not applying yourself to the idle vanities of secular literature, I shall render thanks to God, who has not allowed your heart to be polluted by the blasphemous praises of unspeakable men.[20]

Gregory boasted that he knew no Greek and had written nothing in Greek; he despised the art of speaking as taught by the masters of rhetoric. He also condemned the art of grammar and fine writing. He wrote,

> I think it absolutely intolerable to fetter the words of the Divine Oracle by the rules of Donatus. Nor have these rules been observed by the translators of any authorized version of the Holy Scriptures.[21]

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[20] Dudden, F. Homes, *Gregory the Great*, Vol. 1, p. 287. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 292.

On this same page is found the statement of Gregory, Bishop of Tours, a contemporary of Gregory the Great, that he was quite unlettered, as he confessed:

> I ask pardon of my readers, if I shall have violated in letters or in syllables the rules of grammar, with which I am not thoroughly acquainted. . . . I ask the indulgence of my readers, for I have not been trained in the study of grammar or instructed in the polite literature of secular authors.

There was good reason why these men were so little acquainted with literary and grammatical rules. The training required of the bishops was extremely low. The interdiction of reading of secular works carried with it a growing contempt for all niceties of speech and learning. The following quotation states the extent of knowledge expected of the bishops as set forth in the Canons of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod in 754 A.D.

> If anyone wishes to be ordained bishop, he must know the psalter perfectly (by heart), that he may therefrom suitably exhort the clergy who are subject to him; and the sacred canons, the Holy Gospel, further, the Apostolos (the apostolic epistles), and the whole of the sacred Scriptures, not merely cursorily, but also thoroughly, and whether he walks according to the divine commands, and so teaches the people. For the essence *(ousia)* of our hierarchy are the divinely-delivered maxims, namely, the true understanding of the Sacred Scriptures, as the great Dionysius (the Areopagite) says.[22]

An education confined to the Scriptures, however thorough it might be, was inadequate for normal civilization.

Hostile attitude to Greek music. At the advent of Christianity Greek music had already undergone great changes. That comprehensive expression of the human soul in dance and song from which the greatest of humanistic products arose had long before expended its creative force. But it still lingered in many important ways. Now, however, the Christian spirit put an end to this pagan activity, which it recognized as a competing form of worship. The real difference between the Greek and Christian music was threefold: difference of origin, of method, and of emotions to be expressed.

> How was Greek Music born? Amidst the patter of the dancers' feet in showers of sunlight and swimming of the senses. But how was

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[22] Hefele, C. J., *A History of the Councils of the Church*, Vol. V, p. 379. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896.

> Christian music coming, in subterraneous vaults, from desperate men, to whom sorrow was a sister and fear their familiar. . . . And these psalms, as we know them differ so much in character from the classical repose of the Greek spirit—for they are pleadings, prayers, passionate lamentations, outpourings of the heart. It is the language of the emotions which they speak.[23]

The fundamental change in the character and method of music is explained by another writer:

> It was, therefore, in the first six centuries, . . . that the final direction of her music, as of all her art, was consciously taken. In reflecting the support of instruments and developing for the first time an exclusively vocal art, and in breaking loose from the restrictions of antique metre which in Greek and Greco-Roman music had forced melody to keep step with strict prosodic measure, Christian music parted company with pagan art, threw the burden of expression not, like Greek music, upon rhythm, but upon melody, and found in this absolute vocal melody a new art principle of which all the worship music of modern Christendom is the natural fruit. More vital still than these special forms and principles, comprehending and necessitating them, was the true ideal of music, proclaimed once for all by the fathers of the liturgy. This ideal is found in the distinction of the church style from the secular style, the expression of individual, fluctuating, passionate emotion with which secular music deals—that rapt, pervasive, exalted tone which makes no attempt at detailed painting of events or superficial mental states, but seems rather to symbolize the fundamental sentiments of humility, awe, hope, and love which mingle all particular experiences in the common offering that surges upward from the heart of the Church to its Lord and Master. In this avoidance of an impassioned emphasis of details in favor of an expression drawn from the largest spirit of worship, church music evades the peril of introducing an alien dramatic element into the holy ceremony, and asserts its nobler power of creating an atmosphere from which all worldly custom and association disappear.[24]

V. HOW CHRISTIANITY FACED ITS EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS.

Christianity an educational religion. It has already been made clear that from its birth Christianity was an educational religion. Jesus was himself a teacher, and he adopted teaching as the chief method of spreading his doctrines. Moreover, he sent his followers forth to make "learners of all nations . . . rehearsing them in all things whatsoever I have commanded you."[25] The *preaching* of the Gospel and *instruction* in Christian conduct were the two methods that Jesus authorized for the propagation of the new Kingdom. As a consequence Christianity chose teaching as one of its two means and made the Church a school.[26] From the days of the Apostles, the teacher was recognized along with the prophet or preacher and the pastor or bishop as an officer in the Church. Furthermore, the Christian consciousness is the result of inner religious experiences and beliefs that never arise spontaneously but are always preceded by a process of teaching and learning Christian truth. The Apostle Paul recognized the need of instruction when he declared, "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?"

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[23] Rowbotham, J. F., *History of Music*, Vol. III, pp. 90–91. London: Trübner & Co., 1887.

[24] Dickinson, Edward, *Music in the History of the Western Church*, pp. 68–69. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.

In considering the Christian propaganda as an educational movement in the strict sense of the term, it is necessary to understand that education is essentially a process by which the family, the tribe, the state, and the country mold the life and conduct of the young. The one characteristic that more than any other marked all ancient education was just this molding of character, the forming of a type of conduct; the intellectual element was not neglected, but it was not the predominant element that it is today. Christianity was, therefore, in full accord with the ancient philosophy of education. The literature of primitive Christianity, especially the *New Testament* and the *Didache,* or *Teachings of the Twelve Apostles,* is pedagogical in intent and character. Its purpose was the cultivation of character by appealing alike to the heart, the intellect, and the will. Christianity furnished a new spirit which was henceforth to guide education, allowing each generation a measure of freedom in interpreting the new ideal, and in selecting the means and method for its attainment.

A. *Christians and the pagan schools.* Converts from paganism to Christianity had to face various perplexing problems with regard to education. Those who were already teachers by profession, (and the names of a number of these have come down in the literature) were confronted by the question whether they should continue to teach. Pagan learning was so intimately bound up with religious ceremonies, and pagan literature required so much exposition of false gods and morals that the Christian could not tolerate them. Tertullian advised such teachers to quit their work of secular instruction because it compromised their consciences.[27] Embarrassment arose also from the fact that so much of the opposition and biting criticism of Christianity came from the pagan teachers of grammar and rhetoric.

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[25] *Matthew* 28:19.

[26] For the distinctive functions of teaching in the primitive Church, consult McGiffert, A. C., *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age,* p. 528 *et seq.,* p. 654 *et seq.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

Christian parents likewise faced a momentous decision. Should they continue to send their boys to the pagan schools for elementary training? Many desired their sons to become acquainted with literature and learning. Since there were no Christian elementary schools, the choice lay between having the children grow up in ignorance or having them attend the existing schools, dangerous though they might be for their moral and religious life. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century advised Christian parents to send their children to pagan schools in spite of the dangers involved. He believed that they could be taught to ignore the worship of the pagan deities. The celebrated Chrysostom agreed with Tertullian, although he had some misgivings.

> If you have masters among you who can answer for the virtue of your children, I should be very far from advocating your sending them to a monastery; on the contrary, I should strongly insist on their remaining where they are. But if no one can give such a guarantee, we ought not to send children to schools where they will learn vice before they learn science, and where, in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul. . . . The choice lies between two alternatives; a liberal education, which you may get by sending your children to the public schools; or the salvation of their souls, which you secure by sending them to the monks. Which is to gain the day, science or the soul? If you can unite both advantages, do so by all means: but if not, choose the most precious.[28]

Many Christians came to feel a deep aversion to pagan schools because of the intimate connection with pagan religious life. Boissier has described the danger in detail as follows:

> All the schools were pagan. Not only were the ceremonies of the official cult, especially the festivals of Minerva, the patroness of the masters and pupils, celebrated there regularly, but the children were taught reading from books full of the old mythology. In the school the Christian child first became acquainted with the deities of Olympus. He was

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[27] Tertullian, *Op. cit.*, *On Idolatry*, Chap. X, "Of Schoolmasters and their Difficulties."

[28] Quoted by Geraldine E. Hodgson, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

> exposed to the danger of receiving impressions contrary to those which he had received at home. The fables he had there learned to detest he heard explained, commented upon and admired every day by his masters. Was it right to put him thus between two opposing schools of thought? What could be done that he might be educated like others without running the risk of losing his faith?[29]

Evidently the danger of contamination was so great that Christian parents could not conscientiously send their boys to the existing schools.

B. *Christian family training.* The scrupulous family training practiced by the Jews was naturally continued by the early Christians. In obedience to the apostolic injunction to "bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," devout mothers and fathers invariably gave their children careful religious instruction. There can be no doubt that the signal recognition Jesus accorded to childhood when he set a child in the midst and declared: "for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," made a lasting impression upon his followers. It convinced them that the young must be the peculiar objects of approach in the propagation of the Gospel.

The New Testament and Church Fathers from the beginning laid emphasis upon home training, especially in religion. Saint Ignatius, the immediate successor of the Apostle John, repeated their admonition:

> Fathers, bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them the holy Scriptures, and also trades, that they may not indulge in idleness.[30]

In obedience to this command, Christian homes were the first schools for the inculcation of Christian doctrines.

Many examples of parental instruction have come down to us. The noble Timothy was tenderly nurtured in the faith by his grandmother, Lois, and his mother, Eunice. Monica taught her son, Augustine, who became the Father of the Western Church. The saintly Macrine, the grandmother, and Emmelia, the mother, taught Saint Basil and Saint Gregory of Nyssa, and they were well assisted by the father, who was a professional teacher. Of four sons, three became bishops and were sainted. A family more brilliant cannot be found in the whole history of the Christian Church. Nonna took her son Gregory of Nazianzen in infancy to the Church and consecrated him by laying his little hands on the Bible. She gave his education her undivided attention. In this she was assisted by the father, the Bishop of Nazianzen. John Chrysostom, "the golden-mouthed" preacher of Christianity, declared that "every house was a church." He had himself received such admirable training from his mother, Anthusa, as to call forth from the lips of his pagan teacher, the celebrated rhetorician Libanius, the commendation, "Ye Gods of Greece, how wonderful are the women of the Christians!" When Libanius was asked on his deathbed who was most worthy to be his successor, he replied, "John, if the Christians had not stolen him from us."

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[29] Boissier, Gaston, *La Fin du Paganisme*, Vol. 1, p. 200. Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1894.

[30] *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. I, p. 81, 1899.

Examples of instruction by Christian fathers are also to be found. Among these was Leonidas, who trained Origen with ideal paternal care. These are but a few examples that show how the Christian family became a coordinate agency along with the Church for the transmission of the Christian ethos.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* took a very narrow view of culture, but the authors did at least believe in an elementary training in reading, in vocation, and in discipline. In several passages it is clear that parents were expected to teach their children, and women as well as men were expected to read and understand the Scriptures. As to the education of young children, it said:

> Ye fathers, educate your children in the Lord, bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them such trades as are agreeable and suitable to the word.
>
> He, therefore, that neglects to admonish and instruct his own son, hates his own child. Do you, therefore, teach your children the word of the Lord. Bring them under with cutting stripes, and make them subject from their infancy, teaching them the Holy Scriptures . . . and delivering to them every sacred writing.[31]

C. *Chrysostom's theory of education.* Chrysostom (347–407) wrote the finest pedagogical treatise of the Patristic era, telling how fathers and mothers should train their sons. He considered Christian education of the greatest importance, saying:

> I will never desist to beseech, to entreat, and to beg of you, that before

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[31] Roberts, Alexander, and Donaldson, James, Translators, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. XVIII, *Apostolic Constitutions*, II, pp. 113–114. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870.

> all things whatsoever, you would compose the manners of your children . . . Bring up a Champion (I say) for Christ, and whilst he remains in this world instruct him from his very cradle. If, whilst he is yet young, thou imprint good principles in him, nobody shall be ever able to efface them . . . being then as the wax which hath received the impression.[32]

The great Christian orator advised that strict attention must be given to the task of preventing the boy from hearing and using profane and vicious language.

Chrysostom in a striking figure of speech likens the soul of a child to a city which is to be governed with greatest care. Just as a city has within it all kinds of people, both good and the evil, so does the heart of the child possess impulses both good and bad.

> The mind of a child is therefore a city, a city newly built and furnished, a city full of new inhabitants, and as yet wholly unexperienced. 'Tis an easie matter to instruct and model such! [33]

The senses, seeing, hearing, and smell, together with touch, are the gateways into the city, and these are to be carefully guarded so that no evil may enter.

Stories from the Old Testament told with adroit skill are to be used to develop the moral and spiritual judgment of the child. Chrysostom condemns attendance upon theaters, mixed bathing, the personal service of young slave girls, and effeminacy.

New centers of interest are to be developed by observation of the stars, the flowers of the earth, the meadows, fine books, and so on. Sacred poetry must be memorized, and good judgment in practical affairs must be developed.

> This, then is the very sum and top of all wisdom, that he be not taken up with impertinent and childish vanities. Teach him therefore that riches avail nothing, worldly glory nothing, power nothing; nothing death; nothing this present life. Thus he shall indeed become a wise man.[34]

Referring to puberty, he wrote, "after the fifteenth year youths are vehemently inflamed with the lust of concupiscence. How shall we now fetter this beast?" Chrysostom proceeds to develop a method of sex instruction that is without superior in the history of education. His whole treatise is a pedagogy that culminates in marriage. "Educated in this manner," he concluded, "we conduct him to his nuptials." Christian marriage is the denouement of the education of the adolescent and the starting point of a new cycle of life, which is to be trained with the same meticulous care.

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[32] Upcott, William, *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn*, p. 114. London: Harvy Colburn, 1825.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

D. *Educational Organization.* The Apostles expected Christ to return almost immediately in bodily form to rule over the earth. For this reason they took no interest in the establishment of schools as such, or in the instruction of the young along secular lines. Moreover, the converts to Christianity of that day were usually from the lower classes of society, who did not feel any deep interest in secular knowledge. The few cultured individuals who became Christians continued to send their children to pagan schools for elementary as well as more advanced instruction.

1. *Teaching in the early Church.* The modern world has not sufficiently recognized the profound role played by teaching in the triumph of Christianity over pagan civilization. Attention has naturally centered upon the Church to the detriment of its indispensable ally, the school. Teaching was in no way subsidiary to the method of preaching, but of equal dignity and of more abiding effectiveness. Through their schools Jewish rabbis had dominated the life and religion of the Jewish people. The Greek civilization, too, had been indisseverably interwoven with the schools of rhetoric and philosophy. It was, therefore, not at all strange that Christian propaganda[35] was obliged to employ the lowly method of instruction and exposition in addition to enthusiastic preaching. The regular method of attack in bringing the new religion into any community for the first time was through the synagogue, which was at once church and school.

The propagation of the religious revolution known as Christianity was first of all committed to "apostles, prophets, and teachers." They were the authorized agents who spoke the "word of God." These original leaders were not chosen or elected by any church as its officers, but they received their authorization directly from the Lord or from their Christian experience. Their "gifts" were charismatic, that is to say, they were imparted by the Spirit of Holiness, which created and continued to energize the entire Christian movement. The first teachers, like the Apostles and prophets, were not officials of local churches but inspired instructors of the Church as a whole, of the Church universal.

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[35] Harnack, Adolf, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.* Translated by James Moffatt. Second enlarged and revised edition, pp. 333–368, 443–444. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

Moreover, it is essential to understand that teaching was a function and not merely an office, a method and not a position. Instruction was not assigned to certain officials, nor were teachers a separate class. Apostles, prophets, bishops or elders, and laymen are all represented as teaching. Barnabas and Paul taught a whole year at Antioch.[36] At that same time three other prophets and teachers were at work in the Antioch church.[37] Paul, probably with the assistance of Silas and Timothy, taught eighteen months in Corinth.[38] When driven from the synagogue at Ephesus, Paul took up his station in the "School of Tyrannus" and taught there daily for two years.[39] The teaching function of the church grew with the progress of Christianity and adapted itself to changing needs and circumstances.

2. *Training of young men for the ministry.* At first the attention of the Apostles was centered upon evangelizing the masses; in due time it became evident that they must prepare younger men to carry on the work; even as Jesus had trained them and sent them forth, so must they train others. For this reason the Apostles attached to themselves young men of ability whom they prepared for the work of pastors and teachers. Paul associated with himself Timothy, Titus, and Luke; Peter trained John Mark and Sylvanus; John trained Polycarp and Papias. As far as it can be ascertained, these Apostles lived with their protegés as Jesus had lived with the twelve. This practice evidently grew into a regular custom and was probably continued. It seems reasonable to trace to it what soon came to be known as the canonical life, and also the bishop schools.

3. *The Catechumenate.* As long as Christianity confined its efforts to the conversion of adult Jews, it found a soil well prepared to receive its new doctrines. But when, in its progress, it turned to the Gentiles, it was confronted with the difficulty that these converts from paganism lacked the basic ideas which were necessary for understanding Christian truth and morality.

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[36] *Acts* 11: 26.
[37] *Ibid.* 13: 1.
[38] *Ibid.* 18: 11.
[39] *Ibid.* 19: 9–10.

Furthermore, the Church soon discovered that many who had become members continued their former immoral practices. When pagans began to apply for membership in large numbers, their admission constituted a real peril to the infant Church, and special provision had to be made to take care of the situation. It, therefore, became necessary to place all pagan converts, and even young Jews, upon probation before their final reception into full membership. Furthermore, a system of instruction was instituted to train all converts for initiation into the deeper mysteries of the faith. The instruction was entirely of a religious and moral nature, and could be given by anyone of proven character who had the requisite knowledge, though the final steps of initiation had to be performed by the bishop. Such was the origin of the catechumenal training.

There came to be several stages in the process of training. After a preliminary examination in which the candidate presented himself for membership, some initiatory ceremonies were performed. The candidate was first set apart by the sign of the cross and the laying on of hands. In the West there was also the presenting of the blessed salt. These ceremonies were accompanied with instruction in regard to the meaning of the Christian profession. Henceforth the catechumen was regarded as a Christian, but a period of two or three years or even longer must elapse before he was eligible for baptism. During this period of probation the candidate was not permitted to attend the entire worship service of the Church, but had to withdraw after hearing the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon. Candidates of this rank were called hearers *(audientes)*. When the candidate had passed several years in such training, he was permitted to apply for baptism. A short period of special instruction, usually by the bishop, was then required. This instruction included the chief articles of the creed, the nature of the sacraments, the penitential discipline of the Church; all these with dogmatic precision. Fasting, watching, and prayer were practiced, and special investigations were made of the character of the candidate. Those who were accepted were then called *electi,* and their names were inscribed on the register of the Church. A few days before the ceremony of baptism, they were taught the Lord's Prayer and were given an opportunity to change their names if they desired. Since the purpose was entirely religious, the instruction given the catechumens was confined to the facts of Christian history, doctrines, and practices.

Catechumenate instruction arose early in the second century and reached a climax about the fifth; after the ninth century it was discontinued, owing to the general practice of admitting infants to baptism. Moreover, as time went on, Christian principles and doctrines were commonly known, and the need for catechumenal instruction declined.

4. *The Apostolic textbooks.* Late in the last century there was brought to light the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Apostles,* the earliest textbook for instruction in Christian doctrine and ethics. Some of the teachings of this work in all probability originated with the Apostles or their immediate successors; at any rate, it was used by Christian teachers about 120, and for several centuries thereafter. In the first part, "The Two Ways," that is, "The Way of Life" and "The Way of Death," are discussed. These present the Christian principles of behavior that were taught to the catechumens before their baptism. The second part gives instruction as to worship, baptism, fasting, the supper, and the officers of the Church. A somewhat similar work is the *Epistle of Barnabas,* which was also used for the instruction of young Christians. In addition to these the *Old* and *New Testaments* were read and expounded. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, delivered a series of twenty-three lectures to the catechumens of his church. In these lectures, which are still extant, he discussed Christian doctrines, Church ordinances, the articles of the Creed, and morals.[40]

5. *Rise of Christian schools.* We are now to see how Christianity made its first attempt to assimilate the learning of the Greek world and to establish Christian education. Three fundamental circumstances account for the interest in imparting a broader and more permanent culture to the converts to Christianity. First, by the close of the second century the expectation of the speedy return of Christ and of the end of the world no longer dominated the thoughts of Christian leaders. As a consequence they began to feel the need for the permanent assimilation of the best products of pagan culture. Second, Christianity began to attract the cultured class of society. During the first century the message of the Gospel made its appeal to people on the lower levels; we read "not many men wise after the flesh, . . . not

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[40] S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures,* by E. H. Gifford, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. VII. New York: Parker & Company, 1894. For a brief outline of catechetical instruction consult *Apostolic Constitutions,* Book VII, Sec. iii; Bingham, Joseph, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church,* Vol. I, pp. 432–433. London: Bohn, 1845.

many noble, are called." After the middle of the second century, men of the highest attainments in Greek philosophy and science accepted Christianity, and it was natural that in absorbing the new doctrines they should integrate them with their former conceptions of truth. From this class there now arose the need for institutions of Christian learning of the highest level. Finally, it must be noted that the teachings of Christianity were subjected to violent attack by learned pagans. These attacks obliged Christians to equip themselves for the defense of their doctrines.

One of the first and most learned Christian converts who used the school to effect a reconciliation of pagan culture and Christianity before the middle of the second century was Justin Martyr. He had conducted a school of philosophy in Ephesus, and after his conversion he continued to wear his philosopher's garb, though he changed his doctrine to Christianity and used his school, as he tells us, in order to serve "as Ambassador of the word of God." Later he transferred his school to Rome, but continued to win learned pagans to Christ by his lectures on Christianity and the Scriptures. As a Christian apologist he wrote a number of works. One of Justin's greatest pupils, Tatian, like his master taught a school of Christian learning at Rome.[41]

Another school that grew out of the effort to integrate pagan learning and Christian doctrine was conducted at Rome by Theodotus, the cobbler, and his pupil, Theodotus, the banker. Both were excommunicated for heretical views. The evidence points to the conclusion that they applied the logic of Aristotle to the interpretation of Christianity, and taught other secular branches as well. Eusebius wrote of the members of this school in bitter criticism: [42]

> They abandon the holy Scripture of God, and study geometry, for they are of the earth and him who comes from above they do not know. Some of them, forsooth, study the geometry of Euclid and admire Aristotle and Theophrastus. Galen, perhaps, is even worshiped by some of them.

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[41] Among other teachers at Rome, Harnack lists Rhodon, a student of Tatian and a writer of importance, Praxeas, Epigonus, and Cleomenes, of whom we know only the fact that they conducted schools and engaged in writing.

[42] Lake, Kirsopp, *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I, p. 523. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Nor, in the opinion of Eusebius, is this devotion to scientific and philosophic learning the whole measure of their heresy. To the sin of logic and the study of science they added textual criticism and even went so far as to alter the text of the Sacred Scriptures. How many schools of this character were conducted by peripatetic Christian teachers is not known. It may be noted in passing that these schools were private and not church efforts. We now turn to the Church Schools.

a. *The Catechetical school of Alexandria.* The origin and nature of the Catechetical schools are of greatest interest, since they were the most productive of the new institutions. The first of these institutions arose in Alexandria. In this cultured city with its Museum, libraries, and schools, with their numerous teachers and students, comprising atheists, oriental mystics, Greek philosophers, and Jewish eclectics, Christianity was obliged to meet the first philosophic attack from the learned world. Apparently the new school arose out of the catechumenal class of the Alexandrian Church. In this cosmopolitan environment there appeared inquiring catechumens who asked innumerable perplexing questions in regard to Christianity. To meet the needs of these young inquirers, secular studies of all kinds and Christian theology were taught together to a special group of students as well as to individuals.[43]

So it was in response to a demand for the rational justification of its beliefs, to make a critical exposition of its doctrines and to preserve them from corruption by other systems of thought, that the Catechetical school arose. The school at Alexandria was not designed, as some have wrongly assumed, for the training of priests or pastors, although such were not excluded. The character of the Catechetical school can only be understood in the light of the pagan schools that were flourishing in the city of Alexandria. Just as philosophers and teachers of pagan learning were offering instruction in the University of Alexandria to all who desired to learn, so Clement and Origen gave instruction and guidance to any who wished to understand the doctrines of Christianity.

The school was established primarily to furnish aspiring young Christian scholars an opportunity to acquire knowledge in a Christian environment and, what is more, to view secular truth from the Christian standpoint. It was also used, however, as a means of propaganda, and heathen as well as Christian students were enrolled. Since there were no buildings, instruction was given in the residence of the teacher. Women as well as men were admitted.

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[43] For the Alexandrian School, consult Neander, Dr. Augustus, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, translated by Joseph Torrey, Vol. I, p. 528 *et seq.*, and Vol. II, p. 386 *et seq.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1871.

From Apostolic times some form of regular instruction existed in Alexandria in connection with the local church. Tradition claims that both church and school were founded by Saint Mark, the evangelist, when he introduced Christianity into Egypt. That tradition is disputed; however, we are assured that Pantaenus, a converted Stoic philosopher, gave the first Catechetical instruction in the year 179. After a short time he employed as assistant his own pupil, the learned Clement, who had been steeped in the Platonic philosophy. When Pantaenus retired—to India, as the unverified story has it—around 189, Clement succeeded him as the head of the new school, and continued to fill this position until persecution caused him to withdraw in 202. Thereupon, his brilliant young pupil, Origen, was appointed chief catechist.

Instruction in advanced studies was given in the form of lectures to mixed audiences by the head catechist; the more elementary subjects were taught by the assistant. It seems, also, that in addition to the more formal discourses the teacher held open conferences for all who wished to consult him about matters of doctrine. The institution was in reality a school for general culture, but Christian theology formed the central interest.

The curriculum [44] resembled the encyclopaedic course which flourished in the leading schools of the pagan world. It included logic, physics, geometry, astronomy, and possibly anatomy. After these sciences came philosophy, especially the principles of ethics and metaphysics. All systems of Greek philosophy were expounded except the Epicurean, which was naturally excluded as being too sensual. These subjects were considered as a preparatory course for the full understanding of Christianity not merely as a theological science but as a new principle of ethical life. Hellenic learning was thought of as a pedagogue leading the mind to salvation and to the complete comprehension of divine truth. The course naturally culminated in the study of Christian theology and of Biblical exegesis.

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[44] The course of study of the Alexandria school can be found in the following works: *Clement's Exhortations to the Heathen, The Instructor, Stromata,* or *Miscellanies;* the works of Origen. Also for the Alexandrian school, consult Neander, Dr. Augustus, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 528 *et seq.*, and Vol. II, p. 386 *et seq.*

This school continued as the leading center of Christian learning until the fifth century and possibly much longer. "It may be doubted," wrote Bigg, "whether any nobler scheme of Christian education has ever been projected than this, which we find in actual working at Alexandria at the end of the second century after Christ."[45]

(1) *Clement of Alexandria.* Born about 160, supposedly at Athens, Clement was the first of the Greek fathers conspicuous for learning. He was first the student, then the assistant, and finally the successor of Pantaenus. A man of profound knowledge, he was versed in all the sciences and philosophical systems of the day. He quoted from scores of authors. Though an eclectic, he leaned strongly toward Platonism, especially in ethics. He considered Christianity as the final rung in the educational ladder to which all other truth was preparatory. He held that Greek culture was just as much inspired of God as the Hebrew. He believed the best in Hellenic philosophy and ethics is in perfect accord with Christian theology and practice.

Clement's writings were distinctly pedagogical in tone. He advocated wrestling, ball-playing, walking, and especially manual employments for men, and suitable exercises for women. Health, not show, is the object to be attained. He advised music for relaxation and for the embellishment of manners. Rhetoric studied merely for the sake of display he condemned, but he held in highest esteem all the sciences and philosophy. They were pedagogic means used of God to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ. No other educator was so successful in integrating Christian truth with the products of the humanistic spirit.

(2) *Origen.* The successor of Clement in charge of the school at Alexandria was Origen, the deepest thinker among the Greek Church Fathers. Both his parents were Christians. His father, a teacher of rhetoric, had a reverential awe of his pious and gifted son. As a youth of sixteen, Origen taught rhetoric to help support his widowed mother; and when only seventeen years of age became the chief catechist in the Christian school, a position he held from 202 to 231 or 232. Origen was the greatest of the early theologians and the first to attempt a comprehensive and systematic exposition of Christian doctrines. Theological discussion of the entire Church centered around his doctrinal views for several centuries.

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[45] Bigg, Charles, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, pp. 43–44. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1886.

b. *The school of Caesarea in Palestine.* After being banished from his place as head of the school of Alexandria, Origen proceeded to Caesarea in Palestine, where he established another theological institution and continued his teaching. Soon the new school rivaled that of Alexandria and became famous all over the East. Here again he imparted methodical instruction in every branch of learning, secular as well as religious. Here he taught Gregory Thaumaturgus, who in an excellent panegyric gave a description of Origen's method and the subject matter of instruction.[46] After his death in 254, as might well be expected, the institution suffered a rapid decline, but the tradition of scholarly Christian teaching and of the doctrines of Origen lingered on for a long time.

Pamphilus, the Presbyter of Caesarea and a former student at the Alexandrian school, re-established the school at Caesarea when it fell into a decline. A consuming passion for books led him to collect a large library of noted theological works. As an ardent admirer of Origen, Pamphilus continued his method of interpretation, and transcribed and perpetuated his complete works. The exposition of the Scriptures formed the storm center of discussion in the schools at this time. Pamphilus was deeply interested in transcribing the Scriptures and other religious works—numerous copies of which he gave away. A remarkable friendship grew up between him and Eusebius, his most gifted pupil. The extensive library which Pamphilus gathered enabled Eusebius to write his *Ecclesiastical History,* which gave the first general account of the progress of the Christian Church. What became of this library and the school of Caesarea, history does not inform us.

c. *The school at Antioch.* Antioch was the third city of the Roman empire and for a long time the chief seat of learning in the East. Here public education under imperial patronage was at its best. Naturally Antioch became a center of Christian culture, for it was the first place outside of Jerusalem to espouse the new religion. A Christian school was founded at Antioch by Melchion, a teacher of rhetoric. His successor, Lucian (*c.*250–312), introduced the study of Biblical exegesis and Christian theology. He had studied at Edessa and perhaps at Caesarea. A large number of his students became famous in the service of the Church. As a writer, his chief work was a version of the Scriptures that was used extensively in the East over a long period of time.

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[46] Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyric on Origen,* in *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* Vol. VI. New York: 1890. Also see page 591 of this text where Origen advises his pupils to study secular subjects.

During the last half of the fourth century John Chrysosotom (*c*.345–407) received his education in the public schools of Antioch under Libanius, the celebrated professor of rhetoric. Won to Christianity by his noble-hearted mother, he became the head of the Christian school, and all fourth-century educational progress centers about his name. His work, *Concerning the Education of Children*,[47] has already been discussed. Under his management, the school at Antioch became the most notable seminary for Christian learning. Nestorius, well-known preacher and heretical theologian, received his training at this school.

Scriptural exegesis rose to great prominence in the Antioch school about the end of the fourth century. The teachers here opposed the allegorical method of interpreting Scriptures employed by Origen, but used a simple historical and grammatical method. They did not seek to read into Scripture, ideas that were not there, but to discover what the writer wanted to say. The Alexandrians exalted the divine element in a one-sided way; but the Antiochians sought to apprehend Christianity as a union of divine and human elements. The one method was mystical, the other logical and commonsense in its interpretations. This difference of approach had profound and unfortunate effects upon the progress of Christianity.

d. *The schools of Edessa and Nisibis.* These institutions, similar in character to those already discussed, have a significance peculiar to themselves in the progress of education. They were situated on the borderland between Syria and Persia, close to Arabia. At the beginning of our era, Edessa had a flourishing Jewish population. Christianity was introduced early in the second century, and by the beginning of the next century received official approval as the state religion. At first Edessa was under the metropolitan care of the Jerusalem church, but later it came under the ecclesiastical supervision of Antioch. The shift signified that it was then brought within the sphere of Greek patterns of thought.

How early Christian education originated at Edessa is not known—undoubtedly by the beginning of the third century. But whatever the school, it had no particular merit. After the middle of the fourth century, Ephraem the Syrian and a band of refugees came over from Nisibis to Edessa. Ephraem was the greatest character of the Syrian Church. He was a most prolific writer, a powerful teacher and organizer, and strange to say, the most successful writer of Christian hymns. He created the liturgy of the Eastern Church, and his use of hymns spread even to the west.

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[47] See pages 603–604 of this text.

No sooner had he arrived at Edessa than Ephraem in 363 established the "School of the Persian." It was attended by the Christian youth of Persia and was intended as a training school for pastors and missionaries. Ephraem was the head of the school for ten years before his death. When in 431 Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, was convicted of heresy and violently deposed, many of his disciples found it necessary to migrate to Eastern Syria. With other possessions they took with them some works of Aristotle and of other Greek scientists. Edessa now became the chief seat of Nestorian Christianity and of Greek modes of theological and scientific thought. Ibas, Bishop of Edessa from 435 to 457, had charge of the school and made it the most flourishing seminary for the training of Nestorian pastors and the center of militant missionary propaganda that reached even to India and China. Ibas was thoroughly acquainted with Greek literature, and the school was celebrated as "the Athens of Syria." Edessa succeeded Antioch in the study of the logic of Aristotle. At Edessa, Probus translated and wrote a commentary on the *De Interpretatione* and other parts of the *Organon* in the Syrian language. Probus' work is the most ancient manuscript on philosophy now extant. This remarkable school was long persecuted by the enemies of Nestorius and was finally broken up, and even the buildings destroyed, by the Greek Emperor Zeno in 489 because of his bitter hatred for the Nestorian doctrine.

The Nestorians now fled over to Nisibis, which was under Persian rule, and, therefore, secure from the fury of heresy hunters. Here the exiles were welcomed warmly by the metropolitan Bishop Barsumas. A new school was established, and Nassai, who had taught for twenty years at Edessa, was chosen head. A man of great ability, he was called "the Leper" by his theological enemies, and "the Harp of the Holy Spirit" by his fellow Nestorians. He taught quietly but effectively in Nisibis for forty-five years. Through a number of centuries, Nisibis continued to diffuse the greatest enthusiasm for Christian knowledge, especially along Biblical lines. Here was organized a settled course of studies, and the students were divided into regular classes. At one time the enrollment reached eight hundred. Teachers and students enjoyed special privileges in the churches of the East. Following the practice of the municipal grammar schools and schools of rhetoric of Nisibis, the teachers of this Christian College were publicly appointed. Most of the Nestorian scholars of the East came from Nisibis, and it long remained "the mother of sciences," renowned not only throughout the Orient, but also held up by some leaders of the Roman Church as a model of Christian learning.

At Nisibis the school was in a monastery, and all the students maintained monastic discipline. It was under the direction of a superior. The masters taught reading, writing, the Scriptures, the chant, and comments on the Scriptures. The Bible read, transcribed, studied, and chanted, formed the basis of instruction. The regulations of the school written in 496 are still extant. The entire conduct of the students was regulated by inviolate rules. Connected with these schools, directly or indirectly, was a succession of scholars who translated the Greek scientific and philosophic literature into the Syrian language. The logic of Aristotle and the medicine of Galen were the prime favorites.

From the Syrians it was but a short step to the Arabians. The story is one of the most romantic in the history of learning. During the ninth century, learning and education were organized in a great way among the Mohammedans in Arabia. Each mosque had a school where boys learned to read and write the Koran. Academies for secondary studies were conducted, and a Nestorian Christian was appointed to act as Superintendent of public instruction. At this time, it must be explained, the Mohammedan rulers were wonderfully liberal in their views and made the utmost use of the culture and science of both Jews and Nestorian Christians.

The most aggressive promotor of learning during the ninth century was Caliph al-Mamun, who founded a "House of Science," that is, a University, at Bagdad. It contained a library and an observatory for the pursuit of science. He endowed professional chairs, provided financial help for needy students, and requisitioned books, maps, and pictures as a form of tribute. A medical school with a hospital and clinical instruction was also provided. In addition to the organization of instruction al-Mamun brought the translating of Greek books to its highest development. Works on mathematics, astronomy, and medicine were translated from the Greek and Syrian into the Arabic.

This remarkable organization of learning and education suggests something of the ideals of the Greeks during the Hellenistic era. George Bachtichou, Nestorian physician, was the first to initiate the Arabians into Greek science. About this same time Hunain Ishāk went to Asia Minor, where he learned the Greek language, brought back many ideas, and translated many Greek works directly into Arabic. Among these were the works of Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy.[48] Hunain Ishāk, his son, and his nephew were among the earliest and ablest of the Nestorian Christians who furnished the Arabians much of what they knew of Greek science, medicine, mathematics, and especially of the philosophy of Aristotle. Schools arose at Gandispara, Resoina, and Kainersrin, where the works of Aristotle were studied and special attention given to medicine.

It was through the work of these institutions that the Mohammedans derived their knowledge of the sciences and the art of medicine, and through their efforts that these were handed on, not only to the Arabians, but to the Persians, Hindoos, and even the Chinese. When Mohammedanism arose, Nestorian learning was appropriated to its use. The works of Aristotle and of Galen were translated from the Syrian into the Arabic language, and later directly from the Greek, and were widely studied. Greek medical knowledge was also warmly received by the Khalifs and scholars of the Mohammedan world.

The Mohammedans were not particularly creative and added little to what they received from the Greeks. But what they received they transferred to Moslem Spain and through Spain to the Christian world. Thus it was that the Aristotelian philosophy and Greek science generally were brought to the attention of European Christians at a time of profound ignorance. It was just this light, so strangely transmitted from the East, that flooded Europe with a new dayspring.

e. *Chief contribution of Catechetical schools.* The Catechetical schools were more than colleges for the instruction of young men in Christian doctrines and secular learning. They emulated the University of Alexandria as centers of inquiry and research. They were of great importance because of the production of

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[48] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Articles: *Hunain; Ishāk ben Hunain.*

Christian literature and the creation of Christian theology.[49] The school of Alexandria produced the first attempts to formulate Christian theology in a theoretical way. The writings of Clement and Origen were the beginning of a rational explanation of the nature of Christianity. The school of Caesarea became a center for the writing of expositions of the Scriptures and of Church history. It was also famed for multiplying and distributing copies of the Old and New Testaments. Antioch contributed exegetical studies of the Scriptures. Edessa and Nisibis produced works along many lines, among them a liturgy of worship and a new hymnology. The point of view as to the interpretation of the Scriptures varied from school to school and from teacher to teacher, as did also their theology. Finally, then, the greatest service of the Catechetical schools was not in the field of instruction or of Christian discipline, but in the production of theological literature. The schools themselves did not last long, but the scholarly works which they produced are imperishable. In fact, these institutions must be classed with the most productive of universities in the field of theological and Biblical research.

E. *The development of the Church.* The following steps of development may summarize the changes in the Church and Christianity during the first three centuries:

1. *The evangelical era.* The first period of the Christian propaganda was that of itinerant evangelism. During this time, the Apostles chose younger men to accompany them as associates or apprentices in the work of preaching and teaching. The Apostles and their immediate successors were motivated by the promise, as they conceived, of the immediate return of the Lord Jesus to set up his rule upon the earth. No thought was given to permanent churches or schools.

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[49] For further reading:

Alber, F. X. E., "The Schools of Nisibis." In *The Catholic University Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 160–181.

Chabot, J. B., "L'Ecole de Nisibe." In *Le Journal Asiatique*, Tome viii. Paris: 1896, pp. 43–93.

Duval, Rubens, *Histoire politique, religieuse et litteraire d'Edesse.* Paris: Leroux, 1892.

Huart, C. I., *History of Arabic Literature.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903.

Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Scholarship.* New York: The Macmillan Company, Vol. I, rev. ed., 1921, Vols. II and III, 1908.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, Articles: "Arabian Philosophy," "Caliphate," "Syrian Literature," "Ephraem Syrus."

Ueberweg, Friederich, *History of Philosophy*, translated by Geo. S. Morris, Vol. I, pp. 402–417. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1892.

Wright, William, *A Short History of Syriac Literature.* London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894.

In this period, the Apostles and their successors preached and taught in the Jewish synagogues, and when driven out from these, they preached and taught in private homes or any favorable place.

2. *Cathedral churches and parishes.* The next step in the progress of Christianity was the erection of separate church buildings. Connected with this movement went the employment of settled pastors, elders or bishops, as the chief officers came to be called. The church in each city became known as the seat of the bishop: that is, the cathedral. For some time there was only one church in each city to which all Christians in that community belonged. The Christian movement was slow in evangelizing the smaller towns and villages. As a consequence, the term *pagan,* which signifies the *country,* was given to those who were not Christianized. Evangelizing of the surrounding territory depended on the bishop, and this territory became his diocese.

3. *Radical changes.* After the second century, changes took place that altered radically the inner nature of Christianity. These movements were departures from the simplicity of early Christianity, but they seemed to be necessitated by the circumstances of the age; moreover, they determined in largest measure the character of Christian education for many centuries.

a. *The formulation of the credal orthodoxy.* It has been already pointed out that for several centuries the main endeavor of Greek scholarship had been the formulating of every department of knowledge in systematic and logical order.[50] In conformity with this spirit of scholarly elaboration or rationalization of subject matter, Christian truth and doctrine also were reduced to a formulated creed and systematic statement. There were, however, other important reasons for rationalizing Christian doctrine. First, Christianity was obliged to defend itself against the attacks of pagan critics; second, a clear-cut test of orthodoxy was essential in order to distinguish genuine believers from imposters. Christian truth had to be welded into a clearly defined set of dogmas before a test of orthodoxy could be applied. The various councils of the Church worked out the formula of Christian orthodoxy. Three creeds have been most popular: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, all of them formulated during the third or fourth century.

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[50] See pages 494–495 of this text.

b. *The growth of the liturgy of worship.* The service of public worship in the primitive church was originally the synagogue service Christianized. The service consisted of readings from the Scriptures, the singing of Psalms, prayers, and the preaching, which was a fervent presentation of Jesus as the Messiah. As time went on, this simple service became more elaborate.[51] Congregational singing of the Psalms was superseded by new hymns, and only the choir engaged in singing. The clergy entered to the accompaniment of a chant. There was less emphasis on the reading of the Scripture, and the sermon fell into disuse. The proclamation of the Gospel was no longer the burning issue, but the celebration of the supper became the central feature of the service of worship. This liturgical change had far-reaching effects upon the inner nature of Christianity.

c. *The canonical organization of the clergy.* Paul mentioned Apostles, prophets, and teachers as the regular officers in the churches. In several instances he spoke also of bishops and of elders, which indicates that such officers were already recognized at this early time. For the first two centuries each church was entirely independent of every other so far as its internal management was concerned. Moreover, it must be conceded that the individual church was democratic in the conduct of its affairs. But after the second century the bishops assumed control in the city churches and over the smaller churches in the diocese.

Paul stated that among other qualifications the bishop must be "apt to teach." However, in the early church, as we have already seen, even laymen exercised their teaching gift. After the second century, when the bishops assumed monarchial control, lay teachers were no longer permitted; the bishop either did all the teaching or confided the task to someone under his jurisdiction. Christianity had become a formulated creed with a definite interpretation; to impart it correctly required responsible and trained officers.

Another development was the organization of the clergy of each city, or each city and parish, into a graded and closely knit order. When this movement was perfected, the lower order of the clergy consisted of singers, readers, exorcists, sub-deacons, and the acolytes who attended the priests. The higher order embraced the deacons, priests, and bishops. Each of these orders was assigned some special service in the conduct of the liturgy, and the bishop exercised complete authority over all.

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[51] For the early Church service see *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Second Series, Vol. XIV, pp. 136–139.

d. *Effects on Christianity.* Religion has naturally two functions to perform in human personality and life, a lower and a higher. The lower is that of discipline or institutional regimentation. The higher is that of a deeper personal experience of and insight into the nature of God and ethical life. The first is the religion of the child, the second of the adult. As worship became ritualized and doctrine became rationalized, Christianity brought into submission vast multitudes of people. These people were institutionalized by the Church, but it failed to give them the higher form of religious experience, that of individual choice and insight into spiritual reality. This change in the very essence of Christianity which took place after the second century is clearly stated by Ullmann:

> At this period the objects of the faith excited . . . a very universal and lively interest, which was entertained from the court downwards; . . . but it was in great part not the interest of the heart, but that of a hypocritical and disputatious intellect, where it was not something far lower, to which the dispute about matters of faith served only as a pretext for attaining the exterior aims of avarice and ambition. While the sanctifying and beautifying doctrines of the Gospel, which are directed to the conversion of the whole inner man were let lie quiet, everyone . . . busied himself with incredible interest about a few questions . . . whose fuller expression belongs rather to the school than to practical life. But the more violently these doctrinal disputes were kindled, disturbing and dividing states, cities, and families, so much the more people lost sight of the practical essentials of Christianity; it seemed more important to maintain the Tri-unity of God than to love God with all the heart; to acknowledge the Consubstantiality of the Son, than to follow Him in humility and self-denial; to defend the Personality of the Holy Spirit, than to bring forth the fruits of the spirit, love, peace, righteousness.[52]

Thus it came about that the new movement for the higher evolution of emotional and ethical life, which promised to bring good-will, democracy, and universal brotherhood among men, was diverted by the rationalizing spirit of Greek philosophy and the organizing genius of Roman bureaucracy. The high ethical idealism and pure altruism of Hebrew prophecy and Christianity were so buried under credal formalism and hierarchical regimentation that they have not gone far in altering man's natural disposition.

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[52] Ullmann. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII, p. 196. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894.

F. *Later educational developments.* Several new developments took place as the centuries passed.

The bishop's household. With the establishment of cathedral churches and settled pastors, the clergy under the leadership and supervision of the bishop lived in the episcopal residence somewhat after the example of Jesus and the twelve, who lived together as a fraternal group. Under these circumstances an old phenomenon reappeared: devout mothers imitated the example of Hannah as related in the Old Testament, who placed little Samuel under the charge of Eli the High Priest that he might be brought up in the temple of the Lord. Christian mothers took this step more gladly because they wished to remove their boys from the degrading influence of the pagan environment. There was also another cause: the admonition of Jesus to his disciples when he set a child "in the midst of them" and declared "whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me." [53]

This concern for the indoctrination of the young began early. Polycarp, disciple of the Apostle John, brought up a number of children who became bishops. Ignatius did the same. Pagan critics like Celsus and later Julian, the Apostate, made this practice the basis of a charge that was never denied.

The General Church Council meeting at Constantinople in 381 required the establishment of schools in country towns and villages for teaching all children free. Another canon speaks of schools in churches and monasteries under the charge of the bishops.[54]

What was true of bishops was likewise the case with the fathers who promoted the monastic life. As early as the fourth century, St. Basil made provision for receiving young children in his monastic establishment. "They are to be carefully instructed in the Scriptures. They are not to be allowed to make profession till they come to years of discretion." [55]

That this practice became universal throughout Christendom may be concluded from the decree on the *training of priests of the Council of Vaison in 529,* which reads as follows:

All priests in the parishes must, as is already the very wholesome custom in all Italy, receive the younger unmarried lectors into their house, and

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[53] *Matthew*, 18:5.

[54] Bingham, Joseph, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, p. 314–600. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1845.

[55] *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII, p. lii. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1895.

> instruct them in the singing of psalms, in the Church lessons, and in the law of the Lord, so that they may have able successors.[56]

In this way the household of the bishop came to be an ordered society of young boys, youths, and young men preparing for the priesthood, together with priests already ordained and in regular service. Here is to be recognized the origin of the episcopal or cathedral school and the collegiate church school.

The instruction of the children consisted of reading, writing, the ritual of Church worship, and Christian doctrines. Another element of instruction of increasing importance was music. There was a growing tendency for boys of Christian parents no longer to attend the pagan elementary schools. When finally these schools for the most part ceased to exist, elementary instruction was taken over by the cathedral and monastic schools.

The Church music schools. The new liturgy of worship required capable singers and readers. To train these assistants for the churches of the city of Rome, Pope Sylvester (314–336) formed a school of music in the papal cathedral. This new institution served as a common training school for the singers of all the churches of the city. Here capable youth not only were taught church music, but also reading the Scripture with proper intonation. For a long time, reading the Scriptures and other books of edification formed an important part of the worship service.

The movement to train singers and readers who could take their part in a fitting manner in the public service was naturally emphasized as the liturgy of worship became more elaborate. Gradually, as congregational singing was abandoned, only trained choirs of boys and men performed. As a result of the suppression of congregational singing, the Council of Laodicea in 367 ordered that only regularly appointed singers should sing in the churches.[57]

The instruction of boys who were to prepare for the clerical office under the charge of the bishop received the approval of the Council of Toledo in 527 (or 531). This was a significant step and reads as follows:

> Those who, as children, were dedicated by their parents to the clerical

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[56] Hefele, C. J., *History of Christian Councils*, Vol. 4, pp. 169–70. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895. *Cf.* Joseph Bingham, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Vol. 1, p. 107. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1845.

[57] This order read as follows:

> Beside the appointed singers, who mount the ambo and sing from the book, others shall not sing in the churches.

Hefele, E. J., *History of the Councils of the Church*, Vol. 2, p. 309. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1896.

> office shall, soon after receiving the tonsure, or after admission to the office of lector, be instructed by one set over them in a building belonging to the church, under the eyes of the Bishop. If they have reached the age of eighteen, the Bishop shall ask them whether they wish to marry. If they choose celibacy, and vow its observance then shall they be dedicated to the sweet yoke of the Lord.[58]

The interest in music was evidently too great on the part of the clergy, making them too fond of display and diverting them from their regular functions. In consequence of this, Gregory the Great induced the Synod of Rome in 595 to pass a measure prohibiting priests and deacons from participating in the musical part of the church service. This order was as follows:

> It has long been the custom in the Roman Church to ordain cantors as deacons, and still further, to use them for singing, instead of for preaching and caring for the poor. This has the consequence that, at divine service, more is thought of a good voice than of good life. Consequently no deacon may, henceforth, sing in the church except the gospel in the mass.[59]

G. *Education of girls.* In harmony with the nobler view of parenthood exhibited in the Christian home was the nobler attitude toward women. It is generally asserted that Christianity raised womanhood to a higher moral level. There is, of course, some truth in that, but the real fact is that Christianity elevated woman chiefly by purifying man's attitude toward womanhood.

Women were accorded great prominence in the New Testament, and likewise in the early Church, notwithstanding Paul's prohibition of their speaking in public. One of the most beautiful descriptions of Christian education was given by Saint Gregory of Nyssa, in which he told how his mother educated his sister Macrina:

> The education of the child was her mother's task; she did not, however, employ the usual worldly method of education which makes a practice of using poetry as a means of training the early years of the child. For she considered it disgraceful and quite unsuitable that a tender and plastic nature should be taught either those tragic passions of womanhood which afforded poets their suggestions and plots, or the indecencies of comedy, to be, so to speak, defiled with unseemly tales of "the harem." But such parts of inspired Scripture as you would think were incom-

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[58] Hefele, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 149–150.
[59] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 426–429.

> prehensible to young children were the subject of the girl's studies; in particular the Wisdom of Solomon, and those parts of it especially which have an ethical bearing. Nor was she ignorant of any part of the Psalter, but at stated times she recited every part of it. When she rose from bed, or engaged in household duties, or rested, or partook of food, or retired from table, when she went to bed or rose in the night for prayer, the Psalter was her constant companion.[60]

According to the Apostolic Constitutions, women were expected to learn to read the Scriptures, and deaconesses were to teach girls.

The ideal for the training of girls was determined largely by Saint Jerome, who wrote two letters giving concrete directions as to what should be done. The one was to the noble mother, Laeta, concerning the education of her daughter, Paula; the other was to Gaudentius concerning his daughter, Pacatula. In both instances, he counseled, the little girls should be brought up in strict monastic fashion, dedicated to the service of Christ. These letters were the guides for the education of girls throughout the Middle Ages.

As to positive education, it was confined to the Christian faith and to handicrafts. The great objective was to cultivate practical virtues. The girls were to enjoy no liberty of self-expression. They were never to appear unaccompanied in public. Laeta was advised to make Paula perfectly dependent upon herself, "Leave her no power or capacity of living without you, and let her feel frightened when she is left to herself." The association of boys and worldly young women was expressly avoided. Both the natural grace and beauty of young girls must be despoiled and all the artificialities and vanities of the world despised.

As to literature, the Holy Scriptures are her sole interest. "Let her begin by learning the Psalter, and then let her gather the rules of life out of the Proverbs of Solomon." A portion of Scripture was to be memorized every day in Greek and Latin. Singing was limited to Psalms and hymns.

In several respects the attitude in regard to young girls was narrowly restrictive. One of the most unnatural restraints that Christianity imposed on girls had to do with music and the theater. A modern writer states this matter:

> A Christian maiden must never approach the profane company of

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[60] *Saint Gregory of Nyssa, The Life of Saint Macrina*, by W. K. Lawther Clarke, pp. 22–23. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916.

> Pagans; she must never be seen in the environs of a theatre which was "a sink of foul iniquity," and "The temple of the accursed demon, Venus." And if by chance she hears a pagan song, she must shut her ears, and not listen to it, and as for a flute, or lyre, or cithara, she must not even know what they mean.[61]

Another restraint was that of bathing. The Apostolic Constitutions prohibited bathing on the part of virgins except on certain days and then advises only certain hours of the day. In the interests of chastity, Clement of Alexandria took a pronounced stand against girls resorting to the baths. Jerome was just as severe. He stated his position as follows:

> For myself I disapprove altogether of baths in the case of a full-grown virgin. She ought to blush at herself and be unable to look at her own nakedness. If she mortifies and enslaves her body by vigils and fasting, if she desires to quench the flame of lust and to check the hot desires of youth by a cold chastity, if she hastens to spoil her natural beauty by a deliberate squalor, why should she rouse a sleeping fire by the incentive of baths?[62]

These men, be it said, were not so much opposed to cleanliness, but to the custom of women using the public baths where they were more or less exposed to public view. In the terrific fight the Church had to make against the degrading practices of the pagan world in matters of sex, they were obliged to put restrictions that were intended to prevent anyone from appearing in the nude in public baths.

Conclusion. The triumph of the Church as the official religion of the state, the formulation of Christian doctrines into fixed credal statements, the rejection of humanistic learning, the suppression of free inquiry, went hand in hand with the ritualization of Christianity. Henceforth education was no longer a liberal training of the powers of the individual or an enlightenment through science and philosophy. Education became a narrow regimentation of the soul; only enough instruction was given to train the youth to perform the offices and ritual of Church worship.

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[61] Rowbotham, John Frederick, *A History of Music*, Vol. III, pp. 96–97. London: Trübner & Co., 1885.

[62] Wright, F. A., *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, pp. 363–365. Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library. By permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

After the sixth century the ancient public schools died out in many places, and concurrently the first efforts were made to introduce the liberal arts into the Cathedral schools of the bishops.

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14

The Beginnings of Christian Schools in the Roman World

Roman institutions continued into the Middle Ages in the Roman Catholic Church. The fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian Era witnessed the end of the ancient period of European history and the beginnings of the Middle Ages. Though an era had closed, much of its life was continued in the new age that was just opening. Classical antiquity had passed, but much of the language, the scholarship, the capacity for discipline and organization, the practical ability, the sense of public responsibility, and the institutional machinery which belonged to ancient Rome survived in the Roman Catholic Church.

For the Church in the West was built, in those early days, by Romans, who, if they had laid aside the toga, still brought Roman character to their work. Pope Leo the Great, Pope Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Benedict, Cassiodorus, and other great Romans salvaged from the wreckage of ancient civilization materials to be used in constructing the kingdom of God on earth. It must never be forgotten that these men brought to the Church the Latin tongue, a tradition of music, a style of architecture, Roman discipline, and the Roman administrative system. The barbarian invasions had not destroyed Roman culture. For centuries before the final collapse of the Roman government in the West, barbarians had been moving into the Empire, but the Romans were not by any means completely displaced. Hordes of Germans, for example, found homes in Gaul and in Italy before 476 A.D. The Germans were sometimes allies of Rome; at others, they were in arms against her; but they gradually established themselves in the Empire, and became increasingly Roman.[1] When barbarian kingdoms were at length established, Romans were chief ministers and advisers to the rulers; the new kingdoms sought the recognition of Constantinople; and, most important of all, the new rulers acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Rome. While a profound transformation was wrought in the life and thought of western Europe between 300 and 600 A.D., the men who wrought it never lost sight of their Roman heritage.

I. THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

Roman persecution of Christians. By far the most important aspects of this change were the growth of the Christian Church, the elaborate machinery and system of doctrine which it developed, and the displacing of paganism as a way of life by Roman Catholic Christianity. In these early centuries the Church achieved an ascendancy over the minds and consciences of the peoples of western Europe which was not shaken until the Renaissance. This victory of the Church over paganism came after centuries of conflict. During about two hundred and fifty years of this period of struggle, the Church was persecuted—from the reign of Nero until 313 A.D., when it won full status in the Empire. After that date, Christianity drove paganism steadily back, until its victory was complete.

The course of the long struggle between Christianity and paganism can here be indicated but briefly. Less than a generation after the death of its founder, the new faith was established at Rome and soon had many adherents there. Before many years Christianity became a proscribed religion within the Empire, and those who professed it were punished as lawbreakers. Persecutions began in 64 A.D. and went on intermittently until the last great persecutions—those under Diocletian—came to an end. In this long period Christians in great numbers were arrested and put in prisons, and thousands of them were put to death. Laws against Christians were not enforced at all times with equal rigor. There were periods of considerable length during which those of the "New Way" lived in comparative tranquillity, at others they were hunted down and persecuted relentlessly.

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[1] Laistner, M. L. W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe*, 500–900 A.D., pp. 7–9. New York: The Dial Press, 1930.

The reasons for the peculiar hostility of the Roman government—which tolerated many religions—to Christianity are not far to seek. The Christians were not a nation, but a sect. Now while the Romans were willing to recognize the *mores* and religious observances of any nation, they could neither understand nor tolerate those who forsook ancestral customs and beliefs. Romans regarded the Christians as apostates, who despised and had forsaken the religion of their own fathers. The emperors, moreover, were greatly opposed to the formation of associations of every sort and were sparing of the authorization of new ones. The secret meetings of the Christians, furthermore, were made the ground of scandal, stories being circulated to the effect that at these meetings the most abhorrent practices were engaged in. Finally, the refusal of the Christians to have any part in the worship of the state cults or to pay homage to the Emperor as divine set them apart from others and brought them under suspicion of disloyalty to the government.

One effect of the persecutions was to shape the Christians into a disciplined and compact group. Hesitant and fearful persons did not seek membership in the Church. The new faith, furthermore, was given the status of a great cause, so that those who suffered for it were regarded by their coreligionists not as criminals, but as heroes. The devotion and courage of the victims of persecution so attracted people that Tertullian declared: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." The spirit with which the martyrs met torture and death was cited by apologists as proof of the divine origin and power of Christianity. Surely, it was said, a power not of earth must have sustained them.

Persecution and the ascetic ideal. The ever-present prospect of martyrdom imposed upon Roman Christians, from 64 to 311 A.D., the necessity of being prepared to meet torture and death without shrinking. For to fail under trial and renounce the faith was not only to lose hope of a heavenly reward, but to bring contempt upon the name of Christian. Members of the Church, therefore, trained to meet their persecutors as soldiers trained for warfare or athletes for the games. The Apostle Paul, indeed, had warned Christians that they were launched upon a long, hard race and upon a struggle with an enemy more powerful than any foe of flesh and blood, and had urged them to contend to the utmost.[2]

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[2] *I Corinthians* 9:25–27.

The idea that Christians must be schooled in self-denial to meet the trials which beset them runs through all the literature of the Church, and it is especially prominent in early Christian writings. Preparation for martyrdom was undertaken systematically. H. D. M. Spence-Jones writes:

> It was not a haphazard temporary piece of work, this "training for martyrdom," but as we shall see a veritable "school," a protracted education for an awful, for a not improbable contingency. At the end of the second and through the third century it was evidently a recognized and important Christian agency.[3]

Canon Spence-Jones shows further that the simile of the athlete as cited from the writings of St. Paul expresses the philosophy of the schools of martyrdom. Those who anticipated martyrdom trained themselves to keep before their eyes the vision of the martyr's heavenly reward. They constantly reminded themselves of the joy under persecution and of the triumphs of those who had suffered for the Faith. But reflecting upon the joys of heaven and recalling the heroism of earlier martyrs was but a part of this schooling. Manuals were prepared to instruct Christians as to how they should comport themselves in case they were brought before judges, and to furnish their minds for the law courts and the arena. There seem to have been regular formulas with which Christians were to answer magistrates when questioned, and these the prospective martyrs learned.[4] They learned, too, passages of the Scripture, so that they might sustain themselves in prison or when undergoing the final agonies of martyrdom by repeating the promises of their holy book. Such passages as these might be stored in memory:

> Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.

and

> Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

But preparation of the mind by such exercises as these was not enough for those who were to endure the agonies of prison and of the arena. Body and mind must be hardened if believers were to undergo imprisonment, flogging, and the last extremity: that of giving up their lives beneath the executioner's sword, or in fire, or under the fangs and claws of the beasts of the arena. This hardening was physical and was accomplished by exercise in laborious effort, by the practice of self-denial, and by undergoing self-imposed tortures. Such austerities were not practiced for their own sake, but because they strengthened those who bore them, so that they could endure without quailing, should they be called upon to suffer martyrdom.[5]

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[3] Spence-Jones, H. D. M., *The Early Christians at Rome*, p. 198. London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1911.

[4] Spence-Jones, H. D. M., *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

It was, unhappily, true that the practice of austerities was all too often attended by abuses. There were, without question, fanatics and exhibitionists whose self-imposed tortures were not the means of strengthening character, but the expressions of diseased minds. The Church set itself firmly to eradicate such abuses. The position of the Church as respects the purposes of asceticism is clearly stated by Tertullian. He writes to prospective martyrs:

> You are about to pass through a noble struggle in which the living God acts the part of Superintendent (of the games) in which the Holy Ghost is your trainer, in which the prize is an eternal crown of angelic essence. . . . Therefore, your Master, Jesus Christ, who has anointed you with his spirit, and led you from a condition more pleasant in itself, and imposed on you a harder treatment [as a course of discipline] that your strength may be greater.[6]

Ancient asceticism outside of Christianity. The strong impulse toward asceticism furnished by the persecutions was reinforced by very ancient and wide-spread tradition, and by philosophical systems which taught contempt of the flesh and resistance to earthly desires. Long before there were Christian ascetics there were persons who, in order to achieve a state of religious ecstasy, or to liberate themselves from distracting cares, or to propitiate supernatural beings, practiced self-denial or inflicted pain upon their own bodies. Commonly, marriage, the use of wine, and the eating of certain foods were avoided by such persons. Some were priests who practiced asceticism only at intervals in connection with particular religious rituals; others lived as mendicants in the midst of their fellows, who went about the ordinary business of life; others lived as hermits;

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[5] Tertullian, *Ad Martyras.*

[6] Tertullian, "Ad Martyras," 3, *The Writings of Tertullian,* Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869.

still others formed ascetic communities the members of which practiced rites and austerities peculiar to their group.

So numerous and widely diffused are the instances of pre-Christian asceticism that a few examples only can be mentioned. Among the ancient Greeks the mysteries and the Pythagorean Brotherhood are prominent instances of institutions in which ascetic practices were important features. Jewish ascetics, called Essenes, were numerous from the age of the Maccabees until well into the first century A.D. The Essenes were communists, who supported themselves by agriculture and other forms of simple manual labor. They recognized no distinctions of rank save the natural one of age. They were pacificists, and were devoted to a life of brotherhood and of simple piety. There were many types of Jewish ascetics—notably the Therapeutae of Egypt, who so resembled the later Christian monks that they were thought by certain Church fathers to have been Christian converts made by Mark the Evangelist.

Asceticism was an important aspect of two influential ancient philosophies—Cynicism and Neoplatonism. The good man of the Cynics was self-sufficing—he had freed himself from worldly responsibilities and cares. The Cynics regarded wealth, authority, friends, and domestic ties all as harmful, for they prevent the man who has them from living by himself and for himself. Neoplatonism and the closely allied Neo-Pythagoreanism likewise taught that the highest life can be won only by way of contempt of pleasure and escape from the world. The life of reason, so these systems taught, is actually hampered by the senses and by the desires of the flesh. Iamblichus writes:

> The greatest of all evils is pleasure; because by it the soul is nailed or riveted to the body, and thinks that true which the body persuades it, and is thus deprived of the sense of divine things.[7]

Roots of Christian asceticism in the Old and New Testaments. Fasting, abstinence from particular foods, and other forms of self-denial are prescribed in the Old Testament. Certain of the Hebrew prophets withdrew from society to live as hermits. Others formed traveling bands; and there is certainly one reference in the Old Testament to a religious community.[8] One of the great prophetic figures of the New Testament, John the

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[7] Quoted by William Hartpole Lecky, *History of European Morals*, Vol. I, p. 327. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1926.

[8] *II Kings* 6:1–4.

Baptist, emerged from the wilderness where he had lived as a hermit to begin his public career as a preacher of religion. In a great number of passages of the New Testament the Christian is urged to despise the world and to subdue the appetites of the flesh. He is told: "Love not the world,"[9] and "Know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever, therefore, will be the friend of the world is the enemy of God."[10] To a wealthy young man it was said: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me."[11] Jesus and his disciples seem to have shared a common purse, and in the years just following the crucifixion, the inner band of Christians had their property in common and formed a community devoted to worship and to charity.[12] Paul, while he warns against those who forbid Christians to marry, still declares that marriage brings distractions which interfere with the service of God.[13] Elsewhere in the New Testament[13a] a decided preference for celibacy over marriage is evident.

II. THE HERMIT'S LIFE BECOMES A PROMINENT FEATURE OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Both in the early history of the Church and in later times, innumerable Christians practiced the self-denial enjoined by their religion, but without any sharp rupture with the ordinary course of life. They disciplined themselves, but carried on the ordinary business of farm, shop, store, and family very much after the ordinary fashion of their day. Others lived among their fellows, but forsook all worldly interests for lives of extreme self-denial. Of these persons, who sought by the practice of special austerities to attain spiritual perfection, Lecky writes:

> From the foundation of the Church to A.D. 250, there were men and women who, with a view to spiritual perfection, abstained from marriage, relinquished amusements, accustomed themselves to severe fasts, and gave up their property to work for charity; but did this in the middle of society without leading the life either of a hermit or a monk.[14]

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[9] *I John* 2:15.
[10] *James* 4:4.
[11] *Matthew* 19:21.
[12] *Acts* 2:44–45; 4:32, 34–37; 5:1–10.
[13] *I Timothy* 4:3.
[13a] *Matthew* 19:10–12; *Revelation* 14:1–5.
[14] Lecky, W. H., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 102.

A tendency soon manifested itself, however, for those of ascetic life to live as hermits. This tendency was stimulated by the persecutions which had already put a premium upon the discipline afforded by the ascetic life. During the Decian persecutions, many Christians fled to the deserts to escape from their enemies. Fugitives became hermits, and the hermit's life soon came to be regarded as one of peculiar sanctity. Such hermits were not priests, but in many quarters they gained a greater ascendancy over the popular mind than did the clergy. Prominent hermits—notably Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony—dramatized the movement, and soon thousands of persons, both men and women, had left their homes to live as solitaries in the desolate parts of Syria, northern Africa, and in southern and western Europe. The movement was stimulated further by the oppressive burdens of taxation and public services imposed by the imperial government; for if the hermit's life was empty of comforts and refinements, it was also free from unbearable tensions to which persons of wealth and position were exposed. Many Christians left the world, moreover, because of disgust with its degeneracy and vices. The eremitical life first became popular in Syria and in Egypt and spread rapidly to all parts of the Roman empire.

The hermits tended to develop the practice of extremely severe austerities. This was particularly true in Syria, where that hermit who succeeded in devising and inflicting upon himself the most grotesque and painful forms of torture was sure to be regarded by a large following as excelling in holiness. As a result, hermits became rivals in fasting, in abstaining from water, in resisting sleep, and in innumerable other forms of self-torture. Some never bathed or pared their nails; some carried heavy weights everywhere and at all times; some, called "pillar saints"—among whom Simeon Stylites is most noted—built high columns upon which they passed years of their lives. If large sections of the populace regarded such anchorites as saints, the common-sense of the western Church detected the dangers in their practices. It was seen that fanatics and charlatans had been attracted to the ranks of the anchorites; it became a principal task of the Church to restrain the extreme enthusiasts and to drive the mountebanks from the ranks of the hermits, while it so combined the valuable elements of the ascetic way of life as to make it the means of producing rich and tempered religious spirits. For there are valuable elements in asceticism. The Cynic's two principles: that the individual is the ethical unit, and that the human spirit must not allow itself to become dependent upon material things; the Neoplatonist's exaltation of spirit over flesh, and the athlete's disciplining of body and mind in obedience to a purpose, all embody profound ethical insights. In the New Testament these principles and purposes are transformed. It is the individual *life,* not the individual reason only, that becomes ethically significant and so infinitely precious; it is the whole personality which must be freed from dependence upon things and kept from defilement—not reason alone that is to be kept from entanglements; it is not for some mean or selfish gain, but for the imperishable reward of a holy character that the Christian athlete undergoes discipline. It was by developing monastic life under rule that the Church was able to make the ascetic way of life the means of producing Christian character. Choice spirits learned in the bareness of monastic cells and in the fellowship of their fellow monks to develop resources within themselves that material things cannot confer. Having resources within their own spirits, they went on to create the architecture, music, manuscript writing and illumination, painting, practical arts, and body of scholarship that are among the finest achievements of the human spirit.

The beginning of Christian monasticism. It was the almost universal practice of Christian ascetics of the third century to live as hermits; but early in the fourth century an important change was inaugurated—groups of religious persons living communal lives were formed, and Christian monasticism was born. Two men stand as founders of monasticism: they are St. Anthony and St. Pachomius.

St. Anthony lived for many years as a hermit, but many persons, attracted by his great reputation for holiness, congregated about his solitary retreat and, at length, induced him to become their leader and teacher. Thus, about 305 A.D., a sort of colony of hermits was formed. Emerging, as this colony did, from the eremitical life, it never acquired the character of a community living under rule. Each member worked individually, and his practice of devotion, charity, and of austerities was voluntary in character. Members lived as solitaries and had almost no common activity beyond gathering for worship on Saturdays and Sundays.

About 320 A.D., a new departure in Christian monasticism was inaugurated by the founding, in upper Egypt, of a community of religious persons, the members of which lived a corporate life according to a *Rule*. They formed, therefore, a true monastery. The founder of this community was St. Pachomius, who had been an officer in the imperial army. Before the death of St. Pachomius, which occured in 346 A.D., other monasteries for men and nunneries for women had been established and were being conducted according to the Pachomian *Rule;* about 3,000 persons were attached to the order. The *Rule* prescribed a regular order of work, sleep, and eating, and, most important of all, of religious exercises. Work was engaged in, not as necessary for support merely, but as an integral part of the monastic or *cenobitic* way of life—a most significant development. Palladius, after describing the orderly manner in which the monks had their meals by groups, writes:

> And their work was in like fashion: one worked in the fields, another in the garden, another in the smithy, another in the bakery, another at carpentry, another at fulling, another at basketmaking, another in the tanyard, another at shoemaking, another at tailoring, another at calligraphy.[15]

The Pachomian cloisters formed a system, at the head of which was an abbot. Priors ruled local divisions. Entrance to the order was guarded by three years' strict probation. Members wore a regular garb.[16]

Spread of monasticism to Greek-speaking lands, to Italy, and to northwestern Europe. Christian monasticism was established in Greek-speaking lands about the middle of the fourth century. The leading founder of Greek monasticism was St. Basil, who established a monastery near Pontus. He developed more fully than had Pachomius the idea of community life.

> St. Basil established a common roof, a common table, and a common prayer always; so that we meet here, for the first time in Christian monastic legislation the idea of the cenobium, and the common life properly so called.[17]

Orphanages for children of both sexes and schools—to which *oblati,* that is, boys vowed to the monastic life, and boys who were not to become monks were alike admitted—were associated with Basilian monasteries. St. Basil discouraged excesses of self-denial and self-punishment and relied upon work as one of the great means of religious development. In these respects he anticipated the later reforms of St. Benedict.

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[15] Quoted by Dom E. C. Butler, "Monasticism," *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, p. 524. Cambridge: The University Press, 1911.

[16] Flick, A. C., *The Rise of the Medieval Church,* pp. 209–210. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

[17] Butler, Dom E. C., "Monasticism," *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, p. 528.

St. Athanasius introduced monasticism into Italy about the time it entered the Greek-speaking world. The movement quickly became very popular there—men and women of wealth and high social position in great numbers forsook the world of fashion for the ascetic life. Late in the fourth century, Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, inaugurated the practice of having the clerics of his cathedral live as in a monastery. Before this time, monks had, as the usual thing, been laymen. The practice inaugurated by Eusebius became a custom—cathedral clergy lived a communal life, and monks, as a regular thing, became clerics.

Distinctive types of monasticism developed in Gaul and Ireland, and other parts of Christendom. The current of history which we are following, however, flowed for centuries through the Italian monasteries and those which were founded under Benedictine influence. Our account, therefore, now turns to the lives of the Great Latin Fathers—St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Benedict, and Gregory the Great.

III. FATHERS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

St. Ambrose, father of church music. Few men have had a larger part in forming the character of the Middle Ages in Europe than had St. Ambrose (*c.* 340–397), Bishop of Milan. A member of a distinguished Roman family, Ambrose was thoroughly educated in Greek and Latin rhetoric and in the law. While he was serving as a government official and even before he was baptized, Ambrose was elected by the people of Milan to be their bishop. He held this high office for twenty-three years—discharging his duties with the greatest ability and utmost faithfulness. It was under his ministry that St. Augustine openly embraced the Christian faith.

St. Ambrose achieved eminence in the work of the Church in many directions. He was a great theologian and wrote a number of books in which the principal points of Catholic orthodoxy are stated and defended. He maintained the Catholic system against both the Arians and the vanishing pagans. Ambrose was one of the greatest administrators of the early Church. In the third century the civil power was supreme in Italy, even in matters of faith. Ambrose asserted and maintained the independence of the Church and its supremacy in spiritual matters, and by doing so laid the foundation for much of the power later enjoyed by the Popes and hierarchy of the Church. He employed his thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin literature in the service of the Catholic faith. His treatise, *The Duties of the Clergy,* for example, follows as its model the *De Officiis* of Cicero; so Ambrose not only contributed to the growing literature of Christian ethics, but brought to that literature something of the form and intellectual content of classical scholarship.

The third-century movement toward asceticism had in Ambrose one of its most effective leaders. He regarded the unmarried state as especially favorable to the soul's perfection and so effectively urged young girls to adopt the life of perpetual virginity that parents were afraid to permit their daughters to hear him preach. He wrote treatises in praise of the unmarried state. Mary, the mother of Jesus, was to be presented to young girls as the model of their lives. Lesser saints, who chose never to marry, too, were to be held up as models. He praised especially the conduct of girls who enter upon the religious life against the wishes of their parents—who find the voice of conscience stronger than the entreaties and commands of their relatives. The treatises of Ambrose in praise of virginity and other works of this type exercised an immense influence upon the thought and education of western Europe. They were studied for direct guidance upon the subject of the education of girls throughout the Middle Ages.

Ambrose, moreover, elaborated the liturgy of the Church, wrote a number of hymns, and was the author of the musical form known as the Ambrosian chant. The Ambrosian chant was developed by later musicians into the Gregorian chant, so that Ambrose gave to the Middle Ages one of its most important civilizing and educating forces.

St. Augustine, philosopher of early Christianity. The fourth and fifth Christian centuries witnessed the creation of systems of thought which, amended by St. Thomas and restated by Luther and Calvin, dominated the intellectual life of western Europe until the twentieth century. The intellectual framework of this system of thought is Neoplatonism, which passed into the life of the church largely as a result of the work of Aurelius Augustinus (354–430), Bishop of Hippo in Proconsular Africa. In the synthesis of Greek philosophies which had occurred in the dying ancient world, Neoplatonism had given its color to all speculation. Its shadowy mysticism appealed to poorly disciplined intellects, and its contempt of the world lent itself easily as a mechanism of escape to those who found the strain of practical affairs too heavy. Until long after Christianity had become the official religion of the Roman Empire, there were Neoplatonic schools in all the chief cities, and in the fourth century Christian theologians were trained in them.[18]

Augustine was born in North Africa in 354 A.D. He was educated in Latin grammar and rhetoric, and became a rhetorician. Never greatly attracted to Greek or to mathematics, Augustine was devoted to Latin literature and wrote with great fluency and power. He was the son of a Christian mother, but it was not until he was thirty-three years of age that, at Milan and under the preaching of St. Ambrose, he embraced Christianity. He later became Bishop of Hippo, a city of Africa, not far from his birthplace. He wrote a great number of letters, tracts, and books. Of his books the *Confessions, The City of God,* and *Of Christian Doctrine* are of most interest to students of education. The *Confessions,* which is autobiographical, tells the story of Augustine's own education and reveals his mind in a wonderful way. In *The City of God,* Augustine develops fully the distinctive Christian doctrine of the two kingdoms, the one earthly, which is temporal and full of illusion, and the other heavenly, which is eternal and the abode of all truth and goodness. Our hopes, he teaches, must center upon heavenly things. What if earthly hopes and aims come to nothing—such disappointments teach us to lay up treasures in heaven. Not even the fall of Rome can terrify the Christian. To the charge, brought by the pagans, that Rome, after centuries of security under her ancient gods, had no sooner become Christian than she was over-run by her enemies, Augustine makes reply that the destruction of the ancient city was all a part of God's plan. The time had come for the establishment of the City of God on earth—for the beginning of a new order of things.[19] Rome had united the world, only to prepare the way for the reign of Christ.

The educational principles of St. Augustine. The basis of St. Augustine's educational theory is to be found in his metaphysics.

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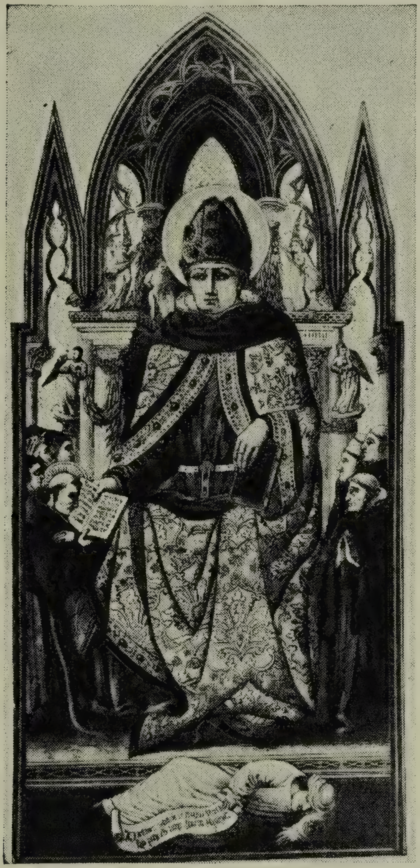
[18] Mellone, S. H., *Western Christian Thought in the Middle Ages,* p. 46. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 1935.

[19] Turner, C. H., "The Organization of the Church," *Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. I, pp. 170, 543.

He accepts the Platonic position that the super-sensible world of Ideas is the realm of Goodness, Truth, and Wisdom; while in the world of sense the search for goodness and truth yields only fleeting delights which are debasing, and changing opinions which are full of error. Truth and Goodness are to be possessed only by those who are possessed of God, who is Truth and Goodness. Surrender to Him in the union of faith is the way to knowledge and to wisdom. Dependence upon sense and reason lead to error —genuine knowledge is one with faith. He writes:



St. Augustine, in Bishop's Dress, Giving a Book of Prayers to the Clergy. At his feet lies Aristotle, whose teaching he has refuted. (A fifteenth century painting.)

> But there are some whose intelligence apprehends, in so far as this is given to man, the fact that there is pure and simple Wisdom and Truth, which is the peculiar property of no living being, but which imparts wisdom and truth to all souls alike who are susceptible of its influence.[20]

It is clear, therefore, that St. Augustine is in agreement with Plato in holding that but few are capable of attaining to truth and wisdom, that truth is absolute and unchanging, and that these can be gained only as sense is transcended in intuition—a mystical grasping of the truth. He takes, however, a revolutionary position as respects the object of truth. His position is that truth is to be found only within Catholic unity, and is defined by Catholic authority. He says:

> Wherefore, . . . will you, Dioscorus, or will any man of an observant mind, hesitate to affirm that in no way could better provision have been made for the pursuit of truth by mankind than that a Man [Jesus Christ is meant], assumed into ineffable and miraculous union by the Truth Himself, and being the manifestation of His Person on the earth, should by perfect teaching and divine acts move men to saving faith in that which could not as yet be intellectually apprehended? To the glory of Him who has done this we give our service; and we exhort you to believe immoveably and steadfastly in Him through whom it has come to pass that not a select few, but whole peoples, unable to discern these things by reason, do accept them in faith, until, upheld by instruction in saving truth, they escape from these perplexities into the atmosphere of perfectly pure and simple truth.[21]

Augustine goes on to say that champions of error claim the shelter of the Christian name. But, he declares, the authority to pronounce upon the truth or error of teaching belongs to the Church.

> He who is the most merciful Lord of faith has both secured the Church in the citadel of authority by most famous oecumenical Councils and the Apostolic sees themselves, and furnished her with the abundant armour of equally invincible reason by means of a few men of pious erudition and unfeigned spirituality. The perfection of method in training disciples is, that those who are weak be encouraged to the utmost to enter the citadel of authority, in order that when they have been safely placed there, the conflict necessary for their defence may be maintained with the most strenuous use of reason.[22]

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[20] St. Augustine, *Works*, Vol. XIII, "Letter to Dioscorus." No. CXVIII, § 26. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1875.

[21] *Ibid.*, § 32.

[22] *Ibid.*, § 32.

The exercise of reason, therefore, is limited by Catholic authority. The Church should prescribe the character and extent of studies—should distinguish between what is to be investigated and what is to be shunned. Conceit of knowledge is bad; so mere erudition is to be avoided. There is no value in investigating the theories of pagan philosophers.[23] Witchcraft is evil, and all the arts of the necromancers are prohibited to the Christian; for Augustine directs that such parts of human learning "as have relation to fellowship with devils must . . . be utterly rejected." [24] There are, however, parts of learning which are of value to the Christian. Among secular matters which may be studied, Augustine lists the forms of letters, the various languages, and the writing of shorthand. He says:

> All these are useful, and there is nothing unlawful in learning them, nor do they involve us in superstition, or enervate us by luxury, if they only occupy our minds so far as not to stand in the way of more important objects to which they ought to be subservient.[25]

History, the natural sciences, logic, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and even philosophy, all have something of advantage for students of the Scriptures. Therefore, just as the children of Israel took gold and silver with them as they fled from the land of Egypt, so the Christian, as he renounces worldly aims and ambitions, may still retain such worldly learning as will aid him in understanding and following Christian teaching. He is not to expect to glean much from his secular studies, however, for the treasures he takes from secular learning to the study of the Scriptures are as nothing compared with the riches he will find there.

St. Augustine illustrates the use that may be made of secular learning. The student of history, he says by way of illustration, discovers that Plato visited Egypt, and may have learned there, from the Prophet Jeremiah, "those views of his which are so justly praised." [26] History, moreover, furnishes the student with a chronology. Furthermore, the study of natural sciences makes it possible to distinguish between superstition and "the lawful and free kind of knowledge." By way of illustration, he says:

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[23] *Ibid.*, § 27.
[24] St. Augustine, ***Works***, Vol. IX, "Of Christian Doctrine," Bk. II, c. 26.
[25] *Idem.*
[26] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 28.

> For it is one thing to say: If you bruise down this herb and drink it, it will remove the pain from your stomach; and another to say: If you hang this herb round your neck, it will remove the pain from your stomach. In the former case the wholesome mixture is approved of, in the latter the superstitious charm is condemned.[27]

Augustine's discussion of the value of mathematics to the Christian scholar is a curious mixture of fantastic tradition and of genuinely scientific reasoning. He points out, on the one hand, that the study of numbers leads to the discovery of relations and of "fixed laws not made by man." [28] But, on the other hand, he explains that the science of numbers enables the student of the Scriptures to understand figurative and mystical truths which are set down there.

> A candid mind . . . cannot but be anxious, for example, to ascertain what is meant by the fact that Moses and Elijah, and our Lord Himself, all fasted for forty days. And except by knowledge of and reflection upon the number, the difficulty of explaining the figure involved in this action cannot be got over. For the number contains ten four times, indicating the knowledge of all things, and that knowledge interwoven with time. For both the diurnal and the annual revolutions are accomplished in periods numbering four each; the diurnal in the hours of the morning, the noontide, the evening, and the night; the annual in the spring, summer, autumn, and winter months. Now while we live in time, we must abstain and fast from all joy in time, for the sake of that eternity in which we wish to live; although by the passage of time we are taught this very lesson of despising time and seeking eternity. Further, the number ten signifies the knowledge of the Creator and of the creature, for there is a trinity in the Creator; and the number seven indicates the creature, because of the life and the body. For the life consists of three parts, whence also God is to be loved with the whole heart, the whole soul, and the whole mind; and it is very clear that in the body there are four elements of which it is made up. In this number ten, therefore, when it is placed before us in connection with time, that is, when it is taken four times, we are admonished to live unstained by, and not partaking of, any delight in time, that is, to fast for forty days.[29]

The fanciful search for mystical meanings had a profound effect upon the study of the Scriptures throughout the Middle Ages. It was not until the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Biblical students adopted generally two principles of interpretation now everywhere recognized as sound: (1) That the first essential in understanding any literary production is to discover just what the text is and the plain meaning of its words; and (2) That any literary work is to be understood in the light of the historical setting in which it was produced. Once these principles were understood, scholars developed the sciences of textual and historical criticism. In throwing the weight of his immense influence into the scale on the side of the search for mystical interpretation of the Scripture, Augustine assisted very greatly to retard the progress of Biblical scholarship in particular, and of humanism and science in general.

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[27] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 29.
[28] *Ibid.*, c. 38.
[29] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 16.

Augustine did not trust the human intellect. The student is warned to beware of pride of learning, and to limit intellectual activity.

> Accordingly, I think that it is well to warn studious and able young men, who fear God and are seeking for happiness of life, not to venture heedlessly upon the pursuit of the branches of learning that are in vogue beyond the pale of the Church of Christ, as if these could secure for them the happiness they seek; but soberly and carefully to discriminate among them. . . . But for the sake of the necessities of this life we must not neglect arrangements of men that enable us to carry on intercourse with those around us. I think, however, that there is nothing useful in the other branches of learning that are found among the heathen, except information about objects, either past or present, that relate to the bodily senses, in which are included also the sciences of reason and of number. And in regard to all these we must hold by the maxim, "Not too much of anything." [30]

As a boy Augustine had found the learning of Latin easy and pleasant, while he disliked the study of arithmetic and Greek. He rightly deduces that "a free curiosity hath more influence in our learning these things than necessity and fear." [31] But this statement of his is no defense of childish preferences. In childhood, he hated arithmetic, which he later approved, and delighted in the "poetical fictions," which he later held in contempt. But the restraints of law and instruction are, he says, necessary —the very fears and punishments of childhood are necessary, to Christian character. He writes:

> But this last ["necessity full of fear"] restrains the overflowings of that freedom, through thy laws, O God,—Thy laws, from the ferule of the

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[30] *Ibid.*, Bk. II, c. 39.
[31] *Confessions*, c. 14.

schoolmaster to the trials of the martyr, being effective to mingle for us a salutary bitter, calling us back to thyself from the pernicious delights which allure us from Thee.[32]

There is no learning, he says, without punishment. "The birch, the strap, the cane," are necessary to subdue the child. Only by such means is it possible "to overcome ignorance and bridle evil desires—these evils with which we come into the world." [33]

Summary of Augustine's influence. The net result of Augustine's writing on education was to retard free scholarship. He advocated limiting study to the narrowly utilitarian and to theology. The humanities, free speculation, and the higher study of mathematics and science were rejected. He distrusted the child's nature as evil and approved the severe punishments to which children were subjected, because he believed them necessary to subdue and modify the evil nature, common to all members of the human race. The fantastic methods of Bible study which he advocated were calculated to retard all forms of literary scholarship. On the other hand, the rigor of his moral thinking and the intensity of his convictions made St. Augustine one of the great forces in developing the ecclesiastical discipline which was to mold European character anew in the Middle Ages. This disciplining and reforming of European character, after the moral chaos which Roman imperialism had brought into the world, was the necessary condition of all the advances in the fine arts, scholarship, statecraft, and the practical arts which were to be made in the later Middle Ages and in the modern world.

The scholar of early asceticism. St. Jerome is one of the most notable of the Fathers of the Latin church.[34] He was a leader in introducing monasticism into Italy and in giving it the distinctive character which it acquired in Western Europe. He was, moreover, the author of the translation of the Bible known as the *Vulgate,* and to him we owe the distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books of the Bible. He wrote numerous letters and pamphlets which are valuable sources for the history of his life and times, and which exercised an enormous influence upon the course of early Christian thought.

Jerome was born, about 340, in Dalmatia. He was thoroughly educated in literature and philosophy and had excellent opportunities to observe the conduct of public affairs. Donatus was his teacher of grammar, and he studied at Rome, Treves, and other centers of Latin scholarship and Roman government. He came of a Christian family and was trained as a monk. Religious asceticism and scholarship were the two great interests of Jerome's life, but learning was secondary to religion, and from the date of the dream in which he heard his Lord charge that he was no Christian, but a Ciceronian, he resolved to make the service of Christ his only aim in study and in authorship. At Rome he was the leader of a group of persons who studied the Scriptures. He taught Hebrew, translated the New Testament from the Greek into Latin, and wrote pious works. Later he left Rome, and after some travel in the East settled at Bethlehem, where a wealthy friend—a pious widow named Paula—had built three nunneries and a monastery. At Bethlehem he continued his work of translation and his studies in Christian archeology. These were of the utmost importance. He really founded Christian historical and archeological scholarship, and—aided by Hebrew scholars—translated the Old Testament into Latin. His Latin edition of the Bible was the accepted version in western Europe until the Reformation, and has exercised a tremendous influence upon the course of Biblical scholarship ever since.

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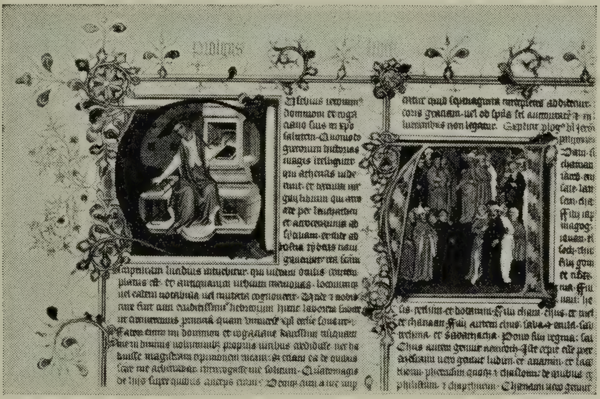
[32] *Ibid.*, Bk. I, c. 14.

[33] *The City of God*, Bk. XXII, c. 22.

[34] Wace, Henry, and Schaff, Philip (Editors), *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. VI, "St. Jerome," p. 9. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.



Page of a Manuscript Vulgate. The miniature at the left shows St. Jerome at his desk; that at the right shows the Patriarchs of I. Chronicles.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

The importance of St. Jerome's work. The letters of St. Jerome to Laeta, to Gaudentius, and to others of his friends, on the subject of the education of girls, were widely quoted throughout the Middle Ages.[35] Medieval writers on the education of girls adopted his unwholesome views respecting the influence of young people upon each other, his condemnation of all the arts, and of all enjoyments of sense, his belief that all liberty should be denied to girls and that they should be reared in seclusion and under strict supervision. Too often they neglected his teaching respecting sound instruction in the elements of learning, the value of affection and of kindness in dealing with children, and even the value of the handicrafts. Western Europe generally employed the monastic pattern in teaching those of its daughters who aspired to a literary education until the present century. There were a few exceptions: women who, in the later Middle Ages, studied the arts and professions in southern Europe, girls who received a part of their education in schools at prince's courts, and a very few ladies of the Renaissance who were educated at home by tutors. Even these had their liberties much circumscribed, and they were exceptional in the opportunities which they enjoyed.

More subtle and harmful still is St. Jerome's view that the life of sense is evil, of itself. To regard the love of men and women for each other as base, and human desires as beastly, was to take a long step toward degrading marriage and every normal function of life.

By fixing the list of books regarded as the authoritative word of God by Roman Catholics and by Protestants alike, and founding Christian historical and Biblical scholarship, and above all by his Latin version of the Bible—the *Vulgate*[36]—Jerome had an enormous part in giving to European scholarship the direction and emphasis which it kept for fourteen hundred years.

The founder of western monasticism. For centuries the only rules published for the government of monastic communities were those developed in the East. The emphasis of these rules was upon the contemplative life; the austerities which they imposed were the principal means of spiritual discipline available to men who lived for the most part as solitaries, and who devoted to productive work only so much time as was necessary to produce the means of bare subsistence. It is not surprising that eastern monasticism, which failed to employ work and companionship as stabilizing influences, tended to produce many fanatics. After monasticism had been introduced at Rome, the excesses of some enthusiasts provoked a reaction against it. But there was much in asceticism which commended it to Christian consciences; and, under the leadership of *St. Benedict of Nursia* (*c.* 480–546), there was developed, in Italy in the sixth century, a type of monasticism which employed asceticism as a means of physical, mental, and spiritual development—not of mere mortification of the body. Benedictine monasticism, in addition to being a means of spiritual improvement for the individual monk, was a principal agency for the preservation and advancement of the arts and a civilizing agency in general for western Europe from the sixth century to the thirteenth century.

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[35] Gardiner, Dorothy, *English Girlhood at School*, pp. 4–8.

[36] In 1546 the Council of Trent declared the *Vulgate* the official version of the Roman Catholic Church.

St. Benedict was born, about 480, not far from Spoleto in Nursia. A member of a good, old family, he attended school at Rome in his boyhood. When a very young man, Benedict became disgusted with the licentiousness of the society about him and fled to a lonely district, about forty miles southeast of Rome, where he lived for some years in a cave as a hermit. He later became abbot of a monastery located near his retreat and, still later, organized twelve associated monastic communities, each with twelve monks, serving as head of the entire group. About 520, accompanied by disciples from his monastic communities, Benedict removed to Monte Cassino, which is situated about midway between Rome and Naples. There he established the famous monastery which was to remain for centuries "a chief center of religious life for western Europe." [37] Monte Cassino quickly attained an extraordinary reputation. Benedict ruled it with rare wisdom and practical ability until his death, which occurred about the middle of the sixth century.

The Rule of St. Benedict. In promulgating his Rule, Benedict announced the purpose of a monastic community: a monastery is "a school for the service of God." [38] The spirit of the rule is moderation—a true Roman, Benedict declared that the mother of the virtues is discretion. He trusted therefore, that he had ordained "nothing severe and nothing burdensome." [39]

Every monk living under the Benedictine rule was attached for life to a particular monastery, which he left, even temporarily, only under exceptional circumstances. Each monastery was ruled by its own abbot, elected by the monks over whom he exercised his patriarchal authority. Not until the thirteenth century were Benedictine houses federated.

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[37] Butler, Rt. Rev. E. C., "St. Benedict of Nursia," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 3, p. 400.

[38] "Prologue," *The Rule of St. Benedict.*

[39] *Ibid.*

The great virtue of a monk, the Rule teaches, is humility, which shows itself at its most elementary stage in instant obedience to the voice of spiritual authority, and at higher stages by silence, gravity, and evidence of constant sorrow for sin. Monks were to pass their lives in a strictly regulated round of worship, work, eating, and sleeping. Provisions of a special interest to students of education were those which regulated the conduct of novices: those which required reading—at meals, privately, and at public worship—and those which prescribed daily manual labor. No monk was to receive letters or gifts, nor was he to own any property, nor to use any luxury. The members of a monastery were to be self-sustaining; all the different arts were to be carried on within its walls, "so that there should be no need for the monks to wander about outside."[40] The only ranks within the monastery were those of priority in the order and of office.

As is natural—since a monastery is "a school for the service of God"—the great business of a monastery and the absorbing interest of its members is worship; the Rule devotes a number of articles to this topic. Article 16, a part of which is quoted below, illustrates the predominant place which worship had in the life of a Benedictine monastery:

> *How Divine Service shall be held through the day.* As the prophet says: "Seven times in the day do I praise Thee." Which sacred number of seven will thus be fulfilled by us if, at matins, at the first, third, sixth, ninth hours, at vesper time and at "completorium" we perform the duties of our service; for it is of these hours of the day that he said: "Seven times in the day do I praise Thee." For, concerning nocturnal vigils, the same prophet says: "At midnight I arose to confess unto Thee." Therefor, at these times, let us give thanks to our Creator concerning the judgments of his righteousness; that is, at matins, etc. . . . and at night we will rise and confess to him . . .[41]

Purity of life, charity, humility—the first grade of which is obedience—and poverty were the virtues most emphasized by the Rule, and, directly or indirectly, every part of the document inculcates all four of them. Article 5, moreover, deals specifically with obedience, and Article 33 with poverty and community of goods. Of obedience, Article 5 says in part:

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[40] *Rule of St. Benedict*, Article 66.

[41] *Rule of St. Benedict*, Article 16. Quoted from Henderson, Ernest F., *Select Documents of the Middle Ages*, p. 283. London: George Bell and Sons, 1907.

> *Concerning obedience.* The first grade of humility is obedience without delay. This becomes those who, on account of the holy service which they have professed, or on account of the fear of hell or the glory of the eternal life consider nothing dearer to them than Christ: so that, so soon as anything is commanded by their superior, they may not know how to suffer delay in doing it, even as if it were a divine command . . . Thus, not living according to their own judgment nor obeying their own desires and pleasures, but walking under another's judgment and command, passing their time in monasteries, let them desire an abbot to rule over them. Without doubt all such live up to that precept of the Lord in which he says: "I am not come to do my own will but the will of him that sent me." . . .[42]

Private property is explicitly forbidden in Article 33 of the Rule:

> *Whether the monks should have anything of their own.* More than anything else this is a special vice to be cut off root and branch from the monastery, that one should presume to give or receive anything without the order of the abbot, or should have anything of his own. He should have absolutely not anything: neither a book, nor tablets, nor a pen—nothing at all.—For indeed it is not allowed to the monks to have their own bodies or wills in their own power. But all things necessary they must expect from the Father of the monastery; nor is it allowable to have anything which the abbot did not give or permit. All things shall be common to all, as it is written: "Let not any man presume to call anything his own."[43]

If a monk was an artisan, not even his skill was his own. The Rule prescribes that arts are to be practiced "with all humility," if the abbot permit. No monk is to profit personally by his art, and, lest avarice crop out, objects manufactured in a monastery and sold for the benefit of the community are to be offered at a lower price than the work of secular artisans. Should an artificer become "inflated with pride on account of knowledge of his art" and regard himself as a benefactor of his monastery, he is to be forbidden to practice his art until the abbot, convinced that his pride has been humbled, again orders him to take it up.[44]

The success of the Benedictine system was astonishing. It spread through western Europe, and so completely displaced other types of cenobitic life that Charlemagne asked "if there had ever been any other monastic Rule than that of Benedict." Throughout the Middle Ages the Benedictines were famous for their scholarship and for their eminence in stock breeding, agriculture, and handicrafts. The eminence of the monasteries which held to the Benedictine Rule was due in considerable measure to the fact that the Rule made reading and manual labor integral parts of monastic life, and gave them a large place in it. Article 48, which describes the routine of a monastic day, affords an insight into the importance of reading and work in a monastery.

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 302–303.

> *Concerning the daily manual labour.* Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore, at fixed times, the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labour, and again, at fixed times, in sacred reading. Therefore we believe that, according to this disposition, both seasons ought to be arranged; so that, from Easter until the Calends of October, going out early from the first until the fourth hour they shall do what labour is necessary. Moreover, from the fourth hour until about the sixth, they shall be free for reading. After the meal of the sixth hour, moreover, rising from the table, they shall rest in their beds with all silence; or, perchance, he that wishes to read may so read to himself that he do not disturb another. And the nona (the second meal) shall be gone through with more moderately about the middle of the eighth hour; and again they are to work at what is to be done until Vespers. But, if the exigency or poverty of the place demands that they be occupied by themselves in picking fruits, they shall not be dismayed: for then they are truly monks if they live by the labours of their hands; as did also our fathers and the apostles. . . . From the Calends of October, moreover, until the beginning of Lent they shall be free for reading until the second full hour. At the second hour the tertia (morning service) shall be held, and all shall labour at the task which is enjoined upon them until the ninth. The first signal, moreover, of the ninth hour having been given, they shall each one leave off his work; and be ready when the second signal strikes. Moreover, after the reflection they shall be free for their reading or for psalms. . . . Moreover on Sunday all shall engage in reading: except those who are deputed to various duties. But if anyone be so negligent and lazy that he will not and can not read, some task shall be imposed upon him which he can do; so that he be not idle. On feeble delicate brothers such labour or art is to be imposed, that they shall neither be idle, nor shall they be so oppressed by the violence of labour as to be driven to take flight. Their weakness is to be taken into consideration by the abbot.[45]

For centuries each Benedictine monastery was a separate, autonomous community, subject to no authority beyond its own walls save that of the bishop of the diocese in which it was located.[46] In the tenth century, with a little group of Benedictine monasteries as a nucleus, the Order of Cluniac Benedictines was formed. The order of Cluny was extended with great rapidity to all parts of Catholic Europe and in the twelfth century embraced hundreds of monasteries. In the same century a reform movement among Benedictines resulted in the founding of the Cistercians, or Grey Monks. This order, too, grew rapidly, and was for a time "the most powerful order and chief religious influence in western Europe." [47] The chief influence of the Cistercians on civilization resulted from the improvements which they effected in the breeding of cattle and horses, in agriculture, and in commerce. A feature of the Cistercian communities was the great number of lay brothers attached to each monastery. Lay brothers devoted themselves principally to farming and to the trades; while the duties of the choir and the conduct of religious services devolved upon the choir monks, who were ordained. Late in the Middle Ages the number of lay brothers declined, and the commercial, agricultural, and handicraft activities of the order were diminished in importance. A great number of Benedictine houses were attached to neither of the great orders, but continued their relatively isolated existences. In the thirteenth century legislation was enacted requiring the Benedictine houses of each ecclesiastical province to be federated, and measures were taken to insure uniformity of faith and discipline and to promote mutual aid among monasteries. The Reformation and the revolutions of the eighteenth century did great injury to Benedictine monasticism, but the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed a great revival of the system.

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[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 297–298.

From the sixth century there have been houses of Benedictine nuns, whose contributions to religion, and to the liberal and practical arts have been most notable.

Reference has already been made to the moderation of the Benedictine Rule, and to the enormous contributions made by the monks and nuns of the Benedictine system to the progress of religion, of scholarship, of the fine and practical arts, and of commerce. It remains to point out that the system was a great stabilizing influence. A Benedictine monk was settled in a community so long as he lived; so that life in an abbey had a continuity and uniformity lacking, in those dangerous and troubled days, in towns and on manors. The influence of the arts, of agricultural practices, of intellectual activity and of religious faith and practice of the great Benedictine houses must have been felt for miles outside of their walls. Armies came, conquered, and were scattered; kingdoms were built and broken; mercantile houses grew and declined; but serene and strong, the life of the monastery flowed on through the centuries.

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[46] After the article "Benedictines or Black Monks," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 3, p. 396.

[47] "Cistercians, otherwise Grey or White Monks," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 3, p. 725.

IV. THE GROWTH OF PAPAL POWER

The leadership of Rome in western, or Latin, Christendom. Parallel to the growth of western monasticism was the development of the governmental machinery of the Roman Catholic Church. With the growth of the Church in numbers and in wealth, its organization lost its primitive simplicity and democracy. The clergy became a class apart, with powers and privileges to which the laity were not admitted. Gradually the laity lost the power of electing the bishops. The Church was not, as yet, divided, and as the privileges and ranks of the clergy developed, the Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Rome came to be recognized as pre-eminent. Rome, alone of these cities, belonged to the Latin part of the Church, and it enjoyed the prestige of its ancient imperial dignity. Valentinian III, in 445, recognized the primacy of Rome, at least in the western part of Christendom. The Bishop of Rome, who exercised leadership in the West, had come to be called the Pope.

The Pope at the time Valentinian gave imperial sanction to his primacy, was Leo I, called "the Great," who reigned from 440 to 461. Leo the Great was a man of the highest courage, singleness of purpose, and ability. During his reign Rome was invaded by both the Huns and the Vandals; the death of Valentinian III, which brought an end to the Theodosian dynasty, was followed by strife, intrigue, and confusion; the Church was torn by theological controversies. The failure of the secular government in Italy and the strife within the Church threw a great deal of responsibility upon the Pope, which Leo accepted and bore with such ability as to enhance the power and prestige of the Papacy very greatly. Leo also enriched the breviary of the Church, for many lessons in it have been taken from his sermons.

The inadequacy of native secular leadership in Italy for centuries following the reign of Leo I combined with the increasing alienation of the West from the East in thrusting responsibility for leadership in political and cultural matters as well as in spiritual things upon the Pope of Rome. As the sixth century drew to a close, the language of the Constantinople government had become Greek. Bitter theological disputes had divided the churchmen of Italy from those of the East. Neither the Emperor nor the Lombard kings could maintain order in Italy. Theological unity had, however, been established in the West. Western Europe stood in need of a great leader. It found this leader in Gregory the Great, who reigned as Pope from 590 to 604.

Gregory, first of the medieval Popes. Gregory the Great sprang from a noble Roman family and had reached high rank in the service of the government when, about 574, he decided to embrace the monastic life. He founded seven monasteries, making his home at that one which was located in Rome. In the course of the fourteen years of his reign, Gregory was highly successful in his efforts to extend the bounds of the Church, to unite it, to maintain and enhance the papal authority, and to assert and maintain the independence of the Church. Some of the more important of the achievements by which he enhanced the prestige of the Papacy and defended the independence of the Church were: his defense of Rome against the Lombards; his refusal to recognize the right of the patriarch of Constantinople to the title of "ecumenical"; his vigorous enforcement of moral and religious discipline among the clergy; his care in preserving the rights and property of churches; his enforcing the election of bishops in accordance with Church law; and his care and protection of the poor. He encouraged the missionary efforts of the Church with great success, his most notable missionary achievement being the sending (596) of St. Augustine to England. The winning of the Saxons and subsequently of all Britain to the Roman Church is too well-known a story to demand retelling here. The victory of the Church meant the return of classical scholarship to England.

The writings of St. Gregory exercised a very great influence upon the work and education of the clergy. With great vigor he urged the celibacy of the clergy and the cloistering of monks. He wrote a treatise entitled *The Book of Pastoral Rule,* which treats the authority, responsibilities, and duties of the clergy, and of the way in which the duty of the cleric is to be performed. Gregory regarded the cultivation of the liberal arts as a matter subordinate to the more definitely religious work of the clergy. He took a position quite similar to that of St. Augustine as respects secular learning, holding that it is trivial as compared with sacred things, and that reading of pagan books is not proper for a Christian bishop.

Gregory influenced the course of European education indirectly, for the most part. He united the Church, extended its bounds, disciplined its clergy, asserted its independence, and enhanced the prestige and authority of the Papal office. By doing this he undoubtedly made a contribution of incalculable importance to the growth and unity of Roman Catholic Christianity; and, in the later Middle Ages, Latin Christendom was to cover western Europe with schools and universities.

V. HOW SOMETHING OF ROMAN LITERATURE WAS SALVAGED FOR LATIN CHRISTENDOM

Boethius, "last of the Romans and first of the Scholastics." [48] The phrase quoted in the foregoing heading as descriptive of Boethius (c. 480–524) indicates well the importance of the role which he played in bridging the gap between antiquity and the Middle Ages. Boethius was a minister of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. He was charged with treason, cast into prison, and was put to death in 524.

The fame of Boethius rests upon his work as a translator of Aristotle and commentator on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and the *Topics* of Cicero, and upon certain independent works. He wrote works on logic which exercised a great influence upon the terminology of the subject in western Europe, and which had no small share in teaching the medieval Latin world to employ the framework of Greek thought in religious speculation. His tracts on the Christian religion were less influential. The treatises of Boethius on music and on arithmetic were widely used in schools throughout the Middle Ages. The treatise on music was a textbook at Oxford and Cambridge universities until long after the Renaissance. By all odds, however, the most important book of Boethius was the *Consolations of Philosophy,* a work in which philosophy was employed as "the handmaid of religion" to bring men to God. This book was widely read in the Middle Ages, and was repeatedly translated. Translations of special interest to

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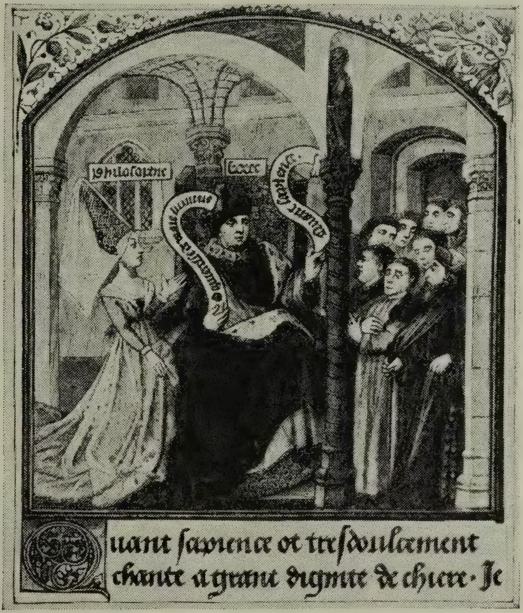
[48] "Boethius Anicius Manlius Severinus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 14th Edition, Vol. 3, p. 777.

English speaking persons are those of Alfred the Great—into Anglo-Saxon—and of Chaucer—into English.

The importance of Boethius lies in the fact that he combined competence in classical scholarship and the ability to write popularly with the interests and point of view of Latin Christianity. His age, and the Middle Ages, could both understand and agree with him, and he brought to the service of the Church a grasp of ancient learning not equaled by any of his literary contemporaries of western Europe. Cassiodorus, in an oft-quoted passage, expressed what Boethius meant to his age. He wrote:


philosophie
uant sapience ot tresdoulcement
chante a grant dignite de chiere · Je

Boethius Takes Counsel of Philosophy: Fifteenth Century.—*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

> You [Boethius] have thoroughly imbued yourself with Greek philosophy. You have translated Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nichomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, and have given back the mechanician Archimedes to his own Sicilian countrymen [whose language, Greek when Archimedes worked at Syracuse, had changed to Latin.] You know the whole science of mathematics, and the marvels wrought thereby. A machine has been made to exhibit the courses of the planets and the

causes of eclipses. What a wonderful art is Mechanics! The mechanician, if we may say so, is almost Nature's comrade, opening her secrets, changing her manifestations, sporting with miracles, feigning so beautifully, that what we know to be illusion is accepted by us as truth.[49]

Cassiodorus, "Father of literary monasticism." [50] Few men had so large a part in preserving treasures of ancient literature and learning and making them a force in Latin Christianity as had the Roman statesman and monk Flavius Magnus Cassiodorus Senator (c. 490–c. 585). Cassiodorus was a member of a Syrian family of distinction which had been settled in Italy for some generations—the ancestral estates being located almost at the extreme southern part of the peninsula, in the instep of the Italian boot. The father of Cassiodorus served as Praetorian Prefect, the highest office open to a subject, under Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. Cassiodorus himself early won the regard of the king and passed through a succession of high offices. Under Athalaric, successor to Theodoric, he became Praetorian Prefect, an office which he held under other monarchs, and from which he probably did not retire until 540. Athalaric was a mere boy, not more than ten years of age when he came to the throne, and his mother was regent during his brief reign. The princess liked and trusted Cassiodorus, and attempted to put into effect his policy of Romanizing the Goths and creating an independent Latin-Gothic kingdom in Italy.

The schools of grammar and rhetoric, so long a part of the bureaucratic system of the Roman Empire, were important factors in the Romanizing process as planned by Cassiodorus. While he was Praetorian Prefect, he wrote in the name of King Athalaric to the Senate of Rome, to urge that the salaries of grammarians be increased. He asserted that the art of grammar is necessary to literature, and literature is a mark of a civilized people. The support of grammarians is, therefore, a proper function of the state.[51]

But the efforts of Cassiodorus to save Latin learning through the Gothic kingdom were futile. The Gothic nobles objected to the Romanizing policy of the regency, and especially to the literary education being given to the young king. It was, they declared, contrary to the maxims of Theodoric, that a young Goth, who should be learning to face sword and spear, should tremble before the strap of the schoolmaster. Athalaric was therefore turned over to the Gothic nobles for his education, but died while still a boy. The Ostrogothic kingdom was being swept swiftly to ruin. Internal intrigues and assassinations and war with the Empire kept Italy in a turmoil. Belisarius, Justinian's great general, took one Italian city after another. Upon the entry of the imperial troops into Ravenna, Cassiodorus retired from public life. His plan to preserve Latin civilization through an independent kingdom of Italy ruled by Romanized Goths had been defeated. The establishment of the Lombard kingdom in Italy about the middle of the sixth century made it certain that this defeat was final.

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[49] Hodgkin, Thomas, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 57. London: Henry Froude, 1886.
[50] Hodgkin, Thomas, *Op. cit.*, pp. 169–170.
[51] Hodgkin, Thomas, *Op. cit.*, 406–407.

The service which Cassiodorus could not render to Europe through the Gothic kingdom he did render through the Church. A Christian scholar, he had proposed to Pope Agapetus (reigned 535–536) that the latter establish at Rome a seminary of Christian theology and literature, modeled after the schools of Alexandria and Nisibis,[52] but nothing had resulted from this proposal. Cassiodorus took refuge upon his ancestral estates, where he established two monasteries, became a monk, and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He developed the Rule of his monastery along the lines of those formulated by Cassian, but he introduced a revolutionary innovation. This innovation was his establishing literary work as a principal occupation of his monastery. His monastery was to be more than a retreat; it was to be also a theological school and a manufactory of books, both sacred and secular. In his monastery, therefore, he set aside and equipped a room for literary work. This room was called the *Scriptorium,* and a chapter of his *Institutes of Divine and Human Letters (Institutiones divinarum et humanarum litterarum)* is devoted to an account of it. At the monastery, books were to be both copied and bound.

Cassiodorus saw in scholarship a means of developing Christian character. He thus describes the religious significance of the work of the copyist:

> He [the copyist] may fill his mind with the Scriptures while copying the sayings of the Lord. With his fingers he gives life to men and arms them against the wiles of the devil. So many wounds does Satan receive as the antiquarius copies the words of Christ. What he writes in his

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[52] Hodgkin, Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

cell will be scattered far and wide over distant Provinces. Man multiplies the heavenly words, and by a striking figure—if I may dare so to speak—the three fingers of his hand express the utterances of the Holy Trinity. The fast-travelling reed writes down the holy words, and thus avenges the malice of the Wicked One, who caused a reed to be used to smite the head of the Saviour.[53]

The *Scriptorium* became a feature of the better monasteries. The copying of manuscripts was recognized by the Benedictines as a form of work, thus satisfying the rule requiring of monks a certain number of hours of work each day. For centuries the monasteries of Europe were the chief sources of fresh copies of books, as well as principal preservers of them. Cassiodorus, by his emphasis upon the value of literature, both sacred and secular, as a means of developing Christian character, and by his organizing the literary work of the monastery on an extensive scale, made a great contribution to the preservation and progress of scholarship in the Middle Ages.

Cassiodorus was a writer of great importance. His *Variae,* prepared while he was still Praetorian Prefect, contains a number of decrees of the Ostrogothic kings, regulations of the offices of the kingdom, and edicts issued by Cassiodorus himself.[54] He wrote a *History of the Goths,* which is lost and known only in an abridgment by a later writer. He wrote a short treatise, in 12 chapters, on *The Nature of the Soul (De Anima).* In this treatise he discusses, among other topics, the "substantial quality" of the soul, its origin, and the state of the soul after death and the resurrection. He wrote, also, a short treatise on spelling *(De Orthographia),* a commentary on the psalms, and a treatise entitled *Institutes of Divine and Sacred Letters*—or, translated more freely, "a companion to studies in sacred and secular literature."

The *Institutes* is of considerable interest to students of education. It consists of two parts, the first of which is devoted to sacred literature, and the second to an epitome of the seven liberal arts. The first part consists principally of a brief compendium of *Scriptures,* with some notes, a short history of the Jews, and a short history of the Christian Church. There is also some information respecting Vivarium—one of the monasteries founded by Cassiodorus—and some remarks reflecting the author's views on the monastic life. Of the brief epitome of the liberal arts prepared by Cassiodorus, Hodgkin remarks:

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[53] Hodgkin, Thomas, *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

[54] "Cassiodorus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 4, p. 974.

It is curious to observe that while Geometry and Astronomy occupy only about one page, and Arithmetic and Music two each, Logic takes up eighteen pages, Grammar two, and Rhetoric six.[55]

Cassiodorus was not the first to attempt to use literature in the service of the Church. Christian leaders before Cassiodorus had undertaken to develop theological schools and schools of Christian literature, but his skill as an organizer and the effect of his work upon the Christian Church in western Europe make his efforts of great importance in the development of schools. A special interest attaches to him because his use of the phrase "the seven liberal arts," in his *De Artibus et Disciplinis Liberalium Literarum,* is the first instance, so far as is known, of its occurrence in Christian literature. He also gives Scriptural sanction for these studies by the analogy of the seven pillars of wisdom, quoting Proverbs 9:1, "Wisdom builded her house; she has hewn out her seven pillars." [56]

Conclusion: status of schools in western Europe at the close of the sixth century. The reign of Gregory the Great (590–604) saw Europe fully launched upon a new epoch. In spite of Justinian's revival of the Roman Empire, that Empire became Byzantine under his immediate successors. The language of its government became Greek, and its territory was virtually restricted to the ancient Hellenistic world. Although the Empire held to the Exarchate of Ravenna and to much of the coast of the Iberian Peninsula, western Europe was alienated from it. The powerful Frankish kingdom covered most of the area now occupied by France and Germany. The Lombards had established their kingdom in northern Italy about the middle of the sixth century, and were, in time, to take Ravenna. The Angles and Saxons were masters of much of England. The Church of Rome had repressed Arianism in the west, had outdistanced its rivals, and had successfully asserted its independence of all secular authority.

The decline of Latin and Greek scholarship, to which many factors had contributed, had been greatly accelerated by the victories of the barbarians; so that teaching and learning were at a low ebb in the age of St. Gregory. The victory of the Church, moreover, had meant a revolution in education. Pagan schools had been closed; and since the literature and learning of ancient

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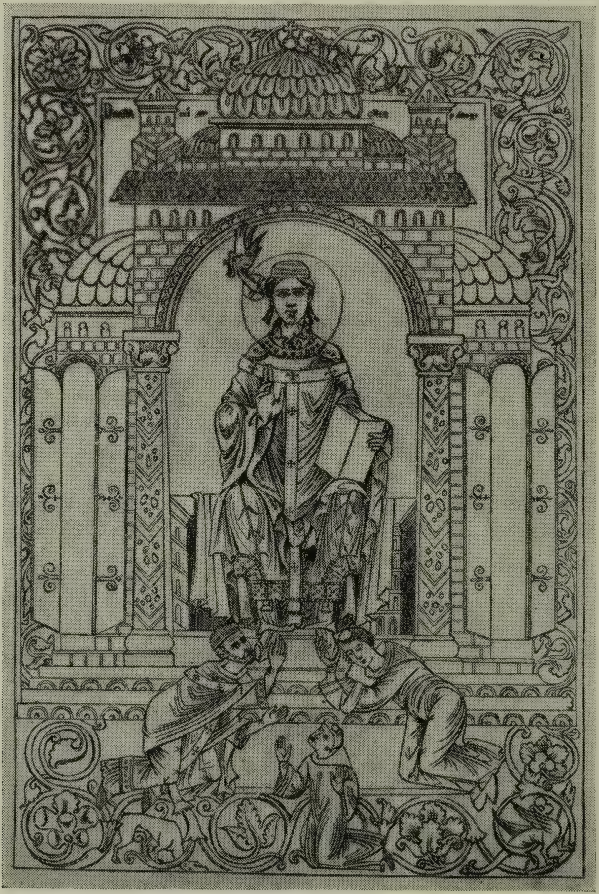
[55] Hodgkin, Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[56] Abelson, Paul, *The Seven Liberal Arts,* p. 9. New York: Teachers College, 1906.

Greece and Rome were either pagan or secular, they were regarded with disfavor. The authority of the Church in all matters touching the welfare of souls was strongly maintained, and teaching and scholarship were such matters. The Church regarded as praiseworthy only that learning which contributed to the growth of Christian character and of the Church. Beyond this, the only learning considered allowable was that which, while it did not interfere with the Church's work or with Christian living, was necessary for practical ends. Secular scholarship, as such, was



Pope Gregory I Sending Missionaries to Convert England to Christianity.—*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

of real but subordinate interest in the Church. The authority of the Church in matters of opinion, scholarship, and teaching was conceded on all sides; education had become virtually a clerical monopoly.

The most important schools of the age were those associated with monasteries and cathedrals. These taught the elements of the seven liberal arts—grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music—and theology. Their aim was religious. Europe was not to know the meaning of free, higher scholarship again for centuries.

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15

Schools and Learning in Western Europe, 600 to 1050

The status of schools and scholarship in western Europe. Education, science, and literature were at a low ebb in western Europe in the year 600. The long decline of Latin schools and learning had brought them, by the close of the sixth century, almost to extinction. The Greek language and all the wealth of liberal learning to which it was the key were all but lost to the West. The literary quality of books after Boethius furnishes melancholy evidence respecting the status of learning. Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville were the great literary figures of Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, but they will not bear comparison with the writers of even the silver age of Roman letters. Western Europe had scarcely any schools in the seventh century save those of the monasteries and cathedrals.

Schools and letters made important, if slow, progress in Europe between 600 and 1050. In spite of the paucity of scholarship, and its low level, the period is of considerable interest to students of education: first, because, although the intellectual achievements of the age are inferior to those of any period of equal length in European history, there still were important educational developments; and second, because major social and political movements of the age created the society of which the educational developments of the later Middle Ages and of the Renaissance were corollaries. The leading achievements of the age in learning and in education may be summed up as follows:

(1) Monastic centers of scholarship and teaching were established and greatly developed. Learning and books were preserved in monasteries.

(2) There were efforts on the part of ecclesiastical authorities to bring about the establishment of schools, to bring schools under episcopal authority, and to advance learning.

(3) A real flowering of scholarship and of piety in Ireland and England produced a number of figures which are important for the development of scholarship. Bede and Alcuin are especially to be noted among the British scholars.

(4) There was an important revival of learning and letters during the reign of Charlemagne. This revival was fostered by Charlemagne himself and centered at his court.

(5) Alfred the Great of England brought scholars to his court from the continent of Europe and from Wales, established a palace school, inspired literary works, and made important translations into Anglo-Saxon.

(6) A great and lasting revival of learning developed late in the tenth century. Gerbert, who reigned from 999 to 1003 as Pope Sylvester II, was one of its most brilliant figures.

(7) Papal legislation respecting schools was inaugurated in the ninth century.

I. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUNDS OF EDUCATION

Major social and political developments between 600 and 1050. The period from the beginning of the seventh century until the middle of the eleventh was a troubled one and witnessed changes of the most revolutionary sort. *First:* A new religion, Mohammedanism, was born and established itself as one of the most powerful forces in the world. *Second:* All of western Europe was drawn into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. *Third:* The Frankish Empire was created and declined, but it had laid the ground for the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. *Fourth:* Sea-raiders from Scandinavia, called Vikings or Northmen, harried the islands of the North Atlantic and all western Europe. They founded Normandy and emigrated in great numbers to England. *Fifth:* The governmental machinery of the Church was greatly elaborated, and the life of the Church was developed. *Sixth:* A new social and political order known as feudalism was developed, and in Italy there was a reversion toward the city-state as a form of governmental organization.

In the later Middle Ages the effects of these vast movements were felt in the Crusades, in the rise of the universities, in the development of parliaments, in the evolution of constitutional monarchy, ~~in the~~ rise of free cities and of town schools, and, finally, in the creation of the great modern nations of western Europe. We turn now to consider each of the major developments of this period in its turn.

The rise and spread of Mohammedanism. Islam, as the followers of Mohammed (c. 569–632) call their religion, arose in Arabia early in the seventh century. Its founder, Mohammed, proclaimed a simple creed, the central tenet of which is this: There is but one God and Mohammed is His prophet. The supreme duty of man is submission to God's will, as revealed through His one inspired prophet. Islam is the religion of a sacred book. This book is the *Koran,* which was dictated by Mohammed and is both the law and the revelation of God to the Mohammedan world. Since Mohammed was regarded by his followers as the inspired and authoritative representative of God, he was their undisputed autocrat. After Mohammed's death, the allegiance of his followers was owed, according to Moslem law, to his successor, the Caliph. A succession of Caliphs, popularly elected but absolute in authority, have been the heads of Islam ever since.

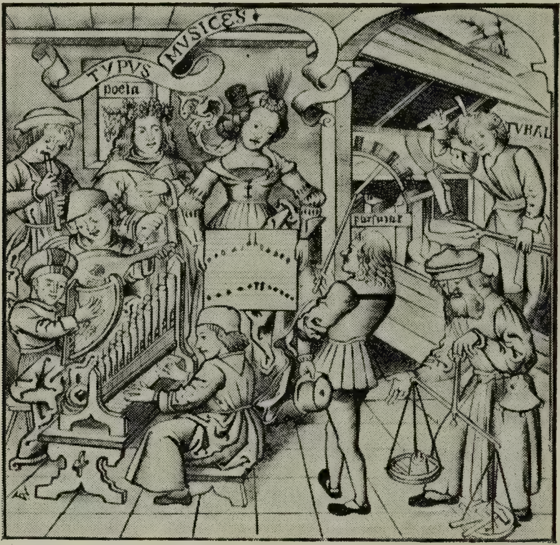
The tribesmen of the Arabian plateau were great fighters in the seventh century, as they have been from the dawn of history to this day. They faced disorganized and weakened governments, quickly overthrew the Sassanian kingdom of Persia, and took all of northern Africa—including Egypt—from the Byzantine Empire. The Moslems pushed their conquests to India and the great mountain ranges of central Asia on the east and to the Atlantic in Africa and to the Pyrenees in Spain. They were checked in southern France by the Frankish kingdom, and they were held out of southeastern and central Europe by the Byzantine Empire, which successfully faced them until 1453.

The conquests of the Moslems made them masters of a very large number of the centers of ancient culture. Art, literature, and mathematics had long flourished in India. Most of what remained of ancient Greek literature and science was known to the Christian and Jewish scholars of Egypt and Syria. The Caliphs became the protectors and patrons of scholarship within the regions of their control; this control and protection was extended even to non-Moslems. The Mohammedans assimilated a great deal of Hindu, Graeco-Roman, and Persian architecture, literature, medicine, astronomy, geometry, algebra, horticulture, animal culture, agriculture, and the handicrafts. They were, however, far more than mere borrowers and imitators, for they developed the arts and sciences very greatly. They also did especially important creative work in the field of imaginative literature. Their educational influences will be discussed later in this Chapter and in Chapter XVI.

The unity of western Europe achieved in the Roman Catholic Church. The Mohammedan conquest of Egypt and Syria removed any possibility that the East-Roman Empire would achieve the hegemony of European Christianity. Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were lost to Christendom by the conquest; and after the conquest, Constantinople, Rome's only remaining rival for the leadership of the church, had turned her eyes from Europe to Asia. The creation of western European civilization, the basis of which was Latin culture, was made a certainty by the victories of the Moslems. The unity of western Christendom was, however, not yet achieved. Millions of nominal Christians were actually pagans. The clergy, as a whole, were not united, well-disciplined, or liberally educated. There was, moreover, in Ireland and Great Britain, an exceedingly vigorous Christian movement independent of Rome, which bade fair to establish itself as a permanent force in Christendom.

The development of Celtic Christianity can here be indicated in barest outline only. Britain was Christianized in Roman times, but the heathen Saxons overran the English after the withdrawal of the legions, and virtually wiped out the Church. Ireland escaped the barbarian invasions, and Christians took refuge there. In the fifth century, St. Patrick—who died about 461—evangelized Ireland. Celtic Christianity was ascetic, intense, and aflame with zeal to evangelize the world. It was, moreover, deeply-rooted in the local community life of the Irish. From the sixth century to the eighth, the Irish sent almost a thousand missionaries to Great Britain and to the continent of Europe. A monastic community was established on Iona about 563, and from Iona, missionary work in the Highlands of Scotland was pushed with great vigor and success. Columbanus, a Celtic missionary, turned multitudes of the heathen and Arian Teutons on the continent of Europe to the Church. He established some famed monasteries. Among monasteries which were founded under Celtic influence, St. Gall in Switzerland is especially notable for the literary and educational work done there and for the discovery there, at the Renaissance, of some long-neglected Latin classics.

Celtic Christianity had been firmly established in the north of England, when, in 597, Augustine and his Benedictine monks landed in Kent. In an effort to compose the problems arising out of differences between Celtic Christianity and the Roman Catholic faith preached from Canterbury, a council of warriors and churchmen was held for the kingdom of Northumbria in 664. The king of Northumbria decided in favor of the Roman Catholic faith and order. After this victory of Latin Christianity, Ireland and Scotland were gradually won to the Roman Church. One of the most important issues at stake between the Celtic and Roman churches was that of the date at which Easter was to be celebrated. In the calculation of the dates of church festivals the Celtic church adopted a cycle of 84 years, "when the changes of the sun and moon more or less exactly repeat themselves,"[1] which had been in use at Rome when the Celtic church established the dates of its festivals. In 457, a cycle of 532 years was adopted by the Roman church, but the Irish had already established their calendar. The dispute was a furious one, but did have the beneficial effect of stimulating interest in the study of astronomy.



Personification of Music.

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[1] "Easter," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 7, p. 859.

British and Irish clerics continued their missionary work. A Wessex noble, known in the Church as Boniface, won a great many converts to Christianity in what is now included in the areas of Bavaria, Hesse, and Thuringia. Wherever the missionaries went, they carried the Roman Catholic faith. The new converts and their clerical leaders knew no religious authority save that of the Pope of Rome.

In the tenth century the Danes embraced Christianity, and, just as this century was closing, Olaf, King of Norway, enforced the conversion of his subjects. Soon all of Scandinavia, Iceland, and inhabited Greenland were Christian. From the Mediterranean to the Arctic Ocean, western Europe and the isles of the North Atlantic comprised "one Fold and one Shepherd for more than five centuries."

The creation of the Frankish Empire. As our period opens, most of what is now the territory of modern France and of modern Germany was contained within the great Frankish kingdom established by Clovis. At times this kingdom was divided, for the ruling family of the Franks, the Merovingians, were weak and vicious. The country was virtually governed by a noble family founded by Pippin II of Heristal. This family aligned itself with the Catholic clergy and strongly supported the missionary efforts of the Church. In 751 a member of this family, Pippin the Short, was crowned king of the Franks, thus founding the Carolingian dynasty. The Pope had approved Pippin's assumption of royal rank, and Boniface placed the crown on his head. Pippin in his turn, established a papal state, of which the Pope was the temporal sovereign. This state endured until 1870. Pippin was succeeded on the throne by two sons, Charles and Carloman, but Carloman lived for only three years after the death of his father, so that, in 771, Charles, known in history as Charlemagne, became the sole king of the Franks and reigned until his death in 814. In 774 Charles, after conquering the Lombards of Italy, became their king. He extended his conquests steadily. He was the protector of the Pope, and, in 797, restored Pope Leo III to Rome, from which a hostile faction had driven him. In 800 Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Roman Empire by Leo III.

The clergy of the Holy Roman Church had an extremely important place in Charlemagne's scheme of government. The counts of many of the districts of his kingdom were also bishops or abbots. He brought a great many learned men to his court, who served him as ministers or advisers. All of these men were clerics. Prominent among these clerical scholars were Alcuin of York; Peter of Pisa; Einhard, a Frank; Paul the Deacon, a Lombard; and Theodulphus, a Visigoth. Letters flourished at the court. Both Alcuin and Theodulphus had gifts as poets. An academy of sorts was organized, and at its meetings Charlemagne discussed matters of intellectual interest with his scholars and other members of his official family. A court school was established, at which Charles' own children and the children of his nobles were instructed in the liberal arts. Books for use in church services were prepared and distributed among the clergy. A serious effort was made to improve the quality of the Latin used by the clergy and other officials. Einhard, biographer of Charlemagne, tells us that the Emperor began a grammar of the Frankish language, that he caused the ancient songs of the Franks to be written down, and had the laws of the tribes which he brought under his authority reduced to a written code.

After the death of Charlemagne, the Frankish Empire declined. Feudalism developed as the only form of government under which a measure of local order and defense could be maintained in northern Europe, while some states in Italy reverted to the city-state as a form of political organization.

The Vikings. Late in the eighth century the seafaring peoples of Denmark and Norway turned in great numbers to piracy and to the founding of overseas colonies. Ambition and warlike tastes combined to cause the young warriors of Scandinavia to become explorers, sea rovers, and founders of settlements. These sea-fighters we call Vikings. The Vikings made raids against the coasts of the continent of Europe, Great Britain and Ireland. They crossed Russia to the Black Sea, and reached Constantinople. They explored the North Atlantic, and planted colonies in Iceland, Greenland, France, and England. Their colonies in France and England are of particular interest to students of education.

The beginnings of Normandy. During the reign of Charlemagne, the Vikings were not able to penetrate far into the interior of the Frankish kingdom, but after his death they raided far into the country and even sacked Paris. Early in the tenth century they settled in the region about the mouth of the Seine and became the protectors of the land in which they had formerly been freebooters. The Northmen professed Christianity, adopted the language of the country, and took readily to the use of French weapons. They learned much of building from the French and developed a distinctive type of architecture. They found feudalism an especially congenial institution, and among them it grew into a powerful and closely-knit system. The Northmen retained the aggressiveness and fondness for law and litigation which had characterized their ancestors for generations. They soon made themselves a powerful factor in French politics; and, by their resistance to the Moors, they constituted themselves defenders of the Latin Church. They conquered Sicily and Italy and were fairly the spearhead of the Crusades. The greatest of adapters, they became French in France and English in England. Their full importance in the history of education becomes apparent as the history of England in the later Middle Ages is studied.

The Northmen and the making of England. Early Viking raids taught the Northmen that the Saxon kingdoms of England had no sea power which they need fear. They therefore invaded the country in swarms; looting farms, churches, and monasteries. Immigrants followed the warriors. The Norsemen established themselves in the part of England, now known as Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the Danes settled along the eastern coast from the mouth of the Thames northward to the Tyne. The invaders pushed inland, and the settlements of the Norsemen met those of the Danes in what is now Yorkshire. Under their attacks, the Saxon kingdoms of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria were destroyed. The Danes dominated England north of the Thames. Here they built market towns and established themselves in commerce and agriculture.

The Northmen were sharply checked in England, however, by the kingdom of Wessex, which lay south of the Thames, and extended west to Cornwall. Wessex was fortunate in having for its king from 871 to 900 an exceptionally able and courageous man, Alfred, who alone among English Kings, is called the Great. Alfred taught the people of Wessex to hold the Danes in check; he built a navy; he fortified and garrisoned London; he developed and organized a body of professional warriors, and thus there arose in England a specialized class which made public service its profession; he became the recognized champion of all the English, even of those who lived in the regions controlled by the Danes; he made a serious and important attempt to give England a native literature and native intellectual leadership; and finally, he pushed the Danes back to extend his own territory.

Alfred's successors made themselves Kings of England, and gradually Saxons and Northmen were merged under their rule. Viking raids ceased for a long period. Later Viking chiefs supported the English Kings in their wars against the Scotch and Welsh.[2] The assimilation of the Northmen into the body of the English nation was facilitated by their kinship with the Saxons and by their marvelous adaptability. The merging of the races was, however, far from complete when, late in the tenth century, the Danish wars were once more renewed. The forming of a united Anglo-Danish kingdom was the work of Canute, a son of a Danish king. Canute invaded England and succeeded, in 1016, in forcing the Saxon Witan, a group of Earls, bishops, and other magnates, to elect him king of England. Later he became king of Denmark and ruled over a great maritime empire, comprising in addition to Denmark and England, Norway and the Hebrides. He succeeded in effecting a union of the Danish and Saxon elements of England. England was, at last, a nation. The foundations had been laid for her distinctive institutions—the rural parish, the market town, the national church, the jury system, and the feudal orders.

Feudalism. There developed in Europe, during the Middle Ages, a system of land tenure and of social, political, and military organization known as feudalism. The system was fully developed by the tenth century, and was scarcely limited by any superior authority until the fourteenth. The governments of France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain continued to be feudal until the end of the Middle Ages, and feudalism remained a force in European governments until the revolutions of the eighteenth century. Its influence, increasingly attenuated, continues into the twentieth century.

The conditions of the growth of feudalism were furnished by the age in which it arose and flourished. As the Roman Empire declined, and for centuries after its collapse, there was no central government in western Europe capable of maintaining order and security. Kings lacked the resources to meet invading armies. In many cases they could neither check Viking raids nor put down bands of robbers within their borders. Europe no longer had an educated class capable of staffing an administrative bureaucracy. Kings and other great rulers made grants of fiefs to warriors, who were in return obligated to govern their fiefs and, upon legal call, to furnish and lead armed forces in support of their overlords. Public service was thus made a matter of personal and private duty. Charles the Bald, in 847, ordered every free man to take a lord. In this manner the kings turned local jurisdiction and the problem of raising armies over to their great vassals, and thus created a powerful class of nobles. Many of the great lords were virtually independent of the government of the realm in which their fiefs were located. Sometimes this independence was usurped; in other cases the lord had a grant of immunity, by virtue of which it was expressly provided that no officer of the general government should set foot on his fief.

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[2] See, for example, *Egil's Saga*, E. R. Eddison, Editor and Translator, pp. 98–113, and 134–146. Cambridge: University Press, 1930.

It will be seen therefore, that distinctions of rank, local jurisdiction, the support of government by payments in kind and by services rather than by taxes, the discharge of public service as a matter of private duty, and emphasis upon personal relations in government were the features of feudalism. It is clear that this system provided about the only machinery of government which could have been employed by men of very limited literary and scientific knowledge in meeting the extremely complicated problems of civil and military administration faced by western Europe in the Middle Ages. The problems of the age were too large and too difficult to be handled by small local governments, and the men of the age were too nearly illiterate to maintain highly organized, large-pattern governments. Clearly such an order would stand in the way of the formation of large-pattern, centralized governments and with its system of semi-independent local governments would not prove favorable to commerce or to the making of cultural contacts. In a society in which class, rank, and military service were the essential features, the military accomplishments and the military virtues—loyalty and courage—were the qualities most esteemed. Learning and the arts of peace could enjoy but little prestige, and in many quarters they were scarcely tolerated. It may be anticipated, therefore, that the education of the great nobles of the Middle Ages was not literary in character, and that the development of science and the liberal arts was connected with the growth of cities and with the increasing power of the papacy and of the great monarchs—movements which made progress at the expense of feudalism—rather than with feudalism as the characteristic governmental and economic order of western Europe. The educational system of feudalism, and the movement which produced types of literary training for leaders which first supplemented and later supplanted the feudal type of education did not develop until the later centuries of the Middle Ages.

The papacy. The period of almost four and a half centuries which intervened between the death of Gregory the Great and Saint Hildebrand—who as pope was known as Gregory VII—witnessed developments which insured the full flowering of the papal monarchy in the later Middle Ages. The forces which were to transform western Christendom into the imperial Roman Church were clearly to be discerned during the time of Gregory the Great; but the unity of the Church and the complete ascendency of the Pope in the West were not easily achieved. Indeed, it was during the tenth century that the papacy sank to the lowest level of prestige and influence which it occupied in all its long history. The pontifical office was actually made the prize of bitter strife between rival Italian factions; it almost became hereditary in the family of the counts of Tusculum, who were, for a time, able to dominate the election of the Pope. The German Emperors eventually wrested the papacy from the Italians, only to constitute themselves a new threat to its independence. Great as were the perils which the Church faced, her leaders in the troubled age from 600 to 1050 were, nevertheless, equal to the task of laying the foundations for her unity and greatness in succeeding centuries. The forces which contributed most to the growth of church unity and papal power were: (1) the winning of Britain, Ireland, and the Teutonic peoples to the Roman Catholic faith; (2) the alliance between the papacy and certain secular rulers; and (3) some remarkable forgeries which appeared about the time of Charlemagne.

Gregory the Great initiated the first of the movements which contributed so largely to the growth and unity of Roman Catholic Christianity by sending missionaries from Rome to England. Saxon Christians and the converts made by British missionaries among the Germanic tribes of western Europe had long been imbued with the idea that loyalty to a leader and fidelity to the bond entered into with him is first among the manly virtues. This loyalty and fidelity the new churchmen centered upon the papacy. The new converts, moreover, were far removed from the factional disputes respecting papal politics with which many ecclesiastics in Italy were involved. Trained by their missionaries to regard Rome as the center of Christendom, the clergy of the Germanic tribes added strength to the papal office.

No small part of the growth of papal authority in this age, moreover, must be attributed to the alliance of the Latin Church with secular rulers—especially with the Frankish Mayors of the Palace, with the Carolingian kings of the Franks, with King Canute, and with the early emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. The crowning of Charlemagne and of Otto I by popes added prestige not only to the Carolingian Empire and the Holy Roman Empire respectively, but to the papal office, whose holders could claim authority over those monarchs who had accepted their crowns from the hands of the Supreme Pontiff of the Church. Actually, secular and churchly authority interlocked and overlapped: Bishops, cardinals, and popes exercised temporal rule, and their spiritual authority was sustained by the armed might of the secular rulers. However much popes might quarrel with kings and emperors, the spiritual and secular rulers could not dispense with each other.

The cause of papal authority was greatly served by certain documents—the so-called *Donation of Constantine* and the documents now spoken of as the *Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals*. The *Donation of Constantine* purported to be a deed of gift, by virtue of which the Emperor Constantine, on the occasion of the establishment of Constantinople as a second capital of the Roman Empire, handed over all his rights and powers in western Europe to the Bishop of Rome. The *Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals* are a series of documents the collection of which was attributed in the Middle Ages to Isidore of Seville. These documents were falsely dated as from the early Christian centuries and exhibit the pope as exercising at that very early date rights and powers which were then merely claimed by the papal office and were not actually possessed by it until very much later. Appearing, as they did, in an age in which there were no trained historians capable of passing upon their claims, these documents were used very effectively in improving the position of the pope, both with respect to secular rulers and in relation to the bishops of Latin Christendom.

It was in this age that papal legislation for church schools was begun. In 826, a Council held at Rome by Pope Eugenius II ordered that bishops should appoint masters able to teach the liberal arts and the articles of the faith in all dioceses and parishes. A Council of 853, also held at Rome, ruled that clerics only should teach in episcopal schools and ordered that elementary instruction in the Scriptures and in the worship of the church be given in all parishes.[3]

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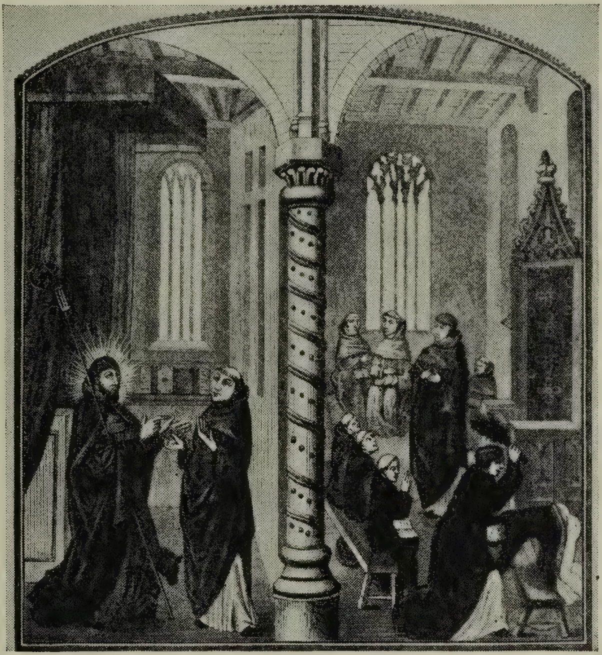
[3] Post, Gaines, "Alexander III, the Licentia Docendi and the Rise of Universities," *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 255. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929.

The clerical system and the clerical life. The prestige and power of the papal office was but one aspect of the complex organization of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. Other features of the clerical system must be kept in mind if the social structure and educational activities of the period are to be understood. These features are: the parish life, the part which wealthy lay patrons played in controlling appointments to church offices, the division of the clerics into *seculars* and *regulars,* and monastic reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The smallest unit of the administrative organization of the Catholic Church is the parish. A parish is a community the members of which are under the pastoral care of one priest (he may have helpers) and regularly attend mass at the same church. A diocese is a larger unit of administration comprising a number of parishes. A bishop exercises oversight over the spiritual life of every diocese, and every priest in charge of a parish is subject to a bishop. Since the parish system was one of the principal factors in creating rural England, and since the English parish affected the social and political structure of Virginia and of New England particularly, origin of the English parish is of special interest to Americans. Theodore of Tarsus (c. 685) effected the ecclesiastical organization of England by dividing the country into bishoprics, each of which had definitely limited territory. Each bishopric was divided into a number of parishes, and, in Saxon times, very many parishes were endowed by local magnates. Heirs of persons providing such an endowment quite commonly claimed the right to nominate the priest who served in the parish endowed by their ancestor. Kings and other great rulers gave great bodies of land to bishoprics and to monasteries. The problem of the independence of the church was therefore complicated by the dependence of the clergy on the lay patrons. Throughout the Middle Ages, the hierarchy of the Church unceasingly asserted and defended the independence of the clergy, and the secular rulers as unceasingly pressed their claims to control church appointments. For the most part, secular and ecclesiastical magnates worked in alliance with each other, though there were frequently violent clashes respecting matters of jurisdiction. This issue was one of the very important ones involved in the Reformation. In Scotland, for example, three parties contended: one for the control of the Church under the Pope, one for domination of the Church by the Crown and nobles, and a third for the control of the Church by officers elected by the congregations, and by higher officers chosen by these officers.

The clergy of the period were either monks—called, from the fact that they lived under special regulations, *regular* clerics—or priests who were not monks, called *secular* clerics. The English bishops of Saxon times favored the *secular* priests, and many of them were appointed to parishes. Many parish priests of Saxon England were married. A strong feeling of nationality and locality which ran counter to the centralizing and inter-nationalizing tendencies which were also present in the Church was preserved in northern Europe. At times local and national feeling fostered by the parish priests showed itself in open defiance of the Church. This was one of the forces which contributed to the Reformation.



School of Monks: Fifteenth Century Manuscript.—*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

There was an important reform movement in the church in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This movement is of interest because it was the work of a great number of clerics, rather than of any single, strong leader able to gain the support of a secular monarch. The clergy had learned to join strength to strength in the redress of grievances and the correction of abuses. A very important phase of this reform movement was that which resulted in changes in monastic organization and discipline. Up to this period monasteries had been quite generally independent of each other. About 915, in an effort to effect improvements in monastic life, a group of French monasteries formed the Congregation of Cluny. Other federations of monasteries followed. The Congregation of Cluny was removed from the jurisdiction of the local bishops and placed under the direct authority of the papacy.

An interesting result of the reformation of monasteries was their increased concern with the devotional life and with good works and their consequent loss of interest in secular learning. During a long period, the monasteries had been the principal centers of higher learning in western Europe, of the multiplication of books, and of the cultivation of the fine and liberal arts in general. The monks now tended to turn from these pursuits in order to spend more of their time in public and private devotions and in alleviating human misery and want.

II. LETTERS AND SCHOLARSHIP BEFORE THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL

Isidore of Seville. The author most typical of seventh-century scholarship in western Europe was Isidore, who from about 600 until his death in 636 was Bishop of Seville, in Spain. Isidore's writings were typical of the age in the following respects: in them knowledge was de-secularized; it was nonscientific; no reliance was placed upon observation, but instead the duty of complete subservience to authority was urged; knowledge was, to an extraordinary degree, isolated from contemporary affairs and the ordinary business of living. The extent to which Isidore was read is an indication of the degree to which he reflects his age. No other encyclopedia of general knowledge was more widely used from the seventh century until the eleventh than was his. It is easy to find fault with Isidore's work—to expose his incoherence and lack of logical consecutiveness; to point out how much more he might have meant to us today had he written of matters with which he had firsthand contact, instead of repeating at second hand; to call attention to his absurdities, and to show the limitations inevitably imposed upon him by the perspective and principles of explanation which he adopts. Such valid criticisms should not, however, blind us to the magnitude of Isidore's work. His achievement in compiling from the sources accessible in his day an encyclopedia with the range and accuracy of his *Etymologies* was no small one. The limitations under which he worked were imposed upon him by his times.

> As a matter of fact, Isidore did not leave the science of the Roman Empire in a state much worse than that in which he found it. It had been undergoing a process of decay for centuries. At their best the Roman men of science had been unable even to appropriate the more abstract parts of Greek science. They were governed throughout by a short-sighted practicality, as when, for instance, in the case of the mathematical sciences they tried to take over results without taking the method of reaching or verifying them. In the natural sciences their inferiority was only less marked. Here the absence of critical method permitted the incorporation of many superstitious notions. . . . Roman science was wholly a science of authority, and the greatest scientist was the greatest accumulator of previous authorities. Thus throughout its course in the Roman world science had been beating a retreat. By Isidore's time these forces of short-sighted utilitarianism, the spirit of subservience to authority, and superstition, had brought it to a state of inoffensive feebleness such that it was more welcome to the Christian than was either poetry or philosophy.[4]

Isidore compiled histories, rules for monks, directions for Christian worship, and lists of the duties of Christians, expositions of the Scriptures, statements of Christian dogma, and a great encyclopedia of the seven liberal arts and of general knowledge known as *Etymologies* or *Origines*. He made very important contributions to the development of canon law and of church government. It seems likely that the collection of the decisions of Councils, known as the *collectio Hispana,* "was largely his work, or at least carried out under his general supervision."[5]

From the standpoint of the student of education, the *Etymologies* is Isidore's most significant work. It is divided into twenty books, and covers the whole round of the arts and sciences. The topics of the respective books are: I. On grammar; II. On rhetoric and logic; III. On the four mathematical sciences—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; IV. On medicine; V. On law and the divisions of time; VI. On the Books of the Bible, laws and worship of the Church; VII. On God, the angels, and believers; VIII. On the Church and the sects; IX. On languages, races, empires, warfare, citizenship, and kinship; X. An alphabetical list of words; XI. On men and monsters; XII. On animals; XIII. On the Universe and its parts; XIV. On the Earth and its parts; XV. On buildings and fields; XVI. On stones and metals; XVII. On agriculture; XVIII. On war, games, and sports; XIX. On ships, buildings, and clothing; XX. On food and drink, and on utensils.

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[4] Brehaut, Ernest, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages:* "Isidore of Seville." New York: Columbia University, 1912.

[5] Laistner, M. L. W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900,* p. 91. New York: Dial Press, 1930.

Isidore's complete subservience to authority has already been mentioned. He based his study of the liberal arts and sciences and nature upon the books of earlier writers. His religious writings were based upon the Scriptures, upon the writings of the Church Fathers, and upon the decisions of Councils. In one of his principal theological tracts, *Sententiae,* he describes his own attitude toward religious belief quite clearly. He says:

> We are not permitted to form any belief of our own will, or to choose a belief that someone else has accepted of his own. We have God's apostles as authorities, who did not themselves choose anything of what they should believe, but they faithfully transmitted to the nations the teachings received from Christ. And so even if an angel from heaven shall preach otherwise, let him be anathema.[6]

It has also been pointed out that with Isidore the secular aspect of knowledge was completely subordinated to the sacred. In his view every phenomenon had, in addition to a natural meaning which could be understood by common sense, a "higher meaning," which it taught by allegory. The allegorizing tendency of the Middle Ages was one of the most characteristic defects of its intellectual method. "The Scriptures were for Isidore one vast symbol." [7] The symbolical meanings of numbers and of natural objects engage his attention in much of his treatise, *On the Nature of Things.* The sun represents Christ, the thunder is God's voice raised in rebuke, and so on. The symbolism of numbers is not neglected. Isidore writes:

> The science of number must not be despised. For in many passages of the holy scriptures it is manifest what great mysteries they contain.[8]

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[6] Quoted from Brehaut, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

[7] Brehaut, *op. cit.,* p. 66, note.

[8] Quoted by Brehaut, *op. cit.,* p. 64, from the *Etymologies,* Bk. IV, c. 4.

He goes on to point out the perfection of the number six, which, since the sum of its factors is equal to their product, reflects the perfection of the universe. The fact that there are twenty-two *sextarii* in the bushel takes on deep meaning when it is recalled that God, in the beginning, performed twenty-two works, and there were twenty-two generations from Adam to Jacob, and twenty-two letters of the Hebrew Alphabet.[9]

A second aspect of the nonsecular character of Isidore's thought is to be found in his view that the supernatural completely overshadows the natural in the universe and in the conduct of men. Isidore peopled his supernatural world with minor spirits—angels and demons. The world, and especially the mind and conscience of every man, is the battle-ground of these good and evil spirits. The demons bring temptation and disease, fill the mind with terror, and tell lies to deceive the unwary. The faithful man withstands the demons by angelic help. The pagans, Isidore believed, had chosen to follow the teachings of demons rather than the influences of Christ. Their philosophy and poetry, therefore, are filled with demoniacal errors and lies, so that a Christian must read them at the peril of his soul. Of poets he wrote: "The Christian is forbidden to read their lies." [10]

Schools in Spain. It is clear from a reference in Isidore's *Rules for Monks* that there were in his day, schools in monasteries for the training of the clergy. Enactments of Councils held in Toledo in 531 and in 633 respectively throw some light on the character of cathedral schools in Spain in the sixth and seventh centuries.[11] The Council of Toledo of 531 ordered that boys who had been placed under the authority of a bishop to be prepared for the priesthood should be "educated in the house of the church under the direction of the bishop by a master appointed for the purpose." Illiterate men were not to be made priests. A priest was required to serve in the diocese of the bishop who had educated him. An article of the Council of Toledo of 633 prescribes the living arrangements of youths who were preparing for the priesthood in cathedral schools, by directing that they should live in one room, under the charge of an older man, and under the discipline of the church.

Irish schools and literature. In the sixth and seventh centuries the stream of classical scholarship received a notable accession—

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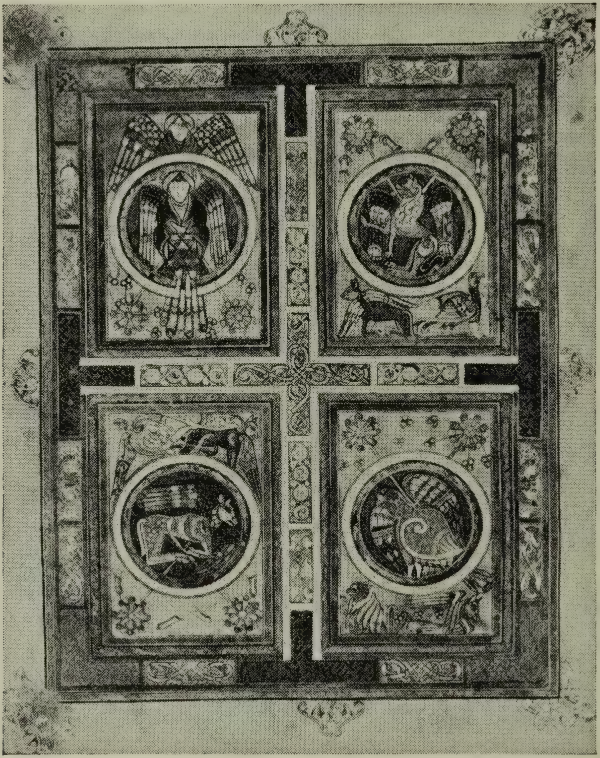
[9] After Brehaut, *Op. cit.*, pp. 64 and 65.
[10] Brehaut, *Op. cit.*, p. 75.
[11] After Brehaut, *Op. cit.*, pp. 84 and 85.

the current of Irish life and literature. Ireland was never a part of the Roman Empire, and it remained apart from the tradition of classical scholarship until after the ruin of the Roman Empire in western Europe. It was not until after Latin scholarship had been reworked and made a part of the Roman Catholic tradition that Irish literature and scholarship joined it. Before it was Christianized, Ireland had developed an order of professional scholars and literary men—today called, popularly, *Bards*—who were the custodians of native literature and learning. From the Bardic Order early Christian leadership in Ireland was principally recruited.[12]



The Evangelical Symbols from The Book of Kells: St. Matthew, the Archangel; St. Mark, the Lion; St. Luke, the Ox; St. John, the Eagle.

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[12] Stephens, James, "Introduction" to *The Return of the Hero*, by Darrell Figgis, p. 11. New York: Boni, 1930.

Although Ireland had developed a distinctive native learning and literature, it was not without contacts with the outside world. There was much interchange of visits between the Irish and the inhabitants of Scotland and of Wales, and Irish ports were much visited by traders from distant lands. The barbarian invasions of the western Roman Empire caused many learned men to flee to Ireland, so that there were Christian scholars in the island even before the time of St. Patrick.[13] As has been noted, this Saint spread the Gospel in Ireland in the fifth century, and in the seventh and eighth centuries Celtic Christianity was merged into Roman Catholic Christendom. It is of great significance that the roots of Irish learning, literature, and monastic life were not Roman, but Celtic.

At a very early period the Druids and poets, who were the learned and literary class in Ireland, took students, who followed them from place to place, hearing their lectures and gradually acquiring the knowledge and art of the Order. In time, possibly in the third century, regular schools for law, military science, and literature began. Learning was held in the highest esteem, and the illiterate agricultural laborers were obliged to support the bards, while kings and other magnates were patrons of learning. After great numbers of the bards had embraced Christianity, bardic schools were systematically organized. They continued to have an important place in Irish education until after the Reformation, when Henry VIII suppressed them ruthlessly. Provincial bardic schools were maintained. Teachers were ranked in classes, the highest class of which was composed of men who were masters of Gaelic literature and well instructed in the Scriptures and in ecclesiastical Latin.[14] Twelve years of study were required for the completion of the bardic training.

Fosterage, the practice of sending children from home at an early age to be reared and educated in the home and under the special care of a kinsman, was common among the leading people of the ancient Irish, as it was among the Northmen. The Brehom Laws, as the ancient laws of Ireland are called, provided for the education of the children of the wealthy. Class distinctions were to be maintained, girls were to be taught sewing and embroidery, and boys were to be instructed in swimming, horsemanship, the use of weapons, and chess.[15]

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[13] Auchmuty, J. J., *Irish Education*, pp. 19 and 20. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1937.

[14] Auchmuty, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9–12.

[15] Auchmuty, *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

The introduction of Christianity into Ireland resulted not only in the reorganization of the bardic schools, but also in the founding of monasteries, which were centers of Irish community life, of ecclesiastical organization, and of education. The Celtic monasteries were associated with the clans, and the clergy were close to the people. Irish monasteries were great sources of missionary enterprise and centers of scholarship in the sixth and seventh centuries. The learning of the Irish monastic schools commanded the admiration of the world. Students from Great Britain and from the continent of Europe resorted to them in great numbers. Bede speaks with gratitude of the generosity with which the Irish monks received students from England, and even furnished them with books. He declares that many youths, both of the nobles and of the lower ranks of society of England, studied in Ireland, in which country some remained as monks. Alcuin studied there. The monks adopted and modified the Roman alphabet of the seventh century, thus creating the present Irish alphabet—one of the most beautiful ever designed. Ireland sent out her learned men too. The great missionaries of the sixth and seventh centuries and the scholars who went in numbers from Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries founded many famous monastic schools and stimulated higher learning throughout Latin Christendom.

Teaching and scholarship in the Irish monasteries is known principally through the books written by men educated in them, for direct evidence respecting their studies and teaching is lacking. There is evidence from quotations and from single words that Irish scholars possessed some knowledge of Greek in the eighth and ninth centuries, and John the Scot *(Joannes Scotus)* was familiar with Greek.[16] Writings of Irish scholars of the period abound in references to Latin writers of classical antiquity. Virgil, born O'Farrell, Bishop of Salzburg (767–784), was a mathematician of such note that he was called "the geometer"; and Dicuil, another Irish scholar of the ninth century, wrote a short geography.

Christian scholarship in England. In the seventh and eighth centuries Roman Celtic influences combined in England to produce a great flowering of scholarship and literature. The Venerable Bede of Jarrow and Alcuin of York were its finest products. Its most important centers were Canterbury, Malmesbury, York, and Jarrow, the last of which was located not far from modern Durham. Malmesbury was one of the most famous of the monasteries founded by Irish missionaries in Britain; Jarrow seems to have been under Benedictine rule; and Canterbury was the center from which Roman Catholic Christianity spread over England.

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[16] Sandys, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship, Third Edition*, pp. 491–495.

From 669 until his death in 690 Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk, was Archbishop of Canterbury. With him was associated an Italian monk, Hadrian, abbot of a company of monks at Canterbury. The archbishop and the abbot made Canterbury famous as a center of learning. The Venerable Bede writes:

> And forasmuch as both of them [Theodore and Hadrian] were, as has been said before, well read both in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and together with the book of Holy Writ, they also taught them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic. A testimony of which is that there are still living to this day (c. 731 A.D.) some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own.[17]

So far as is known, the first Saxon to write Latin verse was Aldhelm, (*c.* 640–709), who was educated at first by the Irish abbot Meldun at Malmesbury, and later studied under Hadrian at Canterbury. Aldhelm's acquaintance with classical Latin authors, with the writings of the Church fathers, and with contemporary literature was very considerable for his day. He was especially fond of Virgil's writings. Bede speaks in high terms of Aldhelm's scholarly attainments, and a modern author declares: "No country in western Europe during the seventh century could show his equal in intellectual attainment."[18] He wrote a work, *De Virginitate,* a book of riddles, and a number of poems and letters. He wrote poems in both Latin and Anglo-Saxon and set some of his verses to music. Songs of his were popular until about 900, but all have been lost.[19]

The greatest ornament of English scholarship in the ninth century was the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), the father of English history. Bede was born not far from Durham, in the north of England, and passed his life in that vicinity, principally at the monastery of Jarrow. He was a prolific compiler and author. He wrote commentaries on the books of the Bible, four little schoolbooks—*De metrica arte, De schematibus et tropis sacrae scripturae, De orthographia,* and *Liber de temporibus.*[20] The last of these books is an explanation of the seasons and of the calendar. Bede also wrote a short description of the universe, which he compiled from earlier authors, called *De natura rerum.* Bede wrote many other books, but his chief claim to fame as a writer rests upon his great history of Christianity in England, the *Ecclesiastical History.* In this work he displays wide reading, great ability in searching out and interpreting data, and a refreshing realism.

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[17] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* (Giles Translation), c. 4, p. 2, cited by M. L. W. Laistner, *Op. cit.* New York: Dial Press, 1930.

[18] Laistner, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

[19] "Aldhelm," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. I, pp. 550–551.

Celtic and Roman influence met at York to produce there, in the eighth century, what was possibly the greatest school in England. It was founded by Egbert, Archbishop of York, who taught in it. Egbert was assisted by his kinsman, Albert.[21]

In the ninth century the pagan vikings overran much of England and Ireland. The monasteries suffered especially from their raids, and the progress of learning in Great Britain and Ireland was arrested. In the meantime, however, the Irish and English scholars had rekindled the flame of learning on its altars in France, Germany, and Italy. What is of even greater significance is the fact that a beginning had been made of Irish and Anglo-Saxon thought in the classical tradition. Imperishable monuments of scholarship and letters had been created and were already exerting an influence upon the shaping of the modern mind.

III. THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL OF LITERATURE AND EDUCATION

Forces in the Carolingian revival. The liberal arts and sciences, which had been almost destroyed in ancient Gaul by the decay of Roman civilization and the barbarian invasions, experienced a great revival in the Frankish empire during the eighth and ninth centuries. Various forces contributed to this revival. Of these the remnants of classical culture—the writings of ancient authors and the knowledge of ancient tongues—which had persisted in Gaul, are probably first in importance. Virgil was widely read; Boethius had preserved treasures of other writers, and here and there, in various epitomes and in the writings of the day, scattered quotations from other great writers of the ancient world can be found. The great Fathers of the Latin Church—St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Gregory the Great—constituted another powerful force in determining the character and level of learning in the age. The Irish scholars must be mentioned next; for they had brought fresh enthusiasm to European thought and letters and had enriched it by important contributions. Their work was reinforced by that of the Northumbrian scholars, of whom Alcuin was the most important. Finally, by far the most significant role in the revival was played by the Carolingian kings, and especially by Charlemagne. Charlemagne's decrees laid on bishops and abbots the duty of seeing to the education of the clergy. He and other Frankish kings supported scholarly enterprises and offered the hospitality of their courts to scholars. These kings employed their immense power to elevate the educational standards of the nobles. And, in addition, the Carolingian governments gave the land peace, so that the arts and sciences had opportunity to flourish.

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[20] Laistner, *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

[21] Mills, J. Travis, *The Great Days of Northumbria*, pp. 153–154. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1911.

Before the Carolingian revival began, western Europe had developed a number of alphabets suitable for writing on the rare and valuable parchment and vellum used for books and other documents. In the Carolingian age, a distinctive book-hand, known as *Caroline minuscule,* was evolved. This hand was so beautiful, clear, and well adapted to the making of books that it supplanted other book-hands. It constituted one of the very important scholarly resources of the Middle Ages and was the model of type when printing was developed.

Attitude of Charlemagne toward education. The education of his children, the elevation of the standards of education of the clergy, the advancement of religious scholarship, and the improvement of worship and of letters were matters of first interest to Charlemagne. Of his efforts to educate his children, Einhard, his secretary, friend, and biographer, writes:

> The plan which he [Charlemagne] adopted for his children's education was, first of all, to have both boys and girls instructed in the liberal arts, to which he also turned his own attention. As soon as their years admitted, in accordance with the customs of the Franks, the boys had to learn horsemanship, and to practice war and the chase, and the girls to familiarize themselves with cloth-making, and to handle the distaff and spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness, and he fostered in them every virtuous sentiment.[22]

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[22] Einhard, (S. E. Turner, Translator) *Life of Charlemagne,* p. 51. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880.

Einhard wrote of Charlemagne's solicitude for his children's education:

> He was so careful of the training of his sons and daughters that he never took his meals without them when he was at home, and he never went on a journey without them.[23]

Of Charles' own scholarly tastes and attainments his biographer writes:

> While at table, he listened to reading or music. The subjects of the reading were the stories and deeds of olden time; he was fond, too, of St. Augustine's books, and especially of the one entitled "The City of God." . . .
>
> Charles had the gift of ready and fluent speech, and could express whatever he had to say with the utmost clearness. He was not satisfied with the command of his native language merely, but gave attention to the study of foreign ones, and in particular was such a master of Latin that he could speak it as well as his native tongue, but he could understand Greek better than he could speak it. He was so eloquent indeed, that he might have passed for a teacher of rhetoric. He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them.[24]

Charlemagne's patronage of letters and the arts was principally in the interest of Latin learning and Catholic music and ritual, but he did undertake the reformation of the Frankish law, the preservation of the songs of the Franks, and the improvement of their language.

Intellectual activity at Charlemagne's court. Einhard says of Charlemagne: "He liked foreigners, and was at great pains to take them under his protection." Among the foreigners at his court, none were shown greater honors, nor had more prominent places than the scholars. Among these must be mentioned the Visigothic poet, Theodulphus of Spain; Peter of Pisa and Paul the Deacon, both of Italy; and Alcuin of Northumbria, the greatest scholar of his age. This concourse of scholars made the court a center of intellectual activity. Charlemagne himself joined in the studies and discussions of his scholars, interesting himself in various fields of scholarship.

Charles was eager to learn, but he was no mere pupil; for his powerful and mature intellect was original and self-reliant, both in seeking and in elaborating knowledge. An extract from one of

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–62, *passim.*

Alcuin's dialogues, *De rhetorica et virtutibus,* will serve not only to illustrate the type of intellectual problems which engaged the king and his *literati,* but also to show the relation in which he stood to them. Charles and Alcuin are the speakers. Here the King asks questions, and Alcuin explains; elsewhere the King is the expositor.

Charles: Expound the nature of justice.
Alcuin: Justice is a state of mind which assigns to each thing its proper worth. In it the cult of the divine, the rights of mankind, and the equitable state of the whole of life are preserved.
Charles: Unfold its parts also.
Alcuin: Justice proceeds partly from natural right, partly from customary use.
Charles: How is justice which proceeds from customary use here maintained?
Alcuin: By equity, by judgment, and by law.[25]

The literary output of Charlemagne's scholars was of considerable volume, and much of it was of excellent quality. The letters of the group are delightful. Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* is a historical work of great merit—the best prose work of the age. Theodulphus wrote excellent poetry. His hymn for Palm Sunday, which begins: *"Gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor,"* was popular for centuries. Alcuin was greatly esteemed as a poet by his contemporaries.

Schools at the court and in the age of Charlemagne. Alcuin was called from the cathedral school of York to be the head of the palace school at the court of Charlemagne. From the court, Alcuin went to the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, where, as abbot, he was connected with the monastic school. He was associated, therefore, with the principal types of schools of his age.

Monastic schools, while conducted principally for the purpose of educating boys for the monastic life, still in many instances accepted pupils who planned to become secular clerics, or even those who were not to enter upon religious careers of any sort. In certain of the monasteries two schools were conducted: one for cloistered boys, those vowed to the monastic life; and an "outer school" for others. The liberal arts, some music, writing, and the elements of religious faith were, no doubt, taught to boys of both schools in about the same degree. The *trivium* was more universally taught than was the *quadrivium.* The study of grammar included study of poetry. On its formal side, grammar was studied quite extensively: both the *Ars Minor* of Donatus and the great compendium of Priscian being widely used; while other treatises were common. Rhetoric, logic, and the arts of the quadrivium, though not cultivated to the degree they had been in an earlier age and were to be cultivated in a later, still received attention. Music and the copying of manuscripts were specialties of certain abbeys. Theology was the crown of the monastic studies. It must never be forgotten, however, that the great purpose of monastic life and discipline was spiritual. As Professor Laistner says, "The monastic life aimed at Christian perfection, not in, but apart from the world."[26]

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[25] Laistner, *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

The cathedral schools, similarly, taught the liberal arts, and prepared boys to read and sing the services of the church and to copy manuscripts. The language of all schools, monastic, cathedral, and palace, was Latin. Discipline was severe; the use of the birch to enforce obedience and as a stimulus to diligence in study was well-nigh universal. Music was especially cultivated at cathedrals, the cathedral school of Metz "being the chief music school of the [Frankish] Empire."[27]

The palace school of which Alcuin and later Theodulfus were heads was by no means an innovation of Charlemagne. Such a school had existed from the time of Charles Martel. Under Alcuin, however, the intellectual level of the school seems to have been raised; more emphasis was placed upon the liberal arts than in an earlier day. The school was attended by the members of the court—Charlemagne's wife, sons, and daughters were pupils. The king himself set an example of interest in study. Sons of nobles also attended, and even plebeian boys of talent were admitted.[28]

Under Alcuin's leadership, the palace school became an important force in the Frankish Empire. Alcuin himself taught and was assisted by other scholars, some of whom he brought with him from York for the purpose. He gathered books for his pupils and wrote elementary texts for them. If we may judge from his texts, the method of teaching favored was by question and answer. One text of his *The Disputation of Pepin,* for example, consists of dialogue between the young prince and his teacher. A bit of dialogue, which certainly should delight any opponent of logical organization of subject matter, is as follows:

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[26] Laistner, *Op. cit.*, p. 160.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] Davis, H. W. D., *Charlemagne*, p. 169.

> *Pepin:* What is writing?
> *Albinus:* The guardian of history.
> *Pepin:* What is language?
> *Albinus:* The betrayer of the soul.
> *Pepin:* What generates language?
> *Albinus:* The tongue.
> *Pepin:* What is the tongue?
> *Albinus:* The whip of the air.
> *Pepin:* What is air?
> *Albinus:* The guardian of life.[29]

The dialogue runs on in this planless fashion. It is clear that the level of intellectual attainment in the palace school was not high. Alcuin's address to his young students is, however, admirable.

> Ye lads, whose age is fitted for reading, learn! The years go by like running water. Waste not the teachable days in idleness! The flowing wave returns not, the hastening hour returns not. Let early youth thrive in the pursuit of praise! Let each read a book, and use the happy years, and mindful of his Maker, say "have mercy, O God"! If, reader, thou wouldst remove our mote, first lift the beam from thine own eye! Learn, my boy, that ready speech may plead thy causes, that thou mayest defend, protect, and succour thy people. Learn, I pray, my boy, graceful movements and habits, that thy name may be praised throughout the whole globe.[30]

Charlemagne's efforts to stimulate general education. The efforts of Charlemagne to elevate the cultural level of the ranks were exerted principally through the Church, and were inextricably bound up with his Romanizing policy. Charles was the protector of the papacy, the guardian of orthodoxy, and the supporter and patron of all efforts to promote unity of Christian faith, order, and practice within the fold of the Roman Church. Professor Laistner shows that while he regarded the Church and the papal authority with veneration, he still looked upon members of the hierarchy as his vassals,[31] and felt himself the head of the Church.

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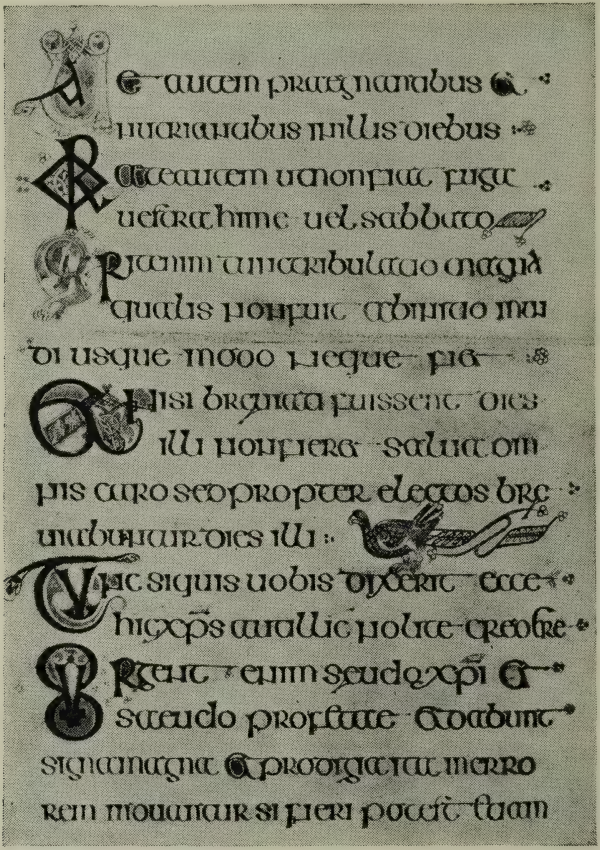
[29] West, A. F., *Alcuin,* p. 106.
[30] Laistner, *Op. cit.,* p. 328. The translation is by Professor Laistner.
[31] *Ibid.,* pp. 148–149.

The Romanizing policy of Charlemagne was a continuation of that of Charles Martel and of Pippin. Pippin had undertaken the reform of church music and discipline in which he had the assistance of Chordegang, Archbishop of Metz. Charlemagne widened the scope of the liturgical and literary reforms initiated by his predecessors in an effort to purify and improve worship and Christian living. He ordered that a careful revision of the Vulgate be made, in order that all errors that had been introduced into the text of the Bible might be detected and eliminated. He had books of sermons examined and discourses chosen and edited for use in church services. He permitted Alcuin to send monks



Ae autem praegnantibus et
nutrientibus in illis diebus
Orate autem ut non fiat fuga
uestra hieme uel sabbato
Erunt enim tunc tribulatio magna
qualis non fuit ab initio mun
di usque modo neque fiet
Et nisi breuiati fuissent dies
illi non fieret salua om
nis caro sed propter electos bre
uiabuntur dies illi
Tunc si quis uobis dixerit ecce
hic xp̄s aut illic nolite credere
Exurgent enim seudo xp̄i et
seudo profetae et dabunt
signa magna et prodigia ita ut in erro
rem mouantur si fieri potest etiam

St. Mark xiii, 17–22: The Book of Kells.

to England, where they made, in the cathedral library of York, copies of important books. He determined to secure obedience to the *Rule* of St. Benedict in all monasteries within his realm and therefore requested the abbot of Monte Cassino to have made for him an accurate copy of the original manuscript of the *Rule*. From this copy, others remain, one of which—made in the early part of the ninth century—is still preserved. Charlemagne urged upon the clergy the importance of thorough and extensive literary training. Furthermore, he chose for the most important posts as abbots and bishops the ablest scholars he could find. He insisted that all persons being prepared for full membership in the church be taught the essentials of the Christian faith. Some of his bishops made efforts to promote general literacy. Theodulfus, for example, ordered that priests should establish schools in every village and on every estate in which children might be taught their letters without charge.[32]

Charlemagne's interest in the literary education of the clergy finds frequent expression in his decrees—called *capitularies*—and in letters. Probably his finest letter on the subject is that addressed to Baugulf, abbot of Fulda. Since this letter does so well express Charlemagne's opinions on this important matter, it is quoted here:

> Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and Lombards and Roman patrician, to abbot Baugulf and the whole community, all our faithful clerics, in the name of Almighty God we send loving greeting. Be it known to your Devotion, which is pleasing to God, that we together with our faithful (counsellors) have deemed it expedient that, throughout the monasteries entrusted by Christ's favour to our government, in addition to the observance of monastic discipline and the practice of the religious life, in the exercise of letters, also, instruction should be vouch-safed to those who with God's help are able to learn, each according to his capacity; seeing that, even as the monastic rule directs purity of conduct, so practice in teaching and learning directs and orders the composition of words, to the end that those who strive to please God by right living may not omit to please Him also by right speaking. For it is written, "either thou shalt be justified by thy words or condemned by thy words"; and though it is better to do what is right than to know it, yet knowledge must precede action. In truth each ought to learn what he desires to fulfill, that the more the tongue

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[32] Laistner, *Op. cit.*, p. 159. Professor Laistner cites other allusions to efforts of bishops to establish schools.

vies in the praises of Almighty God without the offence of untruths, the more richly the soul may understand what it ought to do. For, as is agreed that all men must avoid untruth, how much more ought they to abjure falsehood to the best of their power who are approved and chosen to this very end, that they should specially serve truth.

Since in these years there were often sent to us from divers monasteries letters in which was set forth the zeal on our behalf in holy and pious prayers of the brethren dwelling there, we have observed in very many of the aforesaid writings of the same person right sentiments and uncouth language. For that which pious devotion faithfully dictated inwardly, outwardly, owing to neglect of learning, the untutored tongue could not express without faultiness. Whence it came that we began to fear lest, as skill in writing was less, wisdom to understand the Sacred Scriptures might be far less than ought rightly to be the case. And we all know that, though verbal errors are dangerous, errors in interpretation are far more dangerous. Wherefore we exhort you not only not to neglect the study of letters but even with the most humble God-approved earnestness to vie in learning, so that you may prevail more easily and rightly in penetrating the mysteries of sacred literature. For, inasmuch as in the sacred pages are found embedded phrases, tropes, and other like forms of speech, no one can doubt that every one in reading those the more quickly understands (what he reads) in a spiritual sense the more fully he has before been instructed in the discipline of literature. Let then such men be chosen for this task as have willingness, ability to learn, and the desire to teach others.[33]

Achievements of the Carolingian reformers. The Carolingian reforms restored classical culture to ancient Gaul and introduced it into parts of Europe in which it had never taken root before. Libraries were built up, especially at Tours, where Alcuin served as abbot of St. Martin's monastery from 796 until his death in 804. Alcuin's pupils became the most famous teachers, scholars, and writers of the ninth century. Uniformity of worship was achieved in the churches of the Frankish Empire. Standards of church music and of reading the service were raised. Texts of devotional work, of school books, and of the Vulgate itself, were corrected.

The secular verse of the Carolingian period is of interest because of the relation in which it stands to the poetry of the Minnesingers of the later Middle Ages.[34]

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[33] Laistner, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–154.

[34] Allen, P. S., *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, pp. 1–63. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.

IV. ARABIC LEARNING

Who were the Arabs? Earlier in this chapter it was seen that during the first half of the seventh Christian century a new religion, Islam, was born in Arabia and became within two generations one of the principal forces in the civilized world. This religion arose among the Arabs, who conquered all of Syria, Persia, northern Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula. The language—Arabic—and the religion of the conquerors permeated the whole social fabric of the territory controlled by the followers of Mohammed; and, in course of time, the Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, Berbers, and others within the far-flung empire of the Caliphs came to be known as Arabs. The Arabs were therefore, not a race, but were constituted a people by their culture. They are called, also, Saracens, and those of Morocco and Spain are known as Moors. Two elements in this culture—the religion of Mohammed and the conquering Arabic tongue—have already been mentioned, but Arabic civilization possessed in addition to these a great wealth of music, science, architecture, literature, and philosophy. This wealth of culture they had gathered from the peoples they had conquered and from others with whom they were in contact. The empire of the Moslems, then, included many races, and its culture was a synthesis of culture elements from Arabian, Persian, Indian, Chinese, and Greek sources, to which the later Arabs had made important original contributions.

In the Middle Ages the civilization of the Arabs, or Saracens, centered about two great cities, capitals, respectively of the eastern and western divisions of the Moslem world: these were Baghdad on the Tigris and Cordova in Spain. Between the eighth century and the thirteenth, these cities with Constantinople were the most cultured cities in the world and the principal bearers of the torch of learning and the fine arts. To the question then, "Who were the Arabs?" it may be answered that they were the Arabic-speaking people of many races, Moslems in religion, whose culture flowered between 750 and 1200.

The significance of Arabic arts and learning for western education. Western civilization owes a great deal to the Arabs. Just at the time when the West had virtually lost Greek science and philosophy the Arabs assimilated it. They drew also upon the science of China and of India; but they did far more than borrow. They were very active in productive scholarship, and made important advances in many fields of knowledge. They made important advances, also, in the practical arts. One of their most significant contributions to the culture of Europe was the introduction there of the manufacture of paper—an art which they learned from the Chinese and developed on a commercial basis. The Arabs created a wealth of music and of imaginative literature. The Moslems were in contact with the Christians in Spain, in Sicily, and—during the age of the Crusades—in Palestine. They therefore reintroduced into western Europe the writings of the greatest scholars of antiquity—Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, Ptolemy, to name but a few. They gave Europe the Arabic notation, its first knowledge of algebra, along with much other science and philosophy. Indeed, the Greek science which they aided in transmitting to Latin Christendom formed much of the basis of the scholastic learning of western Europe in the later Middle Ages.

It is of particular interest that Moslem scholars contributed to the development of Christian thought by furnishing opposition to Christian theologians. John of Damascus (*d.* 748) developed his own theological system by combating the views of his Moslem opponents, and, in later centuries, the scholastic theologians of the Roman Catholic Church elaborated their own system in refuting the doctrines of Islam.

How the Arabs came into possession of Greek, Hindu, and Chinese science. Before Mohammed, the Arabs were not a cultured people. There were among them, it is true, reciters who passed along an oral tradition, and minstrels, who transmitted their music, but they cannot be said to have had any body of scholarship. The lands which they conquered, in the seventh century, were rich in learning and in the fine and practical arts. Constantinople was at the very door of their empire; while Rome lay just across a narrow sea from its western division, and they repeatedly raided in Italy. The Arabs made contact with China and India, and there were Indian physicians in the Persian cities of the Moslems. They were masters of those ancient centers of learning: Alexandria, Damascus, Jerusalem, Edessa, and Antioch.

Converts to the faith of Islam included learned and skilled persons of many races and creeds. They brought to Mohammedanism architecture, sculpture, literature, science, and philosophy. Arab acquisition of the practical, fine, and liberal arts and sciences was further facilitated by their tolerant and generous attitude, during the early centuries of Islam, toward the adherents of other creeds who lived under the rule of the Caliphs.

Christian and Jewish merchants, physicians, and civil servants held positions of high honor and trust in the Moslem cities. Even Christian theology and hymnology flourished for a time under Moslem protection.[35]

Beginnings of Arab scholarship. Since the language of the *Koran* and of the Arab government was, of course, Arabic, foreign converts to Islam found themselves under the necessity of mastering this tongue—proficiency in the study of the *Koran* and advancement in public life both depending upon it. These converts, therefore, undertook the scientific study of the Arabic language, and before the end of the seventh century the foundations of Arabic grammar had been laid. In this century, too, a beginning was made of a distinctive field of Moslem scholarship—the transmission of the tradition of the acts and sayings of the Prophet and his companions. This tradition was a major intellectual interest among Moslems, and out of it historical scholarship developed. Much occasion for public speaking was given among the Mohammedans by the haranguing of troops and preaching. As a consequence, oratory was much cultivated by them, and in the eighth century it reached a high stage of development. The finest literary achievements of the Arabs in the eighth century were won, however, in the field of poetry. Both politics and love furnished themes for the poets. Early in the eighth century, too, a beginning was made of collecting and transmitting Pre-Islamic poetry.[36] In the seventh and eighth centuries, too, Arabic translations of Syriac, Coptic, and Greek works on medicine, astrology, and alchemy were made. Music and architecture, patronized by a wealthy and cultivated court and by rich nobles, and enriched by the artistic traditions of the civilizations assimilated by the Arabs, made great progress among the Moslems.

The Arabic revival of civilization. A century and a half of uninterrupted success in war, of progress in manufacturing and commerce which resulted in steady increase of wealth, and of intense cultivation of the fine and liberal arts and sciences brought Islam, late in the eighth century, to the beginning of a great flowering of their civilization. In the ninth and tenth centuries the arts and sciences were brought to a height among the Moslems far in advance of anything the world had known since the decline of Greek civilization and far superior to anything which Europe was to attain for centuries to come. This intellectual revival not only produced monuments of scholarship and art of great and permanent value, but contributed enormously to the development of European scholarship in the later Middle Ages, just as the Middle Ages laid the political, social, and intellectual foundations of the modern western world.

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[35] Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs*, pp. 245–246. London: Macmillan and Company, 1937. St. John of Damascus, the great theologian and writer of Christian hymns, was long the financial administrator of the City of Damascus under the Caliphs. He died in 748 A.D. One of John's most important theological works is in the form of a dialogue, and in this dialogue he defends, against a Saracen, the Christian position respecting the divinity of Christ.

[36] Hitti, *Op. cit.*, pp. 251–252.

A principal factor in bringing about the great enrichment and progress of Moslem civilization in the eighth and ninth centuries was the Abbasid dynasty, a line of exceedingly energetic, intellectual, and able rulers, the first of whom grasped the Caliphate in 750. Baghdad was founded and made the capital of eastern Mohammedanism. Located near the site of the ancient capital of Persia, the city was a center of Hellenic-Persian influence, which soon mastered Arab Islam. Baghdad was rich, cultured, and a city of splendid mosques and palaces. Translators—many of them Nestorian Christians—labored at the task of making the whole body of Persian, Syrian, and Greek scholarship accessible in the Arabic tongue. The works of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, Euclid, and other great Greek scientists were translated. Early in the ninth century the Caliph al-Ma'mum, convinced that there is no necessary conflict between the Law of the Prophet and reason, sided with those who maintained that religious texts should be subjected to critical judgment. He encouraged the study of the Greek philosophers and established at Baghdad, in 830, an institution known as the House of Wisdom. Mr. Hitti calls this institution "a combination library, academy, and translation bureau which in many respects proved the most important educational institution since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B.C."[37] The influence of Hellenism was uppermost in Arabic scholarship, and that of Persia in imaginative literature. Aristotle's *Organon,* the *Koran,* and Arabic grammar became the basis of Moslem humanism. Hindu and Greek elements were combined in their mathematical and astronomical studies—the work of Euclid and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy being especially important. By the middle of the ninth century the work of translation was substantially complete. The Hindu notation, Neo-Platonism, much of Aristotle's work, Ptolemy's *Almagest,* Euclid's *Elements*—indeed the bulk of the science of Hellenism with substantial additions from India and China and with other additions resulting from the work of the Moslems themselves—were in a tongue which was in everyday use in Spain and Sicily. There Latin Christendom was brought into contact with this learning. Latin Christians were in contact with Moslem learning in the East itself during the Crusades. In Chapter XVI we shall see how western Europe profited by these contacts.

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[37] Hitti, *Op. cit.,* p. 310.

V. LEARNING AND SCHOOLS IN WESTERN EUROPE FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO 1050

Gains of the Carolingian revival diffused and consolidated in the ninth century. Even before the death of Charlemagne, the intellectual movement which centered about his court had passed out of its first stage; it could no longer be appropriately called a revival. The movement had lost something of the enthusiasm and unity which marks the early stages of every revival. On the other hand, progress continued: (1) the scholarship which belongs to the later stages of the movement was definitely of a higher quality than that of the revival itself—the work of Rabanus Maurus is proof of this; (2)original thinking was not lacking in the period—John the Scot is its greatest figure; (3) the Church took important steps in formulating and putting into effect its policy respecting schools; and (4) scholarship was widely diffused on the continent of Europe. Scholarship suffered severe losses, however; the ravaging of Ireland and of England by the Vikings checked the splendid progress of learning in those two northern lands.

Let us turn to the consideration of the work of Alcuin's great pupil and successor, Rabanus Maurus.

Rabanus Maurus. The work of the Carolingian revival was consolidated and carried forward principally by pupils of Alcuin: Adelhard, cousin of Charles the Great and later abbot of Corbie and founder of Corbie in Saxony, Fridugis, who succeeded Alcuin as abbot of the monastery at Tours, Sigulf and Aldrich, successively abbots of Ferrières, to name a few leaders only, were students of his. Of all the pupils of Alcuin, however, none did more to spread and render permanent the work of the scholars of Charlemagne's court than did Rabanus (Hrabanus) Maurus.

Rabanus was born at Mainz in 776. He received his early schooling at the monastery at Fulda and later studied for a time at Tours with Alcuin. Alcuin gave him the name "Maurus" in honor of St. Maur, favorite pupil of St. Benedict. After a short period of study with Alcuin, Rabanus returned to Fulda, where he was at once made head of the monastery's school. He was later made abbot, and served in this office for about twenty years. In 842 he gave up his office and devoted himself for some years to study and writing. In 847 he was made Archbishop of Mainz and discharged the duties of this great office until his death, which occurred in 856.

Rabanus built up schools and learning in Germany so successfully that he is called "The First Teacher of Germany" *(Primus Praeceptor Germaniae)*. His pupils staffed the leading positions of the Church in Germany, just as the pupils of Alcuin had those of the Frankland of a generation before. A tireless author, Rabanus produced more than thirty treatises. His books are principally compilations from earlier Christian writers—St Jerome, St. Augustine, Isadore of Seville, and Bede being the authors upon which he mainly relied. Rabanus wrote an encyclopedia, *On the Universe,* a treatise, *On the Instruction of the Clergy,* a little book, *On Reckoning*—we should say on arithmetic—some excerpts from the grammar of Priscian, and a treatise, *On the Soul,* all of which reflect his educational views and the practices of his time and are of peculiar interest to students of education.

Rabanus prescribed a course of study for the clergy based upon the Holy Scriptures and centered about the seven liberal arts. He described the studies which, in his view, the cleric should pursue as follows:

> It is fitting that those who from an exalted station undertake the direction of the life of the Church, should acquire fulness of knowledge, and that they should further strive after rectitude of life and perfection of development. They should not be allowed to remain in ignorance about anything that appears beneficial for their own information or for the instruction of those entrusted to their care. Therefore they should endeavor to grasp and include in their knowledge the following things: An acquaintance with Holy Scripture, the unadulterated truth of history, the derivative modes of speech, the mystical sense of words, the advantages growing out of the separate branches of knowledge, the integrity of life that manifests itself in good morals, delicacy and good taste in oral discourse, penetration in the explanation of doctrine, the different kinds of medicine, and the various forms of disease. Anyone to whom all this

remains unknown, is not able to care for his own welfare, let alone that of others.[38]

While Abbot of Fulda, Rabanus regularly employed twelve monks as copyists, and generally made use of all the resources and energies at his command to build up the library of his monastery. In this undertaking he was highly successful and built up a collection of manuscripts of great value. His pupils and his example greatly stimulated studies and the development of libraries in other regions where German was spoken. His influence was felt at St. Gall and elsewhere in Switzerland, in Westphalia, and on the Danube.[39]

Learning at the Frankish court in the ninth century. During the reigns of Louis the Pious (778–840) and of Charles the Bald (823–877), as a result of wars between various kingdoms within the Empire, Viking raids, and the lack of a supremely strong emperor, the Imperial Court no longer furnished the impetus of education and scholarship which it had supplied during the time of Charlemagne. The secular rulers of the age, moreover, lost to the bishops of the Church the leadership in education which Charlemagne had exercised.[40]

Nevertheless, learning and schools were still cultivated in the Empire. Both Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald were patrons of learning, and the Palace school continued its work during their reigns. The Emperors kept up the contact with the Greek world which had been revived by Charlemagne. Nor was the Irish influence lost to the Frankish court; an Irishman, Clement, was head of the Palace school during the reign of Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald had at his court the greatest scholar of the day in John the Scot (Joannes Scotus Erigena, *c.* 810–*c.* 877.)

John the Scot. The first system of Christian thought to be produced in western Europe during the Middle Ages was the work of John the Scot. John was called, about 847, to the court of Charles the Bald. He produced a translation of the works thought in the Middle Ages to have been written by Dionysus the Areopagite; but now believed to have been written at Edessa in the fifth century. This work shows John to have been a competent student of Greek. Its Platonism affected his thinking very profoundly, and he was drawn to accept a pantheistic view of the universe. He set forth his system in a treatise entitled *De divisione naturae,* which was later condemned by successive authorities of the Church. John was a freethinker. He declared: "Authority emanates from reason, not reason from authority; true reason has no need to be supported by any authority."[41] He, nevertheless, insisted that divine authority and reason cannot be in conflict. By adopting this position and by his bold use of logic, John really initiated scholasticism in the

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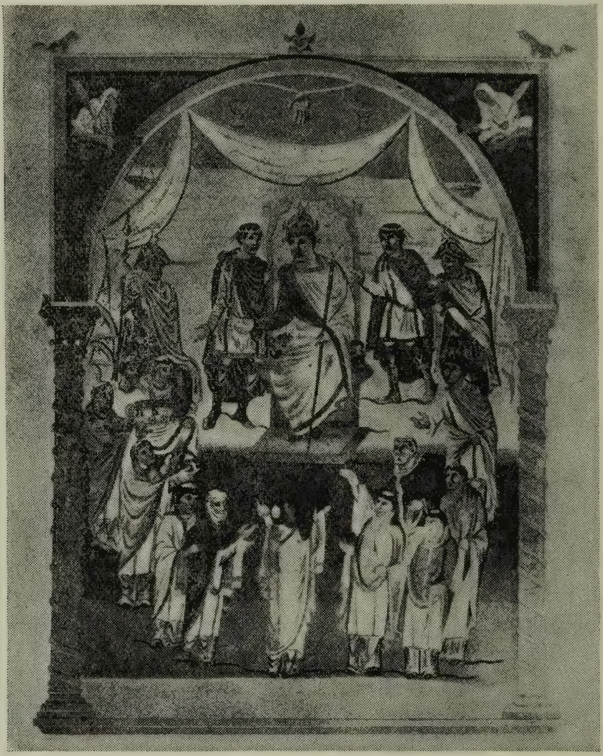
[38] Rabanus Maurus, *Education of the Clergy,* here quoted from F. V. N. Painter, *Great Pedagogical Essays,* pp. 159–160. New York: American Book Company, 1905.

[39] Sandys, J. E., *op. cit.,* pp. 483–491.

[40] Stallaert, C., and Van de Hegen, P., *De L'Instruction publique au moyen âge,* p. 32. Brussels: L'Academie Royale, 1850.



MONKS PRESENTING AN ILLUMINATED BIBLE TO CHARLES THE BALD. A miniature from Charles the Bald's Bible.—*From Dickinson, H. A., German Masters of Art, Stokes.*

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[41] Quoted from A. T. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 145. New York: Stechert, 1910.

Latin Church. Gerbert, Nicholas of Cusa, and Abelard were among the bold thinkers said to have been influenced by him.[42]

Alfred the Great and the beginnings of English literature. No achievement of the long period of European history from 600 to 1050 is of more significance for the development of scholarship and of schools than the growth of the great western vernacular languages and literatures: English, Germanic, Norse, Celtic, Icelandic, and French.[43] The roots of all of these literatures go back to the seventh century or earlier, but the bulk of the earliest stories and poems in all of these tongues belongs to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The establishing of the English language as an effective literary medium was assured by the literary and intellectual revival which was the work of Alfred the Great (848–900).

When, in 866, Alfred became King of Wessex, he found schools, monasteries, churches, learning, and literature in a sad state of neglect and decay. Not only had the wars with the Danes and Norwegians caused the neglect of learning, but, since the churches and monasteries were the especial objects of attacks by the Vikings, these centers of learning and literature had suffered greatly: their treasures had been carried off; their learned men had been either slain or scattered; their libraries had been laid waste; their schools had been broken up. The British traditions of craftsmanship, of classical scholarship, and vernacular literature had not, however, been destroyed; they still remained among the treasured possessions of the British race.

Even before the reign of Alfred, substantial progress had been made in creating a literature in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. Kings of Kent and of the West Saxons had promulgated laws in the language. A glossary of Saxon terms which dates from the middle of the eighth century is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Venerable Bede was, at the time of his death, at work on a translation of the Fourth Gospel, but his work, unfortunately, is lost. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* the redaction of which is one of the chief pieces of literary work done under Alfred's inspiration, remains the most important monument of Anglo-Saxon prose of the age. Religious and secular poems, too, had been written in the English tongue before Alfred. *Beowulf* is the most notable example of the earliest English secular poetry, and the poems of Caedmon and Cynewulf are the most significant examples of the earliest religious poetry in the language. Poetry and prose were cultivated in the age both by literary men and by minstrels who entertained the courts of kings and nobles.

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[42] "Erigena, Johannes Scotus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. 8, 14th Edition, p. 688.

[43] Laistner, M. L. W., *Thought and Letters in Western Europe; A.D. 500 to 1900,* pp. 303–325.

It is one of the surest marks of Alfred's genius that he recognized the native resources of England for the cultivation of scholarship. He encouraged the revival of classical letters and learning, but he saw to it also that English was firmly established as a literary language. He made translations—or rather redactions—of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care,* of the *Universal History* of Orosius, and of Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy.* He was the inspiration of a redaction of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to which reference has already been made.

Alfred's reasons for making translations are important: he wished to remedy as rapidly as possible the damage done by the decay of learning and he saw that translation would make learning and literature quickly accessible to the clergy; but he had a second reason which is even more important: he wished to promote universal knowledge and literacy. These reasons he sets forth in his preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care.* He writes:

> King Alfred bids greet Bishop Waerferth with his words lovingly and with friendship; and I let it be known to thee that it has very often come into my mind what wise men there formerly were throughout England, both of sacred and secular orders; and how happy times there were then throughout England. . . .
>
> I remembered also how I saw before it had been all ravaged and burnt, how the churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books, and there were a great number also of God's servants, but they had very little knowledge of the books, for they could not understand anything of them because they were not written in their own language. . . .
>
> Then I remembered how the law was first known in Hebrew, and again, when the Greeks had learned it, they translated the whole of it into their own language and all other books beside. And again the Romans, when they had learned it, they translated the whole of it through learned interpreters into their own language. And also all other Christian nations translated a part of them into their own language. Therefore, it seems better to me, if ye think so, for us also to translate some books which are most needful for all men to know, into the language we can all understand, and for you to do as we very easily can if we have tranquility enough—i.e. that all the youth now in

> England of free men, who are rich enough to be able to devote themselves to it, is set to learn as long as they are not fit for other occupation, until that they are well able to learn English writing; and let those be afterwards taught more in the Latin language who are to continue learning, and be promoted to a higher rank.[44]

Alfred goes on to say that, in pursuit of his design to have knowledge generally diffused throughout his kingdom, he had translated Gregory's *Pastoral Care,* a copy of which he proposed to send to every bishop in his kingdom, for use in the bishop's church.

In the twentieth century the English language has assumed something of the role played by the Greek tongue in the Hellenistic Age, by Latin in Europe in the latter days of the Roman Empire and in the Middle Ages, by Arabic in Asia during the Middle Ages, and by French in the eighteenth century. When the importance of English as a medium of communication and as a medium of science and literature is remembered, it is clear that Alfred the Great made a contribution to learning and to education equaled by few men who have lived in the world.

Alfred and teaching. Alfred made his court a center of teaching, of scholarship, of piety, of the national tradition of Anglo-Saxon feeling, and of the arts. He built monasteries, translated books, and had others translated, maintained teaching at his court, practiced and encouraged the manly exercises, and had craftsmen taught. Of these matters his friend and biographer, Bishop Asser, writes:

> Ethelwerd the youngest [of the children of Alfred] by the divine counsels and the admirable prudence of the king, was consigned to the schools of learning, where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his teachers. Books in both languages, namely, Latin and Saxon, were both read in the school. They also learned to write; so that before they were of an age to practice manly arts, namely, hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. Edward and Ethelswitha were bred up in the King's court and received great attention from their attendants and nurses; nay, they continue to this, with the love of all about them, and showing affability, and even gentleness towards all, both natives and foreigners, and in complete subjection to their father; nor, among their other studies which appertain to this life and are fit for noble

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[44] Quoted by Walter Besant, *The Story of King Alfred,* pp. 141–143, *passim.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1924.

> youths, are they suffered to pass their time idly and unprofitably without learning the liberal arts; for they have carefully learned the Psalms and Saxon books, especially the Saxon poems, and are continually in the habit of making use of books.
>
> In the meantime the king, . . . continued to carry on the government, and to exercise hunting in all its branches; to teach his workers in gold and artificers of all kinds, his falconers, hawkers and dog-keepers, to build houses majestic and good, beyond all the precedents of his ancestors, by his mechanical inventions; to recite the Saxon books, and especially to learn by ear the Saxon poems, and to make others learn them; and he alone never desisted from studying, most diligently, to the best of his ability; he attended the mass and other daily services of religion; he was frequent in psalm-singing and prayer, at the hours both of the day and the night . . .[45]

Asser goes on to speak of Alfred's affection for his bishops, and of the care with which the children of the nobles of his court were taught in morals, manners, and letters. Leading scholars from other parts of Britain—from Mercia, Worcester, from Wales, whence came Asser himself—and from the continent of Europe were invited to the court. Alfred made these scholars his friends and advisors. They read to him, administered religious and educational matters, translated, and wrote.

The impetus given by Alfred the Great to British craftsmanship, learning, literature, and feeling of nationality has never been lost. From his day to ours the development of Anglo-Saxon institutions and of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of freedom has been continuous.

Development of the Church's policy respecting education from 815 to 1050. A principal development of the ninth and tenth centuries was the assumption by the bishops of the control and direction of education in the Empire and in France. As a modern authority puts it:

> It is notable that in later times [during the reign of Charles the Bald] ordinances regulating public instruction no longer emanated from the sovereign. That important branch of public administration, which Charlemagne had so strongly at heart and which he cultivated unceasingly from his first elevation to the throne until his last hour had passed to the hands of the bishops during the reign of Louis the Debonair. Surrounded by enemies, engrossed by political disturbances, the princes no longer had time to lavish attention and favor upon the quiet plant, intelligence.

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[45] *Asser's Annals of the Reign of Alfred the Great*, p. 68. Bohn Antiquarian Library. London: Bell and Dalby, 1866.

The bishops, whose power was still essential for the support of the state, admonished them in vain for their carelessness, lack of wisdom, and even guilt. The state having thus abandoned its jurisdiction in educational matters, the Church possessed itself of the right or vested interest of its exclusive control during many centuries to come.[46]

Vested with control of education in a relatively stable society, the Church was at last able to develop fully the lines of its policy respecting schools and scholarship. The intellectual basis of this policy had been laid by the great fathers of the Latin Church—notably by St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and Gregory the Great. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries this policy was formulated, clearly defined, and elaborated. In Chapters XVI and XVII we shall see how this policy bore fruit in the rise of scholasticism and of the universities. The two most important aspects of this policy were (1) the Church's sponsorship of scholarship and of teaching, and (2) the control of education by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The policy of the Church was exercised to curb heresy on the one side and violent attacks against scholarship on the other, and to furnish a basis in episcopal authority for the government of universities in the later Middle Ages.

A first step was taken in extending episcopal control over schools in the Empire when, in 826, a council held at Rome and presided over by Pope Eugenius II issued an ordinance respecting education calling upon bishops to appoint teachers of the liberal arts and of theology.[47]

Twenty-seven years later, another council, also held at Rome, grappled again with the problem of education. This council, of 853, reaffirmed the necessity of Christian schools. It distinguished two orders of schools: one for the elements of religion, to be maintained in every parish, and one for the liberal arts, to be maintained at the Cathedrals.[48] In the centuries which followed, one provincial council of the Church after another reaffirmed the positions taken by these two councils of Rome. Schools, both of the faith and offices of the Church, of music, and of the liberal arts and sciences, were to be maintained. Typical of these orders of provincial councils is the following one of a Council held at Paris in 824:

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[46] Stallaert, C., and Van de Hegen, P., *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[47] Manacorda, Guiseppe, *Storia della scuola in Italia*, Vol. I, pp. 61 and 62. Milano-Palermo-Napoli: Remo Sandron, 1914.

[48] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 63.

> We have unanimously decreed among ourselves that the bishops shall henceforth take care to exercise more zeal in promoting Christian schools, so as to prepare and to form the soldiers of Christ in the interest of the Church. And, in order to prove the pains that each takes to obey this order, we decree that at every assembling of provincial bishops, each warden of students shall present himself with his pupils, in order that they may be known to the other churches, and in order that the zeal of the warden of students may be made clear to everyone.[49]

The council of Valens, held in 855, ordered:

> That schools of divine and humane sciences and of sacred music should be held; for the long neglect of studies, ignorance of the faith, and the loss of all the sciences have made great inroads into the Churches of God.[50]

Council after council spoke to the same effect. No longer were the voices of influential churchmen raised in condemnation of the liberal arts and sciences; these were now the weapons, the armor, and the ornament of the Christian soldier. There were, indeed, opponents of letters, who would willingly have put all secular learning under a ban, but the more numerous and by all odds most influential party among the clergy felt that right reason holds no threat for theology, but rather makes its truths the clearer and more convincing to the candid mind.

Gerbert. The tenth century was an era of transition. The Carolingian revival had fully restored the seven liberal arts and music as a fine art in schools. John the Scot had made the first serious effort at a synthesis of knowledge and of free exercise of reason of the European Middle Ages. The one universal government of western Europe, the Latin Church, had assumed full direction of schools. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries historic schools were founded: schools like that of Chartres, which were themselves long-famous centers of scholarship, and others—as at Winchester—which established scholarship in a region where it was later to flower. The tenth and early eleventh centuries witnessed, too, the enrichment of European scholarship by contact with the Moors. The Saracens had developed in the Iberian Peninsula a rich and fine culture. Their secular music and literature, theological scholarship employing the framework and literature of Greek philosophy, astronomy, Greek geometry, many fine and practical arts strange to Europe, commerce, and medicine flourished. To a Europe astir and ready to set out upon the intellectual venture, Mohammedan arts and scholarship opened an alluring road.

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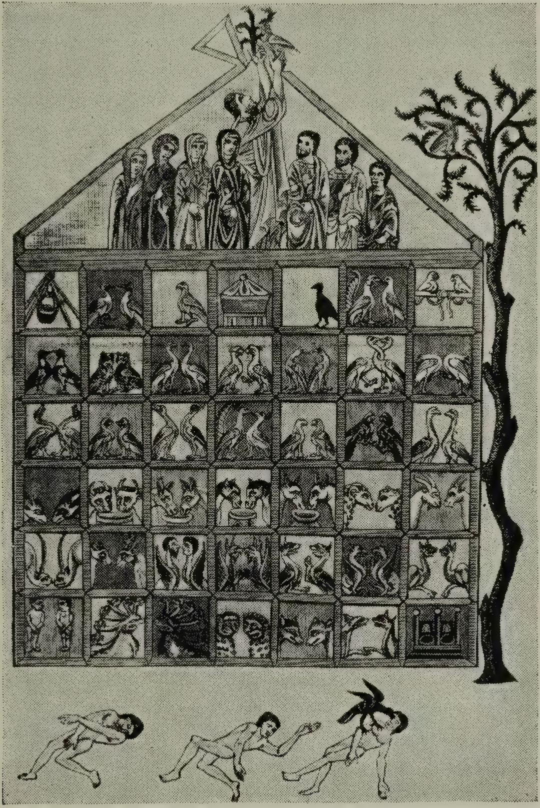
[49] Stallaert, C., and Van de Hegen, P., *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 31.



Noah's Ark: Twelfth Century.

The intellectual movement of the late tenth and early eleventh century was most completely epitomized in the life and work of Gerbert, who reigned as Pope Sylvester II from 999 to 1003. Born, about 950, in Aquitaine, of humble parents, Gerbert was educated for the service of the Church. He enjoyed the patronage of great Churchmen and of successive Emperors: Otto III was first his pupil and then his protector and friend. Gerbert was educated in the classical tradition developed in western Europe under the leadership of Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and other Carolingian scholars. Later he studied in Spain, at the very borders of the Moorish state, but he was a product of Latin Christian, not of Moslem, scholarship. He was an engineer; he constructed organs, terrestrial and celestial globes, and a wonderful water-clock. He was a mathematician—a student of arithmetic and geometry—and the inventor of an extraordinary counting board (an abacus) "with 27 divisions and a thousand counters of horn."[51] This instrument may have been used in solving geometrical problems. In his teaching, Gerbert had his pupils read Virgil, Juvenal, Terence, Horace, and other classical authors, while Aristotle's *Categories,* Cicero's *Topics,* and Porphyry's *Isagoge* were used as textbooks. Gerbert was a great builder of libraries; and the claim has been advanced that the preservation of Cicero's *Orations* can be attributed to his efforts in having them copied. He was also a student of medicine.

Gerbert's pupil, Fulbert, refounded the Cathedral school at Chartres, and a second pupil, Richner, conducted a famous school of medicine there. In the closing decade of the tenth century the systems of medicine of Hippocrates and Galen were studied at Chartres.

Schools in the early eleventh century. It is clear, from what has been said, that behind Lanfranc, Anselm, Roscellinus, Abelard, and the other great scholars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries there were generations of steady and sound growth of Christian scholarship and educational institutions in western Europe. It is true that there occurred an extremely rapid flowering of scholarship between 1075 and 1175, but scholars increasingly recognize that the break between the twelfth century and the centuries just preceding it was not a sharp one. The seven liberal arts had long been cultivated. Dialectic was being employed. Mathematics was being carried to a far higher level than mere calculating. Contact with the Greek world was never wholly lost. The Greek language and literature, it is true, were unknown to most scholars, and but little known to anyone; but western Europe was repeatedly touched by Greek thought and letters in the age we are considering.

Most important of all, the Church had formulated a policy respecting scholarship and the fostering of education. Already, famous monastic and cathedral schools were flourishing—schools, some of which were in cities soon to become famous as *Studia Generalia* and to which students from all parts of Latin Christendom were to resort. The function and place of scholarship in the Roman Catholic system had been worked out. Bishops, abbots, and the Pope himself were promoting and fostering scholarship and schools. Under that fostering care two of the most important developments in the intellectual history of the western world were soon to take place: the intellectual revival of the twelfth century and the founding of European universities.

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[51] "Sylvester II," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 20, p. 693.

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16

The Flowering of the Middle Ages

I. NATURE AND BACKGROUND

Cultural achievements and character of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The flowering of the medieval spirit took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In that period, movements which had been shaping and gathering force since the seventh century at last culminated. The institutions, ideas, and art forms which are at once the finest expression of the medieval mind and its richest gift to the modern world reached completion. Among the achievements of this the greatest period of the Middle Ages are the founding of universities, the creation of the institutions of constitutional monarchy and of parliamentary government, the perfecting of Gothic architecture, the development of religious institutions independent of the secular power, progress in vernacular languages and literatures, and the elaboration of systems of law and of scholastic philosophy and theology. Stallaert and Van der Hagen call this age the "cradle" of political, moral, and intellectual life of Belgium and say that it witnessed the dawn of Belgian liberties. The cruelties and crimes of earlier days were, they continue, checked by law. The commons (third estate) were introduced into the administration of the communes. The common law took on fixed form. Agriculture was improved, and commerce and industry were extended. Wealth increased, and prosperity was general. The fine arts were cultivated, and architecture was magnificent. One national language, a vernacular, displaced Latin for use in public documents. An abundant native literature and many literary centers were created.[1] What is here claimed with respect to Belgium for this age, may, with some qualifications, be claimed for other countries of western

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[1] After Stallaert and Van de Hegen, *De L'Instruction publique au moyen âge*, p. 97.

Europe. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were full of vitality and were fecund beyond almost any centuries in European history.

The first and central characteristic of the medieval flowering of arts, letters, and scholarship, then, was this: it epitomized the medieval spirit and was its finest and most typical expression. The Carolingian revival marks the first gathering of the artistic and intellectual forces of the Middle Ages; in the great Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, their dispersal was accomplished; the medieval flowering of art, literature, and scholarship marked the embodiment of medieval life forces in ideas, in art forms, and institutions. There are innumerable illustrations of this. The monastic orders and orders of friars, the corporate life of universities, and the universal character of medieval scholarship were but aspects of the unity of Latin Christendom. Again: medieval art—the objects of which were types, not portraits or other individual representations—reflected the world-denial, community of spirit, and concentration upon the inner life, which marked the age so strongly. Once again: the domination of medieval scholarship by dialectic and the almost

Two Views of Salisbury Cathedral, Built in the Thirteenth Century. Left: The Lady Chapel. Right: The Spire.

complete preoccupation of scholars with law, theology, and theoretical medicine, the dialectical aspects of the study of government, religion, and of the prevention and cure of disease respectively—are intimately related to the dominant metaphysical interest of the age, an interest bound up with the nonsecular character of medieval scholarship.

If the Renaissance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is in sharp contrast to that of the fifteenth and sixteenth as respects the relation in which it stands to the intellectual and social forces of the early Middle Ages, it is in no less sharp contrast as respects the relation in which it stands to Greek and Roman antiquity. The first impulse of the Medieval Renaissance was from the life and thought of Christian and of late imperial Rome. It drew its principal inspiration from early Latin Christianity. It was well launched when it began to draw to any considerable degree upon Arab and Greek sources for form and content. Roman law, Roman Catholic canon law, and the writings of the Fathers of the Latin Church furnished the great bulk of its content until the movement was well developed. By contrast the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries drew its inspiration from the golden ages of Greek and Roman life, thought, and letters. It looked further back than Christian Rome of the later Empire to Pagan Rome of the later Republic and early Empire. The medieval scholars are in sharp contrast to the Renaissance scholars of the fifteenth century, too, in their attitude toward Greek scholarship. The thirteenth century scholars used Aristotle, but they were not Hellenists; their culture was essentially Latin. They worked from translations, but few of them understood the Greek language, and none understood the Greek spirit. Translators from the Greek were particularly interested in Christian theology, liturgy, and the lives of Saints—not in ancient art and thought. While western Europeans were never *completely* cut off from the Greek world during the Middle Ages, they were, unfortunately, able to make but little use of the resources which were there. The European Middle Ages were Christian and Roman.

A most striking characteristic of the medieval flowering of culture was this: it expressed itself within the pattern of institutions and drew strength from them. It was not individualistic; it was not iconoclastic; it was not revolutionary. Its noblest poetry was religious, and its finest intellectual achievements were systems of theology and of law—disciplines inextricably bound up with institutions and concerned rather with the control of human conduct than with the control of natural energies and the release of human personality. There were, of course, individualists, egoists, and rebels in the age, but they were not so numerous as persons of their type were, let us say, in Athens in the fifth century B.C., in the age of the Renaissance, or in western Europe in the eighteenth century. Even the arch-egoist, Abelard, was a canon, as was that literary rebel, the chief poet of the Goliards, who styled himself "The Primate." There were also great free-thinkers: Adelard of Bath—who writes "Except reason be of right the judge respecting all matters, it was given to particular persons in vain" [2]—is worthy to stand beside Epicurus, or Vitruvius, or Giordano Bruno. But, predominantly, the age was one of willing subservience to authority. This attitude is everywhere reflected in the scholarship of the age. Translations were slavishly literal; the grammatical and logical approaches to learning were so prominent that experimental and historical scholarship were completely overshadowed.

The literary and intellectual aspects of the revival, moreover, affected comparatively few people directly. Centers of scholarship were scattered. The great majority of western Europeans, and even of the secular rulers, were unlettered. Superstition, therefore, was rife to an extraordinary degree. Closely connected with this characteristic of the flowering is the fact that the scholarship of the revival was international and did not root among the people. Craftsmanship did root among the people, as did vernacular literature.

General advance at the period of the medieval flowering. The period from 1050 to 1300 was one of extraordinary vitality, strength, and productivity in all directions. The tremendous energy of Christendom in this age spent itself in enterprises of the most diverse types. Fundamental features of the period were the very great development of the arts and crafts and the growth of commerce. Closely connected with the accelerated movement of commerce were progress in the art of navigation, standardization of the coinage, the development of forms of commercial organization, and of the machinery of credit.[3] Closely connected, too, with the progress of manufacturing and commerce were the growth of cities, the increase of wealth, and improvement of the status of their inhabitants.

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[2] *Nisi enim ratio universalis iudex esse deberet, frustra singulis data esset.* Here quoted from C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Science*, p. 40, footnote. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[3] Adams, G. B., *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, Revised edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.

Cities won a considerable measure of independence and self-government after 1100; political power was no longer a monopoly of the nobles and of the hierarchy of the Church. The great adventures of these centuries were the Crusades (1096–1191), which set all of Europe astir, changed the tastes and standards of higher classes, introduced new articles of use and luxury into the West, greatly affected the balance of the social classes, and resulted in the founding of Christian kingdoms in Asia.

In the twelfth century Romanesque architecture reached its culmination, and Gothic architecture originated. In the thirteenth century some of the most beautiful and majestic buildings in the world—Gothic in type—were erected. The modern vernacular literatures of Europe made great strides in this period. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a time of great activity in the making of books. Great numbers of books were copied, and the age produced writers of the first rank.

It is at once apparent that some of these tendencies strongly reinforced each other, while others were in conflict. In spite of conflicts, there occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one of those periods of happy balance in human affairs which are peculiarly favorable to creative work. There was balance between freedom and authority, between faith and confidence in human powers, between practical competence and fancy, between deep attachment to local scenes and ways and loyalty and sensitivity to forces and influence from afar, between local governments and central authority, and between classes. To be sure, there were disowned and ill-used millions—for the Middle Ages were not democratic. There were pirates and robbers, and cruelty, and superstition, and filth, and disease. But there were also scholars, craftsmen, artists, saints, commercial magnates, and millions more of good, able people, whose thought and work brought the world along in a marvelous way.

Political events following 1050 which affected the flowering. The direction and character of intellectual and artistic movements in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were profoundly affected by a series of conquests. These were: (1) The Norman conquest of England, following the landing there, in 1066, of William the Conqueror; (2) The conquest by Latin Christendom of the Moslem city of Toledo in Spain; (3) The

Norman conquest of Sicily, in 1091; and (4) The Crusades and domination, for some generations, of Syria by western Europeans.

The Norman conquest resulted in the development of a strong monarchy in England—something the country had never experienced before over any long period of time. Under the protection of the Norman kings, commerce, agriculture, industry, the Church, and learning, all made progress. The Anglo-Norman law and judicial and administrative system became the foundation of national freedom and security. Certain of the Norman kings were, moreover, great patrons of learning.

The conquest of Toledo by Christians led to the establishment there of the capital of the Kingdom of Castile. That city was thereafter long the ecclesiastical as well as the political center of Christian Spain. There Christian scholars absorbed Arabic learning and Greek learning by way of the Arabic, as the Arabs had previously absorbed Greek, Hindu, and Chinese learning in Asia. Spain was the most important center for the translations from that Arabic into Latin and so for the assimilation of Moslem learning by Western Europe. The Norman kingdom in Sicily, established in 1091, was remarkable from the fact that there Latin Christians, Greeks, and Saracens, lived together. We shall see later in this chapter that there, and in Southern Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, important translations were made from the Greek into the Latin.

There can be no question that the Crusades affected the course of the cultural flowering of the European Middle Ages greatly, but these effects cannot be definitely identified. The Crusaders established Christian kingdoms in Syria, and promoted contacts between the east and the west. They stimulated the growth of the Italian cities which became their factories and banking centers; and so contributed to the establishment of the economic and political basis of the medieval universities. The Crusades upset the social balance in Europe, and changed the relation between classes profoundly; they brought about travel and cultural migration; they stimulated commerce and the rise of banking; they increased geographical knowledge; they contributed to the political influence and power of France, Germany, Venice, and the Papacy; the Crusaders sacked Byzantium (1204), and helped to ruin the Byzantine Kingdom. By weakening the Byzantine and Arabic powers, the Crusades gave the Mongols, Mamelukes, and Seljuk Turks the opportunity which resulted in the establishment of the Mameluke sovereignty in Egypt, the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor, and the Mongol Khanate in Persia. These governments were less liberal, and the culture they fostered less developed, than were those which they supplanted. It becomes at once apparent that the Crusades impoverished European culture at some points, while adding to it at others. Whether draining Europe or enriching it—as they alternately did—the Crusades affected its life at every point.

By adding to geographical knowledge and by multiplying cultural contacts, the Crusades added to and stimulated scholarship. In the Christian kingdom of Syria, as well as in Spain and in Sicily, European scholars built up their knowledge of Hindu mathematics and Greek literature, science, and philosophy of which the Near East had been the custodian since the ruin of the classical Latin civilization of the West. The Crusaders, to some degree, adopted the Arab view that science is to be built up by observation and experiment. They contributed, therefore, to the point of view and to the body of scholarship essential to the growth of medieval culture.

The political effects of the Crusades influenced the progress of scholarship profoundly. As a result of the Crusades, the barons, drained of blood and money, lost their virtual independence and their dominant position in western Europe. What the barons lost, the Papacy, the secular monarchs, and the commercial and manufacturing classes gained. The Papacy gained in the loyalty to the Church which was engendered by the Crusades—this loyalty showed itself in gifts which enriched the Papal treasury and in fighting to extirpate heresy in France as well as in the East. It gained, moreover, in political power and prestige as a result of the strategic position it occupied in conducting diplomatic negotiations between various allied or combatant powers. The monarchies of France, Germany, and Portugal gained in wealth and power. The centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor, the King of France, and the Papacy, made their later patronage of learning and authorship of great significance.

The Crusades, moreover, stimulated the growth of cities, and cities were then, as in every other age, centers for the advancement of the arts and sciences. They and the royal governments created a demand for legal and clerical staffs to carry on much of the detail of government and of business. Wealth was concentrated in the towns, too, so that great metropolitan bishops and municipal governments were patrons of universities and of scholars.

How changes in the government of the Church affected culture. Outstanding for their effects upon the course of medieval culture were: (1) The monastic reforms of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; (2) The founding of the orders of friars—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians or Austin Friars, and the Carmelites; and (3) The increased power of the Papal Curia.

A widespread movement for the reform of monasteries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries culminated in the development of the Cistercian Order, and in the work in the Order of its greatest leader, Bernard of Clairvaux. The Cistercians lived by the Benedictine Rule, and attempted to restore the zeal, purity, and simplicity which they believed had marked the lives of the early Benedictine monks. They introduced, however, important reforms. Localism was broken up: each local congregation was composed of monks drawn from various places; while each monastery was under its own abbot, all congregations were subject to the superiors of the Order; each monk was, moreover, vowed to obedience to the Pope alone, the order was very highly centralized and contributed to the tendency toward the general unity of Latin Christendom. The Cistercians, moreover, emphasized afresh the duty of manual labor and encouraged farming, the raising of sheep and cattle, and the handicrafts. Bernard was opposed to rationalism, and although he was a highly educated man, did not encourage educational work and literary activities in the monasteries. As a matter of settled policy, the Cistercian monk turned his back upon society. Monasteries were established in remote rural sections—often in a waste which the monks labored to reclaim. The great concern of the Cistercian monk was to serve God and win individual salvation by individual obedience, work, and devotion. He had escaped from the world, and the best he could hope for his fellows in the world was that they, too, might forsake it. Learning, like wealth and glory, was of no moment in his view.

After 1100, European monasticism in general took much the same attitude toward learning and contact with the world that the Cistercian Order had taken. Monks and nuns gave themselves increasingly to manual labor and to devotion. The monasteries ceased to be the leading centers of learning in Europe. Anselm of Bec was the last of the great monastic teachers; and even before he left Bec, in 1093, the secular clerics and cathedral canons were the leading figures in scholarship and teaching.[4] This leadership they retained until they were eclipsed by the Friars in the thirteenth century. The period during which secular clerics and cathedral canons dominated teaching was marked by especial interest in *literary* scholarship. Under the leadership of the secular clerics literary scholarship made great strides.

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[4] Sandys, J. E., *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

One of the most important ecclesiastical developments of the thirteenth century was the rise of the orders of Friars—Franciscans (1210), Dominicans (1215), Augustinians or Austin Friars, and Carmelites. The Friars were not cloistered, but worked especially in the cities. Preaching was their most prominent activity; the Dominicans, indeed, were "Preaching Friars." The Franciscans and Dominicans quickly won commanding positions in the universities, which they held until the Renaissance, and the Augustinians had in their ranks scholars scarcely inferior to the greatest men of the two other great scholarly orders. Among the Franciscans, Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus are names which shine with peculiar luster. Vincent of Beauvais (*d.* 1264), Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), and St. Thomas Aquinas (*c.* 1225-1274) were three of the greatest doctors of the Dominicans, and the last the pre-eminent theologian of Latin Christendom in the Middle Ages. Egidio Colonna, known also as Giles of Rome (*d.* 1316)—General of the Augustinians and tutor of Philip the Fair—was one of the great scholars of his order.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were marked by a long struggle between secular rulers and the Pope respecting control of the investing of bishops with their offices. In this struggle the Church was victorious. The Emperor, kings, and other secular rulers were forced to recognize the supremacy of the Pope in spiritual matters, and successive Popes recognized the sovereignty of secular rulers in temporal matters. Thus was the unity of Latin Christendom maintained. Tremendously strengthened by the mutual relations in which they stood, the Popes and the monarchs were in a position to play important roles as patrons of scholarship, literature, and the fine arts.

II. CENTERS FOR THE CULTIVATION OF THE LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

The shift in cultural interest in monasteries. In the eleventh century monasteries continued to have considerable importance as intellectual centers, but in the twelfth their interest in secular learning and their prestige as centers of learning suffered a marked decline. True, the setting sun of monastic scholarship shed, here and there, an especially bright ray. Bec, under Lanfranc, who entered the monastery in 1042, and under Anselm who succeeded him as Abbot in 1079 and served until 1093, was illustrious for its scholarship. Monte Cassino preserved a great library of books,[5] built up by the industry of its copyists. St. Gall was celebrated for its school and library. There was some writing of history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by English monks. But intellectual culture was passing in the eleventh century from the monasteries to the cathedrals, to the courts of the great princes, to the towns, and to the universities.

We have already had some intimation of the reasons for the decline of monasteries as intellectual centers. Secular scholarship had always been incidental in their work. Monks might only teach secular subjects or teach outside a monastery by a special dispensation. Their schools existed principally to train the religious; the copying of books was simply a form of manual work; the making of service books and the writing of chronicles of monasteries were the chief literary interests. Monasteries held the place of intellectual centers in the early Middle Ages simply because of the lack of other sources of literature and learning. When the courts of the princes, the palaces of great bankers, towns, and—above all—universities came to provide congenial associates and satisfying careers to men of literary tastes, these were no longer attracted to monasteries exclusively. The Cistercian reforms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, moreover, were not favorable to scholarship in the monasteries. The movement represented an attempt to restore the simplicity, devotion, and austerities of the primitive Benedictine rule. Such efforts of the monks as were not expended upon the services of the choir and in private devotions were directed toward practical affairs—toward farming, the arts and crafts, stockbreeding, and commerce. Their abbeys, moreover, were located in the country. The monasteries continued to produce books, but in the later Middle Ages commercial copyists assumed an importance which increased through the centuries. The monks were no longer the only makers of books.[6]

In an important respect the rise of the monastic orders did contribute to the progress of learning and scholarship in Europe. Monastic travel was stimulated by the formation of the orders, and the monasteries were centers at which ideas and information were received and passed along.

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[5] Haskins, Charles Homer, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927, p. 38.

[6] Haskins, Charles Homer, *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–45.

> They were the natural meeting-points of the world of the monks and the sacristan with the world of the pilgrim, the trader, and the jongleur, of sacred and profane, Latin and vernacular, till all become indistinguishable to our eye. Saint-Denis, Meaux, and Fecamp, Vezelay and Navalese, Gellone and Saint-Giles, and the Cluniac priories on the road to Spain, these and many others are now known as centers of creation and diffusion of the epics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[7]

Cathedrals and collegiate churches. There were in Europe in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries a great number of churches, many of which were exceedingly large. The churches of the bishops—called cathedrals—were especially important, since each was the center of an area, called a diocese, in which were many churches, served by priests who were under the oversight of its bishop. To each cathedral a considerable number of clergy were attached; and these carried on the great multitude of administrative and devotional activities which centered about the bishop's church and palace. Each such group of clerics was organized into a chapter, and since the members of a chapter lived under a rule or *canon,* they are called canons. At the head of each chapter was its dean, and associated with him was the cleric in charge of the cathedral's music—the precentor—a treasurer, and a schoolmaster, generally called a *scholasticus* on the continent of Europe, but usually spoken of as a *chancellor* in England. There were great churches which, while they were not cathedrals, still had colleges of canons; these were called collegiate churches.

A cathedral or collegiate church was a busy place in the Middle Ages. Not only were long hours devoted to the services in the choir, but much of the care of the sick, or relief of poverty, of the disciplining of moral offenses, of scholarship and art, and of teaching, centered about these churches. The cathedral was forced, in order to carry forward its work, to maintain its library and archives. The men who directed the rearing of the buildings which housed these works were scholars and artists of high rank. The men who organized the chanting of its services were great musicians. The conduct of its business affairs demanded knowledge and judgment of no mean order. In a word, the cathedral in this age was a principal center of thought, of the fine arts, and of the liberal arts and sciences.

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[7] Haskins, Charles Homer, *op. cit.*, p. 47. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Mr. A. F. Leach shows that cathedrals and collegiate churches of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries maintained a great number of schools, many of them offering instruction at a high level and in a variety of subjects.[8] In a great cathedral a school of theology would be maintained, under the direction of the chancellor himself. In the larger cathedrals, too, the *quadrivium*—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—was taught. Poor indeed must have been the collegiate church or cathedral which did not maintain a school of the *trivium*—grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In the cathedrals, too, were song schools in which boys were educated in the liberal arts and in singing for service in the choir. The song school of a cathedral was subject to the precentor of the cathedral in which it was located, and was headed by the master of the song school.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the cathedral schools of northern France reached a very high state of development. The schools of Chartres and of Laon were especially famous as centers of classical learning. A genuine classical revival centered at Chartres. John of Salisbury asserted that the main peculiarity of the school of Chartres lay in its "reverent dependence upon the ancients."[9] In the spirit of Chartres, John urged professors of philosophy to search Virgil and Lucan. At Chartres John studied the quadrivium, and reviewed rhetoric, which he "had before learned very superficially."[10] As respects the methods employed by John's teacher, Bernard of Chartres, in teaching literature, we learn that he urged his pupils to memorize and to imitate classical models. In addition, he "in the reading of authors showed what was simple and fell under the ordinary rules; the figures of grammar, the adornments of rhetoric, the quibbles of sophistries; and where the subject of his own lesson suggested reading related to other arts, these matters he brought into full view."[11]

Courts. Other centers of intellectual life in this age were the courts of secular princes. In Europe, between the years 1,000 and

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[8] Leach, A. F., *Schools of Medieval England.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915. See especially pp. 156–178.

[9] Poole, R. L., *Illustrations from the History of Medieval Thought*, pp. 114–119.

[10] John of Salisbury, *Metalogius*, II, 10. Quoted by A. O. Norton, *Readings in the History of Education*, p. 30.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 24. Quoted by A. O. Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

1,300, great princes increased their power at the expense of lesser feudal lords. Since smaller governmental units were thus consolidated, centralized monarchies—the forerunners of some of the great modern nations of western Europe—were formed. The business and interests of courts made archives and libraries necessary. The administration of the governments of the great earldoms and monarchies, moreover, was, of necessity, committed to literate men. Governmental bureaucracies employed clerks who kept up correspondence and records, lawyers, chaplains, tutors, and physicians. Courts furnished patronage to literary men, too, and their literary output was considerable. In Scandinavia, poets and story-tellers associated with kings' courts, and the houses of great men built up a literature of the highest merit. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, was the patron both of Geoffrey of Monmouth (who dedicated his *History of the British Kings* to his patron) and of William of Malmesbury. The court of Henry II, King of England from 1154 until 1189, was an important literary center, where books dealing with medicine, classics, theology, science, and government were produced; where vernacular poetry was written, and where there was a real flowering of historical writing.[12] In a chapter (XVII), devoted to the education of secular rulers, we shall return to a discussion of the scholarly activity of courts; for schools and literary men flourished at the courts throughout the later Middle Ages.

Cities furnished important centers of intellectual activity in the twelfth century and in the centuries following. While the town schools were not to assume great importance until the Middle Ages drew near their close, at a much earlier age the Italian towns had their schools of law, and the business and diplomacy of the Italian cities multiplied cultural contacts with the Greek world and stimulated studies in medicine, law, and the liberal arts. The towns of the twelfth century are of very special interest to the student of education, however, because they furnished the setting for the earliest European universities.

III. HOW LEARNING WAS ADVANCED IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Four methods of advancing knowledge employed by this age. University scholarship in the Middle Ages employed *logic* so nearly to the exclusion of other instruments of learning that it is easy to forget that knowledge was advanced in the age by other means, too. The *basis* of the advance was furnished by careful study of the *seven liberal arts*. *Observation, the manipulation of material objects in connection with industry, the practice of the fine arts,* and the *firsthand experience which comes by way of dealing with men in war, political administration, commerce, and the management of estates* were sources of much of the knowledge added to the world's store by the Middle Ages. These certainly were the means by which the European Middle Ages developed a competence in handicrafts and in political administration which have been among the most important factors in giving this part of the world a dominating position from the sixteenth century until the present. Observation and manipulation, then, constitutes the *first* means by which knowledge was extended in this age. A *second* means of advancing knowledge in the age was by translation. A *third* was that of literary studies, which, while based upon the study of the seven liberal arts, went beyond them into what we should today call history, philosophy, and criticism. A *fourth* was by means of dialectic or discussion conducted according to the laws of logic. The logical approach dominated scholarship completely from the early thirteenth century until the fifteenth. The two learned professions in which the Middle Ages made most substantial contributions were the dialectical sciences—theology and law. Let us turn to

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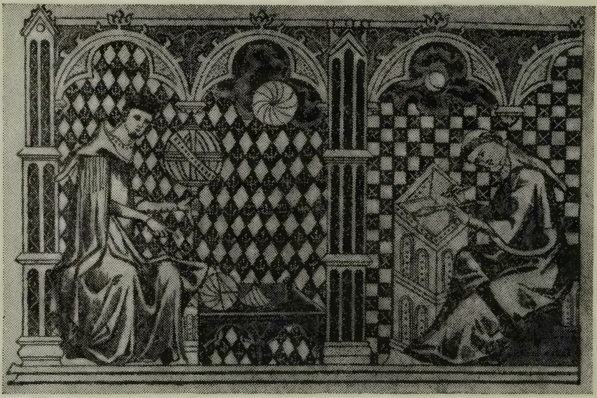
[12] Haskins, Charles H., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 40, 57–58, and 61.



MATHEMATICAL MONKS. One is teaching the globe, the other is drawing. —*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

a more detailed consideration of the various methods and approaches of scholarship in the later Middle Ages.

The seven liberal arts. It is important to remember that the medieval flowering of culture was Latin and Christian, initiated and directed by western Europeans. Its language was Latin, and the improvement of literary Latin was one of the first and crucial advances of scholarship in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The whole movement stems from the advances made earlier in court schools and at court centers of literature and in schools connected with monasteries, cathedrals, and collegiate churches. It is most important, too, to remember that the heart of instruction in schools throughout the long development which led up to the flowering and through the great period of the Middle Ages was instruction in the *seven liberal arts*—grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

In the course of this book, repeated references have been made to the development of the seven liberal arts; let us here attempt to draw together some of the most important facts respecting them. The reader will recall that the Greeks, first among Europeans, created the literary and scientific studies, and the Platonic Socrates enunciated the great principle, basic to any liberal program of studies, that the good life is the life guided by rational thought.[13] Plato carried the idea further, but sharply divorced rational thought from appetite, emotion, and overt action. Contemplation is, in his view, the highest type of thought. The good is *contrasted* with the useful. Aristotle did not correct the unfortunate separation which Plato had introduced into human experience. He identified the good with well-being, which he defines as activity appropriate to the actor; but he finds the highest good for any actor in the type of activity *peculiar to the species or class to which the actor belongs.* Man's peculiar distinction is the possession of rationality: so the highest good for man is the exercise of rationality—not the harmonizing and directing of all feeling, imagining, and acting by reason. A low valuation, therefore, is set upon certain essential human traits, upon necessary social functions, and upon classes in society engaged in constructive activity of the utmost social significance and worth. This separation was at once reflected in the curriculum; there is a course of studies appropriate to aristocrats, free men, whose prerogative is the direction of public affairs, and another curriculum appropriate to the common herd *(hoi polloi)*, whose lot it is to obey and do the world's useful work. Plato set up a course of studies which separated the aristocrats from the commonality, and which culminated in mathematics and philosophy. Aristotle distinguished certain studies as those which were alone suitable for free men: these were the liberal studies. The Greeks created, in time, the "circuit of studies" necessary to be pursued by every person aspiring to a liberal education.

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[13] *Meno*, 80.

The crucial difficulty in which the thinking of the Greeks involved the world is that they isolated thought and the abstract sciences from the rest of life's pattern, as they isolated the cultural from the useful, and divided the human species into free men and those who were directed by others. The separation of the liberal sciences from other aspects of human life and behavior obscured the fact that they are liberal only because of the crucial function which they discharge; that to the extent to which they are isolated, they lose their functions as representing interests and forces and so directing action—the very functions which confer upon them their liberal character. They were regarded as liberal not by virtue of the role they played in human feeling and action, but by virtue of their abstract character and content.

The form which the liberal arts retained throughout the Middle Ages was given them by the Romans. Varro wrote of the nine learned disciplines, the seven arts which came later to be called liberal, medicine, and architecture. Quintilian asserts that the prospective orator should complete the "circle of instruction," and it is certain that he included in these necessary arts grammar, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Dialectic, history, law, and medicine also had places in Quintilian's scheme. In the fourth Christian century a compendium of the seven liberal arts, *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* by Martianus Capella, appeared, which fixed the number and character of the arts for the Middle Ages. Boethius (481–525) wrote on music, and first used the term *quadrivium* to designate the four mathematical arts—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The distinction between the *trivium,* elementary training in language and literature, and the *quadrivium,* training in the sciences, had fully emerged.[14] Cassiodorus, writing about the middle of the sixth century, in his treatise on the arts, attaches a mystical meaning to the number seven. Isidore devoted a part of his encyclopedia to the arts; he uses the terms *trivium* and

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[14] After West, A. F., *Alcuin*, p. 22. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922.

quadrivium freely. Alcuin, Rabanus, and other medieval teachers made compilations of the arts.

It must never be forgotten that the treatises on the liberal arts were supplemented by such important works on the separate arts as the grammars of Donatus and Priscian, and Boethius' treatise on music, by phrase books of colloquies prepared by teachers, and by treatises preserved from antiquity.[15] While the manual of Cassiodorus contains materials which would fill but 82 pages of a 16mo book—eleven pages each to grammar, dialectic, arithmetic, and music, nine pages to astronomy, fifteen to geometry, and fourteen to rhetoric—there were more extensive treatises of the separate arts. Medieval teachers, moreover, made much use of oral instruction, and so were less dependent upon textbooks than their successors have been since the development of printing.

Grammar served as the general introduction to all learned studies. Outcomes of grammatical studies were knowledge of and proficiency in both spoken and written Latin and appreciation and understanding of literature. Latin was taught as a living language by men who spoke it colloquially and who employed it in both formal and informal composition. In teaching, grammars, word lists, or short school dictionaries, the writings of the classical period of Roman literature, and those of the Christian fathers were used; for grammar included practice in conversation and composition and study of literature as well as the study of syntax and the derivation of words. Vocabularies were built at first by colloquies: dialogues employing set questions and answers. The rules of grammar were memorized and explained; examples were given of their use, and applications were made. The structure and beauties of literary works were pointed out and discussed. As the highest level of grammatical instruction, pupils wrote original exercises in both prose and verse.

Rhetoric was neglected in the Middle Ages. It is clear that grammar encroached upon the field of rhetoric from the one side and logic from the other. Concerned as it was with the religious, moral, and vocational values of instruction, the age was favorable to such encroachment. The study of rhetoric, therefore, was confined for the most part to the reading of epitomes of the subject and to practice in writing formal letters and other formal documents. The writings of Cicero and of Quintilian and the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium* were regarded as the standard treatises, but they seem to have been little read.

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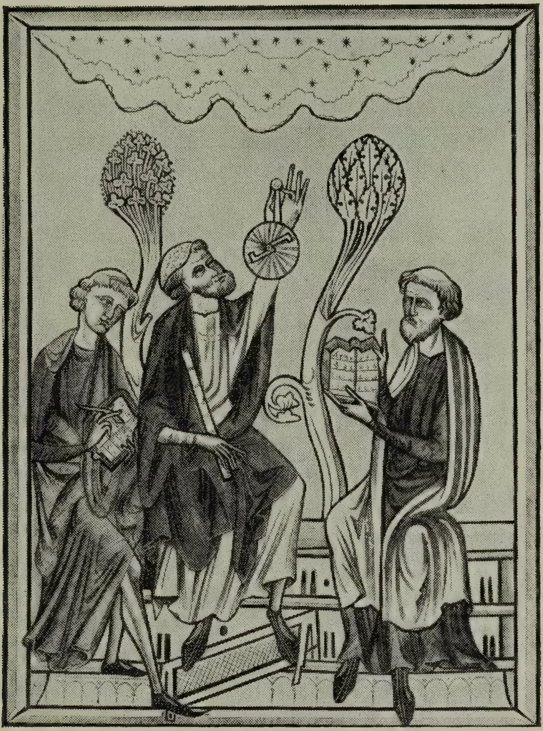
[15] Abelson, Paul, *The Seven Liberal Arts*, pp. 14–20.

The technical, formal study of logic, and the practice of logical exercises was a principal scholarly interest in the Middle Ages. After 1200, indeed, logic eclipsed all other intellectual interests and all other scholarly methods until the Renaissance. John the Scot advocated the use of dialectic. Theology and law lend themselves to dialectical methods of study. The *Posterior Analytics,* the "new logic," of Aristotle was rediscovered at the period of the flowering. A succession of great logicians—Irnerius, Gratian, Anselm, Abelard, Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas, and Egidio Colonna—employing Aristotle's logical system as a framework, erected an intellectual system about as near to formal perfection as any the world has ever seen. When, later in this chapter, Scholasticism is considered, the rise, nature, and significance of medieval logic will be discussed more fully.

The Middle Ages did not, on the whole, excel in the mathematical sciences—arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and theory of music. From the middle of the sixth century until the eleventh, Greek and Roman mathematics were almost a closed book in western Europe. The *art* of music was, however, preserved, and the age produced some of the noblest religious music ever created by the human spirit. Late in the tenth century, Gerbert gathered up the mathematical learning of the West. Soon thereafter Greek and Arabian mathematics made their way into the stream of scholarship in western Europe. Geometry had long included geography—and from the eleventh century onward, advances in geography and architecture on the one side and in pure mathematics on the other reciprocally enriched each other.

Certainly the factor of first importance in bringing about the flowering of culture in the European Middle Ages was the development of scholarship in the field of the liberal arts and sciences. The intellectual life of the time was, however, sustained by and developed in connection with the commercial, political, industrial, religious institutions of the age and with its folk life and adventuring. It was given direction, moreover, by certain great figures: ecclesiastical and princely patrons of learning, travelers, translators, administrators, and creative writers.

Observation and practical experience. In every age the practice of the useful arts, efforts aimed at establishing and maintaining social status and social order, and sensory experiences of natural objects have imposed upon all persons the necessity of acquiring specific information and of developing very definite proficiencies: the cost of failing to acquire them being discomfort or even extinction. So obvious is this that the world has long had a tendency to regard the acquisition of such everyday information and of proficiencies acquired incidentally in the course of ordinary work and social relations as scarcely worthy of considerations as aspects of education. Accounts of education in the Middle Ages have suffered especially from this tendency: reading



A Lesson in Astronomy: Thirteenth Century Manuscript.—*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

some of these accounts, one is tempted to think of Latin and logic as taking up the whole of learning in that age, that the rash soul who accidentally discovered something by the use of his own senses, hurried off at once to the authorities, in order that they might inform him if he was allowed to believe the evidence of his own eyes or nose. It is not practicable to trace here in detail the contacts and experiences generated by everyday life and business in medieval Europe, nor can the developments of the useful arts, domestic discipline and manners, and of social order be considered at all fully. It is possible, however, and important, to recognize that not only were manners and morals and the practical arts themselves valuable aspects of education in their own right, but that the practice of the arts of everyday life enriched the thinking of Europe in general, and that the learned sciences themselves made use of the methods of observation and experimentation.

The Middle Ages learned by practical experience—by travel, by the breeding of birds and animals, by the practice of the handicrafts, and by all the social contacts of market place and town and home in which people achieve and maintain social adjustment and status. The fruits of practical experience are to be found in their books: for example in the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, and in the *De Regimine Principum* of Egidio Colonna, and in the encyclopedia, *On the Properties of Things,* written (c. 1230) by Bartholomew the Englishman.

Odon of Orleans, head of the cathedral school of Tournay, employed observation in teaching astronomy to his pupils. His classes in astronomy were held in the open air in the evening, and it was Odon's practice to point out the various constellations to his pupils.[16] Adelard of Bath relied upon observation and experimentation for information basic to his physical speculations; he noted, for example, that a distant action is seen before the sound caused by the action is heard.[17] The turning point in western intellectual history was, as is frequently asserted, marked by the appearance of *The Falcon Book (De arte venandi cum avibus)* of the Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250). This book marks the beginning of experimental science in western Europe, as the teaching of Frederick's contemporary, St. Francis of Assisi, marks the revival of mysticism in religion—of recognition of immediate experience as revealing divine reality. Frederick asserts that he had included in his book on the art of hunting with falcons only "what our own experience has taught, or the experience of others."[18] At the suggestion of Frederick, moreover, the first treatise on veterinary science to appear in western Europe, the *Horse-Healing* of Jordanus Ruffus, was written; a menagerie was collected; information respecting natural science was sought in all parts of the known world: birds of prey, for example, were brought to Frederick from all parts of Europe, from Iceland and from India. The Emperor's son, Manfred, and other members of the imperial family and court developed scientific interests and the experimental point of view. Frederick II was indeed "The Transformer of the World." The court of Henry II, King of England, while not to be compared with that of Frederick II as an intellectual center, still supported scholars with an ear for folk music and folk tales and an eye for natural phenomena. Common-sense realism, systematic observation of natural phenomena and inquiry respecting them, and sustained physical speculation were important factors in medieval scholarship.

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[16] Stallaert and Van de Hegen, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[17] Haskins, C. H., *Studies in the History of Medieval Science,* Second Edition, p. 29. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

[18] Kantorowicz, Ernest, *Frederick the Second,* 1194–1250, p. 361. London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1931.

Translation. In the twelfth century scholarship was advanced and learning increased by *translation* as at few other periods in the world's history. The special importance of translation as a method of scholarly work at the time was due: first, to the fact that it was the agency by which great bodies of science and of literature were quickly made accessible to western Europe; and second, to the fact that at a time when scholarship can scarcely be said to have been using historical, experimental, or mathematical methods at all, and before it had learned to employ the New Logic of Aristotle, translation supplied a scholarly method imposing upon the student the task of following the thought closely, both as respects form and content, of the authors. It was a method which made lapses from accuracy quite evident both to the translator and to his reader or auditor. It was a method, finally, which placed the great monuments of literature, science, and philosophy in the hands of students, instead of forcing them to study manuals to the exclusion of other books.

Translation was greatly facilitated by the Christian reconquest of Toledo, Sicily, and Syria, and by the increase of commerce between Italy and western Europe on the one hand and Byzantium on the other. The patronage first of bishops and later of secular rulers was a factor of the utmost importance in the entire movement. As has been said, the progress which western Europe had made in the arts of speaking and writing Latin between 900 and 1050 was a necessary condition for the work of translation. Translation presupposes command of a literary language. The great translators were Latinists and Roman Catholics. They were assisted by Arabs, Greeks, and Jews; but the movement belonged to Latin Christendom, and can be understood only as this fact is remembered. Notable among the great translators were the Italians: Gerard of Cremona, Burgundio and Stephen of Pisa, James of Venice, Moses, an Italian living in the Venetian section of Constantinople, Constantine the African—by adoption, at least, an Italian; and two Sicilians: Henricus Aristippus and Eugene the Emir, both officers at the court of King Roger of Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century. British scholars were second only to Italians in the great work of translation. Adelard of Bath, Alfred the Englishman, Michael Scot, Robert of Chester, John of Holywood *(Sacrobosco),* and the great Robert Grosseteste of Oxford, were eminent among the British translators. Hermann the German was one among many men of his race who shared in the work of translation which helped usher in the medieval Renaissance.

The most important center of the work was Toledo, where translation was made from the Arabic, frequently by way of Spanish vernacular, into Latin. Important work in translation was done also in Sicily, where Aristippus and Eugene the Emir made translations directly from the Greek. Aristippus, for example, rendered the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato into Latin. A great deal of work in translating Euclid and Ptolemy was done there. Burgundio of Pisa, James of Venice, and Moses of Bergamo—also an Italian—were notable among the translators who belonged to the Italian commercial colony at Constantinople. Burgundio made translations of theological works by Basil, Chrysostom, and John of Damascus which were much used by western theologians. James of Venice was the translator of the *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle. Stephen of Pisa and Adelard of Bath worked both in Syria and in Spain. Eminent among the patrons of translation were Raymund, Archbishop of Toledo, and Roger, King of Sicily. Translation from the Arabic and Greek went on simultaneously. The period from about 1125 to about 1175 witnessed the greatest work of translation, though Robert Grosseteste and his group did their work of translation in the thirteenth century.

By 1200 Latin civilization had received—principally by way of translation from the Arabic, but also from the Greek—much of the science and philosophy of ancient Greece; the works of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, and Ptolemy were of the utmost importance to the subsequent progress of scholarship. By way of the Arabic tongue, exclusively, western Europe had received Arabic science and philosophy and some Hindu and Chinese science which the Arabs had assimilated. Latin Christendom had received solely from the Greeks, translations dealing with the theology, liturgy, and hagiography of the Greek Church. Leading roles in shaping and enriching western scholarship were taken by the logical works of Aristotle, Greek or Eastern scholasticism, and Arabic philosophy. Precisely as John of Damascus and other theologians of the Greek Church had effected a fusion of Aristotelianism and Christian theology and Moslem scholars had stated the tenets of Islam in terms of Greek thought, theologians in western Europe were to use Aristotelian logic as a framework and to build a system of Christian thought. The Ptolemaic astronomy furnished precisely the sort of account of the setting of the divine and human drama appropriate to the architecturally complete and closely articulated structure of medieval theology. If the *Summa* of St. Thomas was to apply to a certain universe, it was of necessity the sort of universe conceived in terms of Ptolemy's *Almagest:* science and theology do not belong to separate, mutually exclusive worlds.

Latin language and literature. The twelfth century witnessed a splendid flowering of Latin literature and of literary studies. The most important centers of this flowering were the cathedrals of northern France and the court of Henry II. The principal factor in this classical Renaissance was the Latin language. The Latin language had its good and bad periods in the Middle Ages, and the twelfth century was one of its best.[19] Medieval Latin was, moreover, a living language. It was not the language of religion and of scholarship only, but was employed also in diplomacy, the transaction of legal business, commerce, familiar correspondence, and in everyday conversation. During its long life, the language ever grew and changed—dropping antique modes, adding terms and idioms, and modifying its forms—but the continuity of its development had never been interrupted.

No small share in preventing the loss of the essential character of the language must be credited to the use by medieval schoolmasters of books written during classical antiquity. Some few scholars, at least, in this age looked to Cicero and Quintilian for standards of usage and of taste.[20] Ovid, Horace, and Virgil all were read. Throughout the Middle Ages, textbooks produced during the later centuries of the Roman Empire were generally used. The grammars of the age were the *Ars minor* and *Ars*

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[19] Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 544. Haskins, C. H., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 127–131.

[20] Haskins, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

major of Donatus and the great *Institutiones* of Priscian. The *Fables* of Avianus (*c.* 400) and the *Distichs,* attributed in the Middle Ages to Cato the Elder, but which are now thought to have been written in the later Roman Empire, were favorite reading books. Probably the most popular manual of the seven liberal arts was *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology* by Martianus Capella.

Authorship in the twelfth century reached a level it had seldom approached since antiquity. Grammars, *gesta,* manuals, plays, and poems in the Latin language were produced. Professor Haskins writes: "The twelfth century was a great age, probably the culminating age of religious poetry."[21] One of the greatest of English hymns, *Jerusalem the Golden,* is taken from a long poem, *De Contemptu Mundi,* by Bernard of Morlas.

Religious literature shades off in the Middle Ages to literature on religious themes that is secular in spirit, and along with it is to be found literature which is definitely secular in theme and in spirit. Both Latin and the vernaculars are employed for sacred and secular literature. Goliardic poetry and anti-clerical satire are intensely secular in spirit, and at times irreligious and profane. Of great literary significance are the Arthurian legends and the epics of the Cid which appeared in this age. *Lancelot du Lac,* a work in Latin prose which tells of the quest of the Holy Grail and of the death of King Arthur,[22] is attributed to Walter Map, Chancellor of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Oxford. The age produced a vast amount of historical and political writing, much of it displaying genuine capacity for historical criticism. John of Salisbury (1110–1180), the greatest master of Latin prose of the twelfth century, wrote profoundly of government in *The Statesman's Book (Policraticus).* In this treatise John upheld the institution of monarchy, but taught that the king receives his power, which is ultimately derived from God, at the hands of the Church. There was a genuine flowering of history at the court of Henry II, king of England. Biographies and histories of reigns, of countries, and of the Church were many. The Crusades called forth a great amount of historical writing, an interesting example of which is the vigorous vernacular account of the Fourth Crusade by the French knight, Geoffrey de Villehardouin.

The humanism of the twelfth century. The study of literature in the twelfth century took as its basis the mastery of grammar;

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[22] Sandys, J. E., *Op. cit.*, p. 246–247.

in omni doctrina grammatica praecedit states a principle characteristic of the greatest center of humanism in the age, the school of Chartres. From grammar, students went on to genuinely philological work.[23] Secular writers were studied: "Ransack Virgil and Lucan," writes John of Salisbury. Authors received critical comment. Each day's work was built on what had gone before. Grounded in the arts of the *trivium* and with a mind enriched by the study of literature, the student of such a school as Chartres proceeded at length to philosophy, as encountered in the *quadrivium,* and reached the apex of medieval scholarship in the study of theology, queen of the sciences.

Logic. Late in the twelfth century, European scholarship was augmented by the recovery of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics.* A translation of this work was, as has been noted earlier in this chapter, made from the Greek at the court of the King of Sicily; the translation made centuries before by Boethius was studied by scholars, and one made from the Arabic, at Toledo about 1175, was given wide currency in western Europe. Long training in the *trivium,* in translation, and in the study of literature had prepared the West to use logic—the most powerful instrument by which ideas are elaborated, refined, and checked. Here let us pause to point out that the Arabs and Byzantines were quite unable to import logic into the western mind until that mind had been sufficiently formed to assimilate it. The European Middle Ages first grew its own culture and then enriched its life by foreign importations.

The logic employed by the Middle Ages was principally the logic of implication, which emphasizes the deductive movement of thought. Its method was principally that of oral analysis and synthesis; it was not greatly symbolic, nor was it experimental. Thinking in the age appealed to common sense and to authority. The authority of the Church, it was held, is infallible in all matters touching faith and morals, and in certain points touching religion it goes beyond any bounds within which reason can operate. Reason also is God-given and yields truth within the limits assigned for its operation, the acceptance of these limits being the first condition of its valid exercise. "I believe in order that I may know," says Anselm. The meaning was not that he would take leave of common sense, but that religious authority must reveal the meaning of brute facts and the value of effort. of feeling, and of emotion.

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[23] Poole, R. L., *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought,* pp. 121–125. London: Williams and Norgate, 1884.

Law and theology were the most tempting fields open to an ambitious man of scholarly tastes in the late Middle Ages: law and theology are precisely the dialectical disciplines. Undoubtedly the careful cultivation of the literary and experimental sciences would have been the surest way to have enriched thinking respecting government and religion, and so would have contributed enormously to legal and theological studies, but this the thirteenth century did not see. Formal logic seemed to offer the shortest way to mastery of these fields, and mastery was desired to the exclusion of other outcomes of learning. It is the neat, compact reasoning of the syllogism, not the discursive dialectic of which the dialogues of Plato furnish the finest example, which appealed to the thirteenth century. The mood of scholasticism was that of the debater, who seeks to score point after point off an opponent until he wins an argument—as contrasted with the mood of a literary artist who is interested in refining and elaborating ideas. In any case, the logical approach rather than the literary seemed to offer the shortest and easiest road to scholarly success in the thirteenth century; so, lured by the false promise of utility, this century turned from the literary studies so brilliantly pursued in the twelfth. Not the pursuit of religion but of success led to the neglect of the humanities in the Middle Ages.[24]

IV. THE GROWTH OF THEOLOGICAL, LEGAL, AND MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Rise of Scholasticism. Logic was eagerly cultivated at certain of the German abbeys in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in the eleventh century it came to a very high state of development at certain French cathedral schools—notably at Notre Dame of Paris, Chartres, and Tours. Late in the eleventh and early in the twelfth, logical studies culminated in the work of Anselm of Bec, Peter Abelard, Gratian, and other contemporaries of theirs scarcely less brilliant than they. The ~~movement~~ to which this cultivation of logical studies gave rise is called *Scholasticism.* It was ~~the dominant~~ intellectual movement of the Middle Ages and one ~~of the most~~ fruitful in the history of thought. The purpose of Scholasticism was to employ reason in the search for truth;

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[24] Haskins, *Op. cit.*, pp. 98–99, 342. This entire book, as well as Professor Haskins' *Studies in Medieval Science*, should be read by the student interested in the intellectual life of the Middle Ages.

its fundamental attitude was one of acceptance of authority, and its method was deductive logic. The importance of Scholasticism is due to the following achievements: (1) It developed and refined the logic of implication, making it a powerful instrument for the elaboration and examination of ideas; (2) It fixed the meaning of language; (3) It trained thinkers so thoroughly that some of them saw when Scholasticism had exhausted its methods and became its most acute critics; finally, and most important, (4) It created a great body of scholarship in the fields of legal and theological studies.

Roscellinus and Anselm. The earlier scholastics—Roscellinus, Anselm, and Abelard—owed little to Greek and Arabic influence.[25] Indeed, the new materials introduced from these sources did not greatly affect scholarship in western Europe until the thirteenth century. The problem of universals, which was central to medieval theological interest, had been posed by Porphyry and Boethius. Moreover, the three great alternative solutions of the problem proposed in the Middle Ages were formulated by Roscellinus (*d.* 1106), Anselm (*d.* 1109), and Abelard (*d.* 1142) before the work of the Arab scholars, Avicenna (980–1037), Averroes (*d.* 1198), the writings of John of Damascus, or the translations of Aristotle's works became important factors in western theological scholarship.

The reader will remember that early Christian theologians assimilated a vast deal of Platonism. It had been modified into Neo-Platonism in their day, to be sure, but it found a real basis in some of Plato's writings, notably in the *Timaeus,* the one Platonic dialogue widely known in western Europe between 600 and 1200. It will be recalled, too, that Plato's distinctive position—the principle which determines his entire philosophy—is his doctrine of ideas. This doctrine he had advanced in an effort to settle the extremely puzzling problem as to how it is possible to have universal judgments—that is to say, to reach conclusions which apply generally and for all of the time. The crux of his solution is this: there is a universal pattern for every class of things, and particular individuals of any class are but imperfect copies of the type. The type alone is completely real; particulars only approximate reality; the type is the highest reality in its group, and the nearer particular individuals or objects approximate its nature the higher each is. Particulars are known by the senses, but the types or universals are known by thought. *Thought,* Plato teaches, *does not create universals but is caused by them.* Neo-Platonists taught that concepts caused by *universals* partake of their reality—the more abstract and universal an idea is, therefore, the greater its degree of existence or reality. The most universal concept is the concept of God, said the Christian realists; therefore God is the most real existence *(ens realissimum).* The philosophy which holds the doctrine that *universals* possess *reality* in the highest degree is called *realism.* This position prevailed in scholastic philosophy. A little later in the chapter some of the implications of realism for education will be examined, but before this is done it is necessary to consider the opposite of realism—Nominalism.

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[25] Haskins, *Ibid.*, pp. 349–350.

Martianus Capella, the popular encyclopedist of the early Middle Ages, had defined a universal as a name *(nomen)* which denotes many particulars by one word.[26] Now Boethius had defined a word as a "motion of the air produced by the tongue," a definition which took hold of the imagination of the Middle Ages; it is paraphrased in a dialogue by Alcuin. A fragment of Aristotle's *De Categoriis* was preserved in the Middle Ages in which the position was maintained that, in the act of judging, substance forms no part of predicates. But the whole importance of universals in reasoning is due to their affording predicates in the judging act.[27] It follows that universals are not substances: they are names only. This conclusion was drawn by Porphyry, commentator on Aristotle.

Roscellinus, a foremost champion of Nominalism, maintained that only individuals and particular objects are real. Extreme Nominalists maintained further that the sole reality is what is known to the senses; there is no substance which forms the real essence of objects or persons; the qualities of an individual *are* the individual. The logical outcomes of such a position are complete individualism and complete empiricism. Roscellinus argued that the three persons of the Trinity are actually separate substances, and if all are to be worshiped, they are not one God but three.

The *Realists* accounted for the reality of universals by positing the existence of a real *essence* of objects and of individuals not apparent to the senses at all. This essence they call *substance,* for it is regarded as a sort of substratum to appearance, which sustains the qualities perceived by the senses. Phenomena—color, size, taste, smell, and so on, which are associated with individuals—are called *accidents,* because they are regarded as nonessential, as not affecting the real *being* of the individual. The difference between individuals was, moreover, a difference of accidents only; the substratum of the varying qualities which are known to the senses is the one and only reality, *substance,* appearing in different degrees in various individuals. Substance, the Realists held, has no separate existence. Concepts or universals are to be encountered only in particular objects and individuals *(universalis in re).* Occurring as it does in many individual existences, substance is at once identical, yet varying in status. Absolute reality is the substratum alike of the simplest living organism and of the ablest and most noble human being. *Perfect existence (ens realissimum)* alone cannot be different from individual to individual. It occurs in three persons—the persons of the Holy Trinity. Since all are equally perfect existence, all are identical substance, and hence are One God: the occurrence of the one substance in separate *persons* in no way affects its identity. It is clear, then, that in medieval thinking the doctrine of the Trinity was involved with belief in all-pervading *substance,* and it can be understood that, when Roscellinus gave up the idea of substance, it was easy for him to abandon the idea of the Trinity. Realism was involved, too, with another central doctrine of Latin Christianity, the relation of knowledge to existence. Realism holds that ideas are caused by existence and that there can be nothing in an idea more than the existence which causes it: there is a one-to-one correspondence between idea and existence. The idea of perfect existence, therefore,

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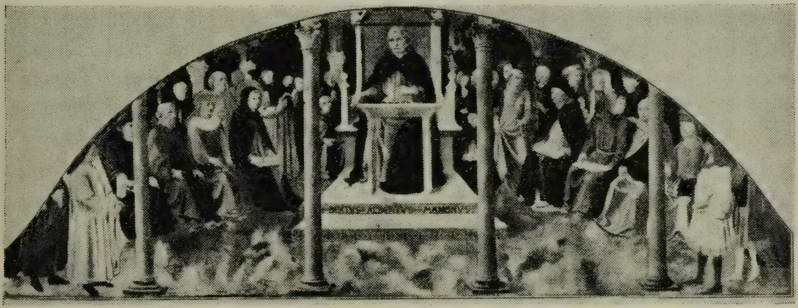
[26] Windleband, W. (James H. Tufts, Translator.), *A History of Philosophy.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921. The argument follows Windleband closely.

[27] After Windleband, *Loc. cit.*



ALBERTUS MAGNUS LECTURING.

implies a perfect person: in religious terms, man has an idea of Perfect Being—God, but there can be no more in an idea than in an existence; therefore, said Anselm, God is. An opponent of Anselm, Gaunilo, attacked this particular proof by the method called in logic *reductio ad absurdum,* showing that in precisely the same manner you can prove the existence of anything you choose to conceive as perfect.

The central positions of Realism are quite as important for theory of government and of education as for theology. As respects theory of government, the doctrine was that substance or essence is possessed in different degrees by various individuals, that the status of the individual depends upon his degree of being, and that degrees of rank—of precedence and subordination—are by virtue of the metaphysical order of the universe. For the Nominalists everything exists of its own right; for the Realists all "things" exist by virtue of the one substance which is the substratum of their qualities, and all meaning and value of particular things is by virtue of the relation in which they stand to Perfect Being *(ens realissimum):* that is to say, to God.

The effect of Realism upon education was first of all to exalt theology as the queen of the sciences and to make other disciplines her handmaids. To abandon figures of speech, there can be no study of value—no science of ethics, for example—independent of theology. Psychology, on this basis, is not a natural science; its ultimate issues are to be settled in the realms of theology. The second effect is the exaltation of logic. Much of this exaltation was inevitable in an age in which law and theology—the dialectical sciences—were the most important fields of intellectual endeavor; but the exaltation of logic went far beyond respect for it as the method *par excellence* in two highly important fields. Logical thinking proceeds by virtue of *universals,* which afford the predicates in judgments. In rational thinking, therefore, the student is dealing with reality and with the highest reality, while, when he deals with phenomena, he is in contact with *accidents* only and is far from reality, meaning, and value. Literature is but the ornament and amusement of life. The natural sciences are but *means* to higher ends. In dealing with *concepts* one immediately apprehends reality.

Holding these doctrines, the schoolmen turned away from the cultivation of literature, so brilliantly pursued at Chartres, at the court of Henry II, king of England, and elsewhere in the twelfth century. To the scholastic philosophers the brilliant observations of Frederick II, which enabled him to understand *how* arrangement and varying structure and length of the feathers of a falcon's wings enables the bird to raise himself by the beat of his wings, seemed trivial. To the charge of Professor Haskins that a false utilitarianism [28] led to neglect of literature may now be added the charge that a metaphysics, the postulates of which involved the denial of reality to that which is presented to the senses, entrenched abstract logic as the one intellectual method worthy of the name of science.

Abelard and the critical use of intellect. Sir Francis Bacon, with the genius for a happy phrase which has made him probably the most influential of all popularizers of science and philosophy, called scholasticism "contentious learning." Contentious learning, he points out, conceals its own worthlessness by attacks on opponents. It inflicts defeats, but wins no gains for human knowledge. It is well to keep this characterization in mind as Abelard's contribution to the progress of education is studied, for Abelard is, as the late Hastings Rashdall has pointed out, "the true father of the scholastic theology." [29] He is the most typical exponent of both the weakness and the power of exclusive reliance upon dialectic. It must never be forgotten that, if rationalism at its best by virtue of its assertion of the freedom and authority of human reason is allied with science in opposition to mysticism, it is still contemptuous of the reliance which both science and mysticism repose in immediate experience.[30] Abelard, moreover, was no thorough rationalist. As Professor McKeon writes:

> Abailard does not presume to substitute reason for faith, for he seems never to have varied from the principle that authority passes before reason, and that the chief use of reason is to clarify the truth of faith and to refute the infidels.[31]

Abelard's career is of special interest to the student of the history of education because of his very large contribution to the popularity of *dialectical* scholarship. He was one of the most brilliant and attractive teachers in history. He taught in Paris at

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[28] Haskins, C. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 136–138.

[29] Rashdall, H., "The Medieval Universities," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. VI, pp. 559–560.

[30] For an example of the interrelation between mysticism and science, see the account of the work of August Hermann Francke in *The Development of Modern Education*, by Frederick Eby and Charles F. Arrowood, pp. 326–341.

[31] McKeon, Richard, *Selections from Medieval Philosophers*, Vol. I, p. 206. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.

Notre Dame and at the collegiate church of St. Genevieve and elsewhere and won an enormous reputation. Students flocked to him in great numbers; as a result, he unquestionably contributed to the development of the schools of Paris into a center of higher studies *(studium generale)* and eventually into the University of Paris. Many of his opinions were declared heretical by the ecclesiastical authorities. This fact, combined with his boldness in theological controversy, the title of one of his books, *Yes and No,* and a phrase of his, "By doubting we are led to enquire; by enquiry we perceive the truth," long gave color to the theory that he was the spokesman of science and father of liberal studies. His interest, however, was never in science—in the close study of phenomena—but in dialectical exercises. As respects his influence upon the humanities, his alignment was with dialectic, which vanquished the literary studies in the battle of the books.

Abelard is of special importance then, first, because his brilliance as a teacher tremendously stimulated dialectical studies, especially the study of theology. In the twelfth century, literary studies, scientific studies, and dialectical studies were developing side by side. In the thirteenth, dialectical methods completely overshadowed all others. The success of Abelard contributed to the eclipse of the humane and liberal sciences. His work is of importance, second, because of his part in popularizing the schools of Paris, and so helping to promote the growth of the University there.

Abelard's theological opinions have not made any direct contribution to the progress of the theory and practice of education. His method of developing his positions in his book, *Yes and No,* did make such a contribution. It had long been customary for teachers of theology to compile texts from the Scriptures or from the Church Fathers as a means of elucidating and giving authority to religious dogmas. The general tendency was to choose texts with a view to reducing the difficulties in the way of belief, citing those texts most favorable to accepted opinions and avoiding others. Abelard cited texts on 158 theological issues, arranging his texts in two classes, affirmative and negative. Having asked such a question as: "Can God be resisted or not?" or "Did man's first sin begin through the Devil or not?" Abelard would cite authorities in support of both sides of the question. This gives the appearance of scientific objectivity, but it remains an appeal to authority. Abelard was an unsuccessful theologian, but he was a theologian, not a scientist or a humanist. His enormous importance is due to the impetus he gave to the study of theology. Of much more value for the development of *liberty* and *science* were the achievements of the British Franciscans—Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and William of Occam.

Peter the Lombard. Numerous efforts were made in the twelfth century to organize the statements of the recognized leaders of the Latin Church into a single system of theology and to bring this statement into the compass of a textbook. The one theologian of the era who succeeded in this important undertaking was Peter the Lombard (*c.* 1100–*c.* 1164). Peter's system as developed in his *Four Books of Sentences* virtually dominated philosophical and theological studies in the European universities for the next three centuries. Gerson and Roger Bacon actually charged that the influence of the Scriptures was eclipsed by that of the *Sentences.* This book probably affected European education in the late Middle Ages more than any other.[32]

The method employed by Peter in the *Sentences* is of great interest because it is the accepted form of scholasticism for elementary and introductory treatises. The textbook is divided into topics. Each topic, in its turn, is first stated clearly and simply. The author then brings forward his proof of the accepted solution, citing authorities and explaining what is involved in each proof text. As the discussion of a particular topic is brought to a close, the author sums up—by restating his position and drawing his conclusions.

The great Dominican scholars. Near the middle of the thirteenth century, Roman Catholic theology received the formulation and statement since declared official. The author of this great achievement was Thomas Aquinas (*c.* 1175–1274). Scholastic scholarship culminated in him. Saint Thomas was a member of the Order of Preaching Friars—the Dominicans. This Order contributed enormously both to the character of his scholarship and to his prestige as a theologian; it is necessary, therefore, to consider the nature of the Dominican Order, and to indicate something of the scholarly work of its members.

The founder of the Preaching Friars was Saint Dominic (*c.* 1170–1221), a Spanish monk. Dominic was greatly concerned by the Albigensian heresy, which was widespread in southern France early in the thirteenth century. He believed that heresy could best be combated by the work of disciplined and learned preachers. In 1215, therefore, he organized the order which is named for him. Devotion to scholarship as a means of extirpating heresy, close organization and strict discipline gave the Dominicans a commanding position in the medieval universities. Their strict discipline and cohesiveness enabled them to cooperate in editing, in compilation, and in the authorship of books. Important co-operative enterprises of the Order in the thirteenth century were an edition of the *Vulgate,* concordances of the Scriptures, and the *Speculum Mundi,* an encyclopedia edited by the Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais (*c.* 1190–1264). The discipline and organization of the Dominicans enabled the General Chapter of the Order to throw tremendous power behind any position which it espoused. Saint Thomas had been dead only about twelve years, when, in 1286, all Dominican friars were ordered by their superiors to teach his system of theology. The *unity* of the Order was one of the principal factors in winning for it a dominating position which it held in the universities throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[32] *See* McKeon, Richard, *Selections from Medieval Philosophers,* Vol. I, pp. 185–188. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.

Another source of strength of the Order, moreover, was its early espousal of Aristotle. Organized to combat heresy with the weapons furnished by learning, the Dominicans found the fullest and most complete statement of heretical opinions in the works of the Moslem philosophers, Avicenna (980–1037) and Averroes (1126–1198). These Arabic thinkers had cast the theology of Islam in the forms of Aristotelian logic. The great Dominican, Albertus Magnus (1193?–1280), met them on their own ground. He and his famous pupil, Saint Thomas, mastered the logic of Aristotle, employing translations from both the Arabic and the Greek. They attacked, one by one, the positions of the Moslem scholars. Their systems, therefore, not only enjoyed the advantages of making use of the *Posterior Analytics,* the most powerful instrument of thought known to the Middle Ages, but they also shared the maturity of the Moslem system which they combated.

The first of the great Dominican theologians was the Swabian, Albert the Great, *(Albertus Magnus).* He was, after Alexander of Hales, the first of western schoolmen to state the philosophy of Aristotle in systematic form as a basis for his own system of thought, and the first to develop his thought by continued reference to the Arabic commentators.[33] In his interpretation of

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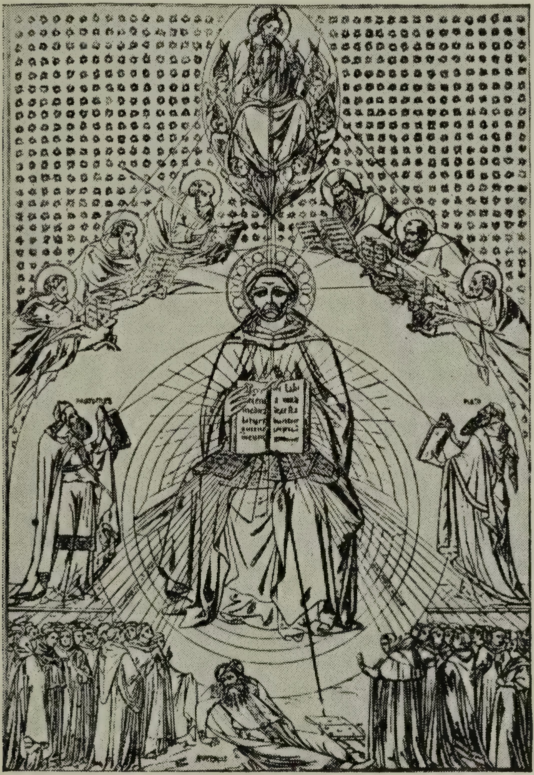
[33] Sandys, J. E., *A History of Classical Scholarship,* Third Edition, p. 581; Little, A. G., "The Mendicant Orders," *The Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. VI, p. 744.

Aristotle, Albert followed Avicenna for the most part, though he had access to translations made directly from the Greek of some of the works of the philosopher.

Saint Thomas Aquinas. In the altarpiece done by Traini for the Church of Saint Caterina at Pisa (1345), Saint Thomas is shown seated with an open book—his own works—in his hands, its pages turned to the reader. Above St. Thomas are Christ in Glory (at the highest part of the picture), Moses, St. Paul, and the four evangelists. Plato and Aristotle stand on either side of St. Thomas, at a somewhat lower level. Averroes, his book face down beside him, lies prostrate at the great theo-



St. Thomas Enthroned. Enlightened by Christ and the Apostles, the theologian has vanquished Averroes; the pages of Aristotle and Plato are open to him and he teaches the religious.—*From Cubberley, E. P., "Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education," Macmillan.*

logian's feet. Christ is shown inspiring St. Thomas directly, and also as inspiring the sacred writings which enlighten the Saint's mind. The books of Plato and Aristotle are open to the eyes of St. Thomas. His book, in turn, is shown enlightening a host of religious persons who stand below him in the picture. This altarpiece is symbolic, of course, of the place of St. Thomas in Catholic scholarship. He is the great teacher of the Church, who has vanquished the champions of error. Upon him are focused all the influences of Divine Wisdom, direct teaching of Christ, and the sacred writings. In the service of the Church, moreover, he has gathered the wisdom of the ancients.

Saint Thomas was a native of Italy, a member of the ruling family of Aquino. He was educated at first in the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, and later, to the chagrin of his family, joined the newly organized order of Friars Preachers, the Dominicans. He studied under Albert the Great, first at Paris and later at the great Dominican house of studies at Cologne. In mature life he taught at Paris and at Rome. St. Thomas was a voluminous writer; his huge compendium of scholastic learning, the *Summa Theologica,* was but a part of his output. He wrote extensively upon the philosophy of Aristotle and upon various theological questions. His *Mass and Office for Corpus Christi,* written at the request of Urban IV, includes four of the finest hymns of Latin Christendom. He was an administrator and teacher of the utmost usefulness. Called *The Angelic Doctor,* he was one of the most spiritual and saintly of men. In 1879 Leo XIII declared the philosophical system of which Saint Thomas was the founder the official system of the Catholic Church.

The great importance of St. Thomas for the progress of education was due to the great body of scholarship which he produced and to its extraordinary quality. This has formed the core of studies of the Roman Catholic clergy in all the greatest ages of the Latin Church since his time. The student of education is interested in the work of St. Thomas, also, because of the pattern which he established for philosophical studies. St. Thomas first chose the topic of a treatise: for example, a *Question* respecting "The Divine Government" is "Of the Change of Creatures by God." Each *Question* in turn is divided into its *Articles:* an Article under the *Question* "Of the Change of Creatures by God" is "Whether He (God) can do anything outside of the order imposed on things?" St. Thomas will answer the question in the affirmative. He first states each of the objections which can be made to the affirmative answer to this question, and then answers the objections to the accepted doctrines one by one. This minute division of problems and examination of every aspect of them is the very essence of scholastic method.

The English Franciscans. The only order which exercised an influence over the course of scholarship in the later Middle Ages at all comparable to that wielded by the Dominicans was that of the *Franciscans,* or *Friars Minor,* called also, in France, the *Cordeliers,* in Germany the *Barefoot Friars,* and in England the *Grey Friars.* Founded by St. Francis of Assisi in 1212, the Franciscans were at first much more inclined to devote themselves to the service of the sick and poor and to mystical religious experience than to scholarship and teaching. After the death of St. Francis, however, leaders of the Order were in the main favorable to active participation in ecclesiastical government, to very vigorous missionizing activities in cities, and to the cultivation of scholarship. Like the Dominicans, whose rivals they were, they were soon established at the Universities. While the influence of the Dominicans predominated, especially on the continent of Europe, the Franciscans had in their ranks some of the greatest of medieval scholars and developed an intellectual tradition of the utmost importance.

The first great scholar among the Franciscans was the Englishman, Alexander of Hales, Regent Master of Theology at the University of Paris, who entered the Order in 1229. Alexander's *Summa,* incomplete at his death in 1245, "was the first attempt on a large scale to incorporate in Christian theology the newly-discovered Aristotelian philosophy."[34] Robert Grosseteste (*c.* 1175–1253), Bishop of Lincoln and earliest recorded Chancellor of Oxford, is reckoned a principal force in giving direction to the scholarly interests of the Franciscans. A student of St. Augustine, Plato, and Aristotle, Grosseteste translated, or had translated, many works from the Greek. He was a champion of the poor parsons of England and a critic of the indolence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. His influence upon the course of English scholarship, ecclesiastical affairs, and upon English nationalism was enormous. Wycliffe regarded him along with Democritus, Plato, and St. Augustine, as superior to Aristotle. Grosseteste founded a school of thought at Oxford, the other great exponents of which are Adam Marsh, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Occam.

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[34] Little, A. G., "The Mendicant Orders," *The Cambridge Medieval History,* Vol. VI, p. 744.

The earlier Oxford Franciscans—Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and Roger Bacon—were characterized by their genuinely humanistic spirit and their experimental approach in learning. They made the study of the Scriptures themselves the real source and basis of theological scholarship and objected very strongly to the primacy given to the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard by students and teachers of theology. They were champions of free thought; Roger Bacon even regarded dependence upon authority as the chief obstacle to true knowledge. They studied the languages, mathematics, and physics; Bacon traces the deficiencies of knowledge in his day to neglect of them, and to reliance upon dogma and disputation. All conclusions reached by argument should, Bacon insisted, be tested by observation and experimentation. A recently studied cypher has led scholars to the conclusion that Roger Bacon possibly invented the telescope and microscope, and that he was possibly the first man to see a spiral nebula through a telescope and to observe micro-organisms through a microscope.[35]

Duns Scotus (*d.* 1308) is notable as the extreme Realist of the Franciscan Order. One of the most formal of schoolmen, Duns Scotus, who was called the *Subtle Doctor,* provoked such a reaction against Scholastic method that he came to be regarded rather as the pattern of stupidity than of acuteness. The reaction against him resulted in the enrichment of the English language by the addition of the word "dunce," a play upon Duns. The leader of the reaction was William of Occam, who died about 1349. Occam was an extreme Nominalist. The mathematical and humanistic interests of the earlier Oxford Franciscans had not prevailed, but the very diversity of views of Duns Scotus and of Occam reflect the independence of judgment cultivated by the school. Wycliffe and the Lollards continued the insistence of Roger Bacon that the Scriptures be taken as the rule of religious faith and Christian conduct. The tradition was later spread to Bohemia, where its greatest spokesman was John Huss. Later still the movement was a central aspect of the Protestant Reformation.

The revival of legal scholarship. Of the many aspects of the flowering of culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, none was more significant than the revival of jurisprudence. Much of Roman law survived, as has been noted, in the various barbarian codes. Roman law itself survived at Ravenna and in Byzantium during the period which later scholars have been pleased to call the Dark Ages. The making of glosses on points of Roman law had never ceased in Italy during the Middle Ages.[36] In the eleventh century the growth of imperial and of papal power and the development of the city-republics of Italy furnished a setting in which scholarly jurisprudence could flourish. The establishment of the Anglo-Norman kingdom of England and the development of the French monarchy supplied similar strong governments, of which law was at once the bulwark and the principal justification. These conditions are not to be thought of as the causes of the revival of legal studies, but as aspects of the same flowering of which the growth of jurisprudence was an aspect. Jurisprudence contributed as much to the progress of the papal curia or the imperial court, or to the commerce and civic life of the medieval city states, as those institutions contributed to its development. The crux of the revival was a return to the study of the *Digest,* in which were furnished the opinions of great Roman *jurisconsults.* In the eleventh and especially in the twelfth century, Europe, under the spell of liberal studies, abandoned the narrow utilitarianism which had long bound it to compendiums and began to study full texts. Possessed of an excellent working knowledge of the Latin language and the elements of scholastic method, Italian scholars developed legal learning at an astounding rate.

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[35] "Roger Bacon," *The Columbia Encyclopedia,* p. 123. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Irnerius, who died about 1130, made Bologna famous as a center of legal studies. He had been a teacher of rhetoric. His sovereign, the Countess Matilda, was at the time involved in a controversy respecting jurisdiction in which she sided with the Pope against the Emperor. Probably at the request of the Countess, Irnerius turned to the study of law. Before his death the *Corpus Juris* had once more been restored to its former place as one of the greatest objects of intellectual inquiry known to man.

The Roman law spread throughout Europe. It was the basis of codes of law on the continent of Europe and influenced the development of English common law profoundly. It was one of the principal studies of the universities, in which the Faculty of Law took its place alongside of those of Arts, Medicine, and Theology.

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[36] Vinogradoff, Paul, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe,* pp. 29–30. London: Harper and Brothers, 1909.

Canon law. The revival of Roman law profoundly affected the study and teaching of the laws of the Catholic Church. Popes and Councils had long been issuing decrees—that is to say, they had been making laws—and had interpreted and enforced them. Various compilations of ecclesiastical laws and of opinions respecting them had been made. About 1140, Gratian, a monk of Bologna, undertook to bring together and to harmonize the laws or *canons* of the Church. His book, a *Concord of Discordant Canons,* is a textbook of the canon law and is commonly called the *Decretum.* Gratian employed scholastic method in elaborating and harmonizing the laws of the Church. After his work canon law took its place alongside of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and theology as a field of scholarship. Dante ranks Gratian with Peter the Lombard: for Gratian established the study of canon law as Peter established the study of theology.[37]

Medical scholarship. Knowledge of Greek medicine persisted in southern Italy and in Sicily throughout the Middle Ages. In the tenth century Salerno was known as a center of healing, and versions of certain Greek medical works in the Latin tongue were used there. In the twelfth century, Greeks and men who knew Arabic were to be found at Salerno, and the school had a well-developed medical literature of its own. Later in the same century, translations of Greek and Arabic works put Western Europe in possession of most of the medical lore of the ancient world, and much that had been learned by the Arabs in addition.

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[37] For an account of the recovery of Roman law and the development of canon law, consult C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* pp. 193–223.

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17

Universities in the Middle Ages

The university a product of the Middle Ages. The university, like Gothic architecture, parliaments, and constitutional monarchy, was a product of the later Middle Ages. It arose and established its character in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest universities—Salerno, Bologna, Reggio, Paris, Montpellier, and Oxford—were established in the twelfth century, and Cambridge was founded in 1309. The thirteenth and succeeding centuries added other universities to the list, so that eighty, at least, are said to have been established before 1500; and every land in western Europe—from Hungary to Spain and to Scotland, and from Italy to Scandinavia—had its university or universities. Many of them are flourishing today, after centuries of vigorous and fruitful activity. A very large share, indeed, of the most distinguished living universities were founded before 1500.

I. NATURE OF UNIVERSITIES

Forces which determined the character of the medieval university. The university was the institutional expression of the intellectual flowering of the Middle Ages. Growth of cities, increase of wealth, the conquest of areas—long held by the Arabs—which gave western Europe easy access to much of the learning of antiquity, the growth of strong governments with consequent tranquillity, which was favorable to the arts of peace, and the patronage of princes, all furnished *conditions* highly conducive to the study of the liberal arts and sciences, and of the professional disciplines. Wealth and the learning of antiquity had, however, been present in ancient Rome when higher teaching declined.

The explanation of the university's growth must, therefore, be found in some other factors. These factors were: (1) *The unity of western Europe under the Papacy;* (2) The *respect, amounting to deification, with which learning was regarded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;* and (3) The *development of a body of scholars and scholarships in western Europe.*

It must be remembered that the unity of Europe in the thirteenth century was a unity of the spirit, which admitted of individual self-expression. There were groups, to be sure, outside of this unity: Albigensians, Waldensians, and later, the Lollards; but for the most part Europe aligned itself willingly with the Holy See. The Popes gathered power into their hands largely because necessary governmental functions were being neglected, or because rulers and people dreaded above all else to be outside the fold of Christendom, deprived of the offices and fellowship of the Church. We shall see how this unity of Christendom gave direction and character to the medieval university.

The vital force of any university is scholarship. The course of the development of scholarship in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was traced in Chapter XVI, but nothing was said there of the reverence in which it was held. In the view of the Middle Ages, nothing could exceed the dignity and significance of learning. By learning we arrive at the truth—the very truth of God himself. Learning, it was believed, admits men to the secrets of the divine will, invests their utterances with divine sanctity, and supports their decrees by giving sanctions. The universities became the special custodians and interpreters of truth. Princes and Popes deferred to their opinions on points of theology and of law—civil or canon. Cities deferred to them; *"Bononia docet"* adorned the coins of Bologna.[1] As custodians of learning in an age in which learning was esteemed as at almost no other period in the world's history, universities enjoyed enormous prestige. It was said in the Middle Ages that Italy had the Papacy, Germany had the Empire, and France, the University of Paris: and this saying was meant to range these great powers far above other institutions. With what deep seriousness the medieval scholar took his work may be judged from the following extract from the paragraph with which a Bologna doctor of the law about 1250 closed his course of lectures:

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[1] Schachner, Nathan, *The Medieval Universities*, pp. 3 and 4. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938.

> Now, gentlemen, we have begun and finished and gone through this book, as you know who have been in the class, for which we thank God and His Virgin Mother and all His Saints. It is an ancient custom in this city that when a book is finished mass should be sung to the Holy Ghost, and it is a good custom and hence should be observed.[2]

It is clear, however, that important as respect for scholarship is, it alone does not suffice to create learning and the institutions of which learning is the vitalizing interest. The status of learning, at any period in the world's history, depends upon the relation in which learning in that particular age stands to the scholarly tradition. The scholar is sustained by the living intellectual environment with which he is in contact. This environment is, at any moment, conditioned by its past, and especially by its immediate past. The scholar is a child of his time who can show an intellectual pedigree extending through many generations. The *essential* conditions of the rise of universities were furnished by the twelfth and thirteenth century scholarship. University courses of study and methods of teaching, moreover, were *as* they were, largely because of certain movements and characteristics of twelfth and thirteenth century scholarship, and because, thanks to extrinsic forces, Arabic influence predominated over classical Greek influence in the scientific movement of the period, and the humanistic studies were crushed by dialectical and professional interests.

The scholarship of western Europe in this time was Latin and Christian. It was preoccupied by theology to an extraordinary degree and affected by the ascetic outlook of the clergy, who made up almost the whole body of scholars. It was hampered by superstition, and as the twelfth century advanced, it was further limited by a narrow utilitarianism which predominated among students. Scholarship was, however, invested with real dignity and was held in high esteem. Extrinsic forces which strengthened these tendencies in medieval scholarship were: (1) The development of ecclesiastical and governmental bureaucracies; (2) The better publicity received by scientific works translated from the Arabic than by those translated directly from the classical Greek;[3] (3) Ecclesiastical and feudal domination of learning; and (4) The triumph of the Dominicans—the Preaching Friars—

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[2] Here quoted from Odofredus. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 204. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

[3] Haskins, C. H., *op. cit.*, p. 301.

in the universities. Bureaucracies offered preferment to the *legalistic* type of mind. Now most of the obvious justification of universities is the fact that they offer professional preparation. But the way to the professions through the study of literature was long, and pure science seemed to offer no direct return of a practical nature. The grammars of Donatus and Priscian were difficult. The age produced, therefore, two grammars, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander Villedieu (1199) and the *Grecismus* of Evrard de Bethune (1212), which were in rhyme so that they might be easily memorized. These grammars were tremendously popular. Before 1588 no less than 267 editions of the *Doctrinale* had been printed.[4] Popular or not, these rhymed grammars represented just the sort of surrender to the demand for quick results that is always fatal to scholarship. The popularity of logic was due to the same demand for easy success in the professions; as a result, the *liberal* and *humanistic* scholarship of the twelfth century gave place to the formalism of *scholasticism,* which dominated western scholarship for the next two centuries.

The predominance of Arabic influence over the Greek in the scientific Renaissance of the twelfth century also contributed to shape the spirit and method of medieval universities. As Professor Haskins points out, though the Latin world *could* have got a large part of its science directly from the Greek, it *did* not.[5] Despite the fact that there were treatises of Galen and of Euclid and dialogues of Plato which had been translated into Latin directly from the Greek, of which there were no Latin versions through the Arabic, and despite the further fact that, where there were translations both directly from the Greek and from the Arabic, the former were "more faithful and trustworthy"[6] than the latter, western Europe in the Middle Ages preferred to take its science at second hand. Arabic texts and commentaries, for the most part, were the medium through which Europe knew Greek science in the high Middle Ages. Even Aristotle was seen through the eyes of Moslem scholars, of medieval scholastic theologians of the Greek Christian Church, and of the redactors of later Imperial Rome. The spirit of Arabian scholarship, of Byzantine scholasticism, and of Christianized imperial Rome—not that of the Academy, the Lyceum, and the schools of Alexandria under the early Ptolemies—gave tone to medieval science. Now the science of ancient Greece was liberalized by the richest humanistic tradition known to the history of thought. Arabian, Byzantine, and later Roman culture brought no such tradition of humanism to medieval Europe as could have been imbibed at the fountain of Greek classical literature. A fearful limitation was imposed upon the universities of the Middle Ages when scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries willingly accepted translations as the basis of their work. By contrast, from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth century all aspiring scholars were taught Greek, and were perfectly able to appreciate the advantages of a translation made directly from the Greek over one made from a Spanish version of an Arabic redaction of a Greek work.

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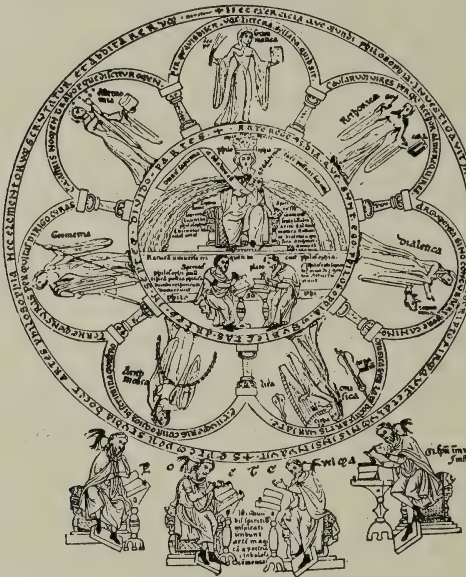
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 302.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 298.



Philosophy and the Liberal Arts, Versus the Poets.—*From Cubberley, E. P., "Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education," Macmillan.*

The neglect of the humanities to which the influences already noted contributed was powerfully reinforced by the ecclesiastical control exercised over universities and by the dominant position which the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, held in them. The antipathy to literature and history of a majority of professional scholars in the later Middle Ages marks a great point of difference between the medieval flowering and the great Renaissance. Professor Haskins, after describing the work of translators from the Greek in the twelfth century, says:

> The absence of the classical works of literature and history from this list of translations from the Greek is as significant as it is from the curriculum of the medieval universities. We are in the twelfth century, not the fifteenth, and the interest in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, and theology reflects the practical and ecclesiastical preoccupations of the age rather than the wider interests of the humanists. The medieval translations were not regarded as *belles lettres*. They were a means to an end.[7]

Not only did ecclesiastical interests predominate in medieval universities, but the legalistic point of view and theological preoccupations triumphed among churchmen. The commanding position held by the Dominicans is at once an evidence of the victory of dialectic over experimental and humanistic studies and a reason for its being carried on to such completeness. The Dominicans had been organized to combat heresy by the use of reason. Their methods were, therefore, those of controversy, and their field of interest was polemical theology.

The general character of the medieval university. The university could have been created by no other culture than that of Latin Christendom at the time of its greatest flowering—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The ancient world had no true universities. There were, to be sure, centers of higher teaching and of productive scholarship in classical antiquity—Athens, Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, Pergamon, and Constantinople are notable examples—but classical antiquity did not develop the university. The democratic Greek states could not have produced an institution so universal in outlook and cosmopolitan in membership, while neither the despotisms which followed Alexander the Great in the Greek world nor Roman imperialism could have endured any such state within a state as the university was. The university was a creation of these two centuries, and its salient features were those of its age.

Three features mark the medieval university. These features were: (1) Its corporate character; (2) Its special privileges and immunities; and (3) The protection which teaching and scholarship enjoyed in it by virtue of its one great right—the right to grant to its graduates, license to teach anywhere in orthodox

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 300. Reprinted by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Christendom *(jus ubique docendi).* The features of the university were interrelated and were closely connected with, or even dependent upon, distinctive characteristics of the institution. A special characteristic of the medieval university was its virtual lack of buildings or equipment. This lack of material possessions, while it imposed limits upon the university's work, conferred upon it the great blessing of independence. No university was bound to its city: it was this independence which enabled it to maintain its liberties in many a hard-fought struggle. For the university was, to give Pasquier's oft-quoted phrase, "built of men," so that, in times of persecution it could retreat before its foes and still carry on its work though with but the most scanty equipment. Another characteristic of the medieval university was its aim—professional training. There were three higher professional faculties: the faculty of theology, the faculty of law, and the faculty of medicine. There was also the faculty of arts, in which youths customarily studied before entering upon the work of one of the three higher faculties. Another characteristic of the medieval university was its internationalism. Its language was Latin; its students and teachers were drawn from every part of Latin Christendom; its most significant loyalty was to the Church; and it never hesitated to appeal to the one great international power—the Papal Curia—when in need of a defender of its liberties and immunities. These features of the university cannot be considered in isolation from each other, but may be discussed under the heads of the three features which, while no more distinctive of the university than were the others, actually constituted it: these were the university's *corporate character,* its *autonomy,* and its *power to grant the license to teach.*

The corporate character of the medieval university. The word *universitas* was applied in the Middle Ages to any aggregate of persons recognized as a unit, and in its legal and technical sense meant simply a corporation. In the twelfth century the term was applied to associations of various sorts—to corporations of municipalities and to guilds of tradesmen, as well as to guilds of teachers and of students. The usage by which the noun *universitas* came to denote first a society of teachers and scholars, *universitas societas magistrorum discipulorumque,* and then the impersonal institution which employs professors and teaches students, evolved through centuries. The early guilds of students had no monopoly on the term which was later to be used exclusively of institutions devoted to productive scholarship and higher instruction. In many instances the teachers of various faculties and students from various parts of Europe belonged to different guilds—Bologna, for example, had a number of universities: that is to say, of masters' guilds and of students' guilds. The advantages to be gained by federation of the guilds, led in time to the development of one government for each of the universities.

The guilds were little states within states, organized for the maintenance of common interests, for mutual aid of members, and for the cultivation of fellowship and community of understanding and feeling between them. There was need of such associations. Centuries before the universities began, Roman imperialism had gradually rendered the people who lived under it incapable of local self-government and of local self-defense. The inroads of the barbarians having destroyed the imperial government in western Europe, chaos was for centuries Lord of Misrule from the Mediterranean to the Rhine, and from the Balkans to Wales. Gradually, a measure of local authority and of order was imposed by feudal lords—both spiritual and temporal—and something was done in the way of local defense. As serfs were emancipated and as commerce and the crafts developed, the interests of feudal lords did not at all coincide with those of townsmen; consequently, the latter organized their own associations—guilds and leagues—to protect and advance their business and fortune. These associations gained rights, both by the sanction of custom and by charter from some acknowledged power—as that of the Pope or Emperor. It is important that the student of the history of universities remember that customary associations were recognized as having a corporate character and vested rights; for the earliest charters to some of the older universities were not granted until they had been recognized for decades as centers of general resort for higher studies *(studia generalia)*. Rashdall points out[8] that voluntary associations in medieval Italy enjoyed legal status as corporations, "without any special authorization of the State." He shows, further, that, owing to the fact that the breach of an oath in the age made the perjurer liable to proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, voluntary guilds held real legal power over their members. It is clear, therefore, that the actual founding of universities may antedate their earliest charters.

The rise of student guilds of masters was after the following

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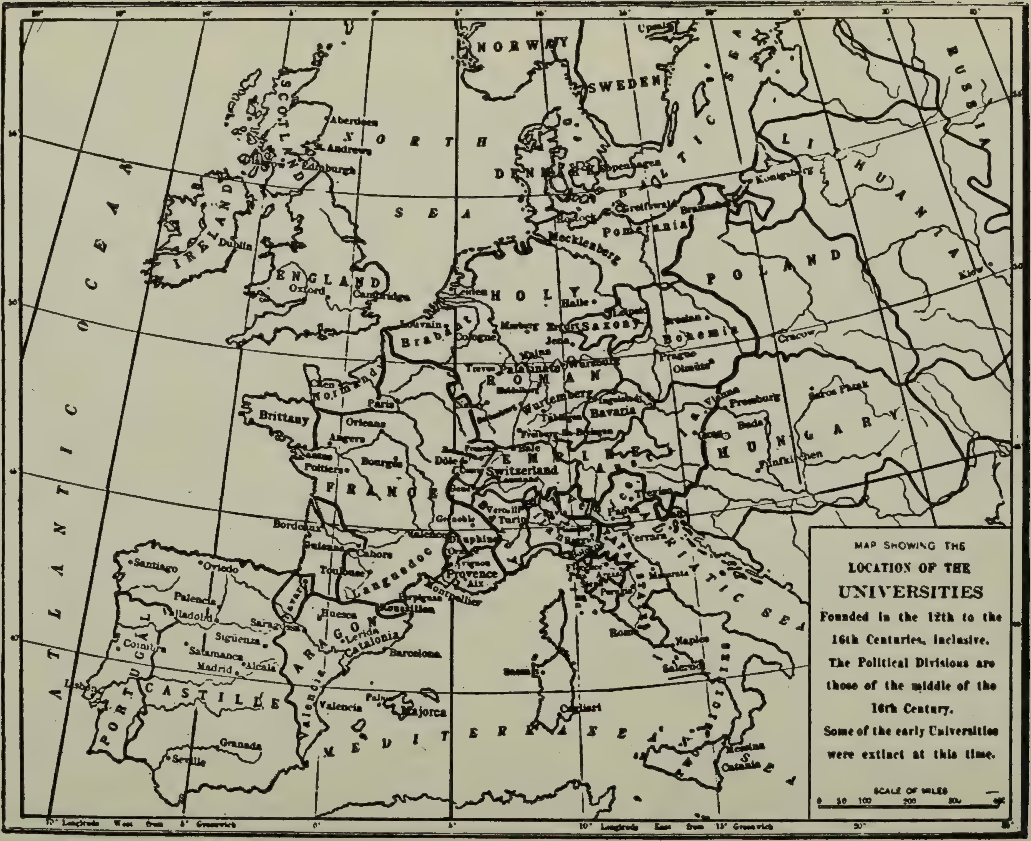
[8] Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* Vol. I, p. 152.


MAP SHOWING THE
LOCATION OF THE
UNIVERSITIES
Founded in the 12th to the 16th Centuries, inclusive.
The Political Divisions are those of the middle of the 16th Century.
Some of the early Universities were extinct at this time.
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Upsala
DENMARK
Copenhagen
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
Konigsberg
Kiew
POLAND
Cracow
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
St. Andrews
Glasgow
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
ENGLAND
Oxford
Cambridge
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Leiden
Louvain
Brabant
Cologne
Halle
Marburg
Erfurt
SAXONY
Leipzig
Jena
Greifswald
Rostock
Mecklenburg
Pomerania
Braunsberg
Breslau
BOHEMIA
Prague
Olmütz
Mainz
Treves
Palatinate
Wurzburg
Heidelberg
Wurtemberg
Tübingen
Ingolstadt
Bavaria
Freiburg
Basle
Switzerland
Dôle
Vienna
Pressburg
Saros Patak
Buda
Gran
Funfkirchen
HUNGARY
Paris
Normandy
Caen
Brittany
Orleans
Angers
Nantes
Poitiers
Bourges
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Cahors
Toulouse
Languedoc
Montpellier
Grenoble
Valence
Dauphine
Orange
Avignon
Provence
Aix
Perpignan
Roussillon
Turin
Vercelli
Padua
Treviso
Ferrara
Bologna
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Perugia
Macerata
Rome
Naples
Salerno
Messina
Catania
Sassari
Cagliari
Santiago
Oviedo
Palencia
Valladolid
Siguenza
Salamanca
Madrid
Alcalá
Saragossa
Huesca
Lerida
Catalonia
Barcelona
ARAGON
Valencia
Palma
Majorca
CASTILE
Granada
Seville
PORTUGAL
Coimbra
Lisbon
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East from Greenwich

Location of the Universities of Europe from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries.—*From Cubberley. E. P., "Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education," Macmillan.*

fashion: Governments in the Middle Ages were capable of imposing order locally only, but scholarship was international. Students ranged from Scandinavia to Naples, and from Prague to Oxford, but no secular government could protect the civic rights of its sons beyond the limits of its own borders. No English consular official was at hand, for example, to see that the citizen of London who studied at Bologna was given equal justice should he become involved in the toils of the law while he was in Italy. The German at Prague, the Italian at Paris, or the Picard at Oxford was in like case. Even within the Empire there were many small, semi-autonomous states; and passing from one of these to another left the citizen himself virtually without civic rights. Feeling the need of protection and of mutual aid, masters and teachers formed associations. The statutes of the German nation at Bologna illustrate very well the purposes of such associations of students or of professors. The objects of the guild were set forth as "fraternal charity, mutual association and amity, the consolation of the sick and the support of the needy, the conduct of funerals and extirpation of rancour and quarrels, the attendance and escort of our *doctorandi* to and from the place of examination, and the spiritual advantage of members."[9] Threatened by real or fancied injury from without, the guild had recourse to force, to argument, or to appeal to rights guaranteed under some charter granted by the Pope or by a secular ruler, as best suited the particular case. There were separate guilds of students and masters in Italy. At Paris and at Oxford the students belonged to the university, but all power was in the hands of the masters. At Bologna the students' guilds exercised most university functions.

At Bologna there seem to have been four student universities, originally: the Ultramontane, the Lombard, the Tuscan, and the Roman. By the middle of the thirteenth century there were two universities, the *Cismontane* and the *Ultramontane,* each of which was divided into clubs, called *nations* from the fact that each association was made up of members from a particular region. Each nation elected one or more *Councillors,* who, with the *rectors,* "formed the ordinary executive body of the university."[10] Each university at Bologna had as its head a *rector*—a student, who was elected to office biennially. The electors were ex-rectors, newly elected councillors, and certain special delegates. No layman was permitted to exercise jurisdiction over an ecclesiastic; the rector was, therefore, required to be a cleric. The office was an expensive one, for the rector was expected to maintain the dignity of his office by living in considerable state and by entertaining extensively. It may be said here that, in the course of time, all rectorships were combined into one, and that the power of the student rector was gradually reduced, until in the sixteenth century it was a mere shadow. The semblance of student government was, however, preserved in Italian universities until the nineteenth century.

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[9] Rashdall, H., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 159–160.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Whereas at Paris and other northern universities both students and professors of all faculties were members of a single body,[11] doctors and masters at Bologna were not members of the universities of students, though subject to the student rectors. There were, however, guilds of professors; there was certainly one of professors of law, and there was another which included both doctors of medicine and masters of arts. The associations of masters controlled graduation and so entrance upon the profession of teaching at all times. The municipal authorities of Bologna, however, exercised a very considerable degree of control over the choice of professors to fill salaried positions in the city. This power of the city magistrates seems to have been invoked to prevent professorships from being the monopoly of a few professorial families. The external control over membership of the teaching faculties at Bologna contributed to the loss of a close-knit corporate life of the scholars there. Lack of unity was, however, inherent in the division of the students into various universities, in the separation between student guilds and guilds of masters, and in the attempt to create a select inner circle of masters who controlled remunerative appointments. The fact that all members of the university at Paris or at Oxford were under a common government enabled these universities to deal strongly with inner disaffection and with threats to their liberties from without.

The liberties of universities. A second feature of the medieval university was the enjoyment by its members of special privileges and immunities and by its officials of special powers in their dealings with officials of secular governments and with private citizens. The *Authentic Habita* of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1158), granted his special protection to scholars within the Holy Roman Empire. It further permitted any student against whom a lawsuit was brought to choose as the judge before whom his case was to be tried either his professors or the bishop of the city in which he was studying.[12] Charters protected students of particular universities or students residing in particular cities in specified ways. Examples are numerous. Scholars were exempted by various rulers from being cited to appear in courts away from the particular city of their residence. Special orders of kings and of the Emperor exempted students from taxation. Municipalities granted poor students the right to beg. Prices charged by dealers for books and food, and by landlords for lodgings were, under privileges granted by the charters of some universities, to be fixed by the university authorities. The university as a corporate body was granted the further right of enforcing its decisions against the officials of either state or municipality by suspending its lectures, and even by removal to some other city or country. A bull of Pope Gregory IX, granted in 1231 to the University of Paris, conferred upon the University the privilege of suspending its work as a means of enforcing its right to fix the prices of lodgings for its members, and of compelling redress for injuries received by its members. On occasion the Papal Curia went further, and invoked the ban of the Church against persons who had wronged some university.

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[11] *Ibid.,* p. 233.

The license. A third feature of the medieval university was its prerogative of presenting candidates to the proper ecclesiastical authority—the Archdeacon at Bologna and the Chancellor of Notre Dame at Paris—who, as representative of the Church's authority, conferred upon the candidate the right to teach anywhere in Christendom *(jus ubique docendi)*. The license is not to be confused with the mastership *(magisterium)*, which was conferred by the *university* at Paris and at Oxford.[13] The license had as its basis the conviction, universally held in Latin Christendom, that teaching is at once the special duty and the peculiar prerogative of the Church. Christ said to his disciples, "Teach all peoples." This, churchmen believed, meant that the Church must teach and that no one may teach anything against the authority of the Church. It is, therefore, they believed, proper for the Church to send out teachers and to see that only those persons teach who can and will teach what is true and right. In medieval Europe this position of the Church was scarcely disputed, for the idea of Church unity was one of the most powerful in Latin Christendom. On every hand it was thought that there should be but one fold and one shepherd—the Holy Roman Church and its Head on Earth, the Pope—and that the one Shepherd should say with what spiritual food the sheep should be fed. Heresy—the holding or teaching of any opinion contrary to the teachings of the Church—was everywhere regarded as a fearful offense against God and man. With great care, therefore, the Church spoke through her Councils, announcing just which opinions were approved and which were forbidden. Those who taught in Her name—priests and teachers—were rigorously examined and carefully watched, to prevent any teaching by any accredited representatives of the Church contrary to the body of accepted Catholic truth. The practice of licensing teachers grew up in connection with this effort to safeguard teaching. The practice evolved so gradually that it is not easy to describe in a word, but it may be said that, in general, candidates for the license were presented, by the professors who taught them, to a church official (the Chancellor of Notre Dame at Paris and the Archdeacon of Bologna are examples) who was empowered by the Pope to grant to proper persons the license to teach everywhere. It was presumed that between them, the professors and the ecclesiastical official who granted the license had guaranteed the quality both of the candidate's scholarship and of his orthodoxy.

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[12] Norton, A. C., *Readings in the History of Education: Medieval Universities*, pp. 82–87.

[13] Rashdall, H., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 282.

II. THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES

Universities built by the free activities of scholars. There was long a tendency to attribute the origin of each of the great medieval universities to some particular event, or to the influence of one great personality: the writings of Constantine the African are supposed to account for the "founding" of the medical faculty at Salerno; the discovery of the "lost" Roman law resulted in the rise of the law faculty at Bologna; a strike at Paris accounts for Oxford; Abelard built the University of Paris and so on. Such views made much of the now exploded theory that the revival of scholarship and the growth of cities in the eleventh century were due to the release of Europe from the fear of the end of the world expected in the year 1000—those who have recourse to this explanation being strangely oblivious to the fact that releasing a man results in constructive effort only in case the person released is possessed of vitality, a cultivated skill, and intelligence, and has a social environment deeply rooted in a long and continuous cultural tradition. Professor Rashdall, discussing the rise of the University of Salerno, sums up the case as follows:

> It is no doubt at first sight tempting to trace the medical knowledge and skill of Salerno to contact with the Saracens of Southern Italy or Sicily; but it appears to be well established by the researches of Henschel, Daremberg, de Renzi, and their successors, that no external cause can be assigned to the beginnings of the movement, any more than to the somewhat later revival of dialectical and literary culture north of the Alps, or to the revival of law in the Lombard cities. The medical traditions of the old Roman world lingered on midst the material civilization of Magna Graecia, just as the traditions of legal culture lingered in the freer and more political atmosphere of northern Italy.[14]

The truth is that universities were not built by patronage or by chartered privileges, or even by single great leaders. They grew because scholarship is essentially an activity of strongly individualized personalities in interaction. The wrecking of the ancient Roman Empire had deprived men of the institutions upon which they had long depended. The centuries which intervened between the collapse of the ancient world and the twelfth century flowering allowed opportunity for the development of self-reliant individuals of great creative power. Many such men turned to scholarship as an outlet for their restless genius, but scholarship is a social activity; so scholars formed associations and took the medieval name of corporate associations—*universitas*. Chartered status and elaborate organization came later. The university arose freely and later was organized and formalized; just as scholarship and literature arose as a product of free spirits in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to be formalized, institutionalized, and exploited in the following centuries. Universities were the creations of scholars in the twelfth: scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries revolted against them. But the universities of the fifteenth century were no more the universities of the late twelfth or early thirteenth than the scholarship of the twelfth century was that of the Dominicans of the age of Erasmus, Colet, Tyndale, and Sir Thomas More.

Where and how universities began. The medieval universities had as their function the training of men for higher positions in civil and ecclesiastical administration, for the practice of medicine, and for the profession of scholarship itself. The basis of university studies was furnished by the Seven Liberal Arts.[15] The *Compendium on the University of Paris* aptly indicates the place of the liberal arts in the scheme of the medieval university. Describing the constitution of the "Large Faculty of Arts," the *Compendium* says:

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[14] Rashdall, Hastings, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 77. New Edition, Edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936.

> The remaining faculty, far more numerous than the others, is called the famous Faculty of Arts, the basis, mother, and nurse of all the others. For this faculty has for its dean the Rector who is head of the whole University. He is chosen and confirmed by the Faculty of Arts alone. . . .[16]

But though the liberal arts furnished the basis for all university studies, these studies culminated in the work of the professional faculties. Two types of interests then combined in the medieval universities—interest in liberal scholarship and in the practice of the professions of medicine, law, and divinity. The real node about which an early university grew was its professional schools: medicine at Salerno, law at Bologna, and theology at Paris. The growth of later *Studia*—even that of Oxford—was so greatly affected by established patterns of teaching and government that the influence of the learned professions upon them is obscured; but practicing theologians at Paris, practicing lawyers at Bologna, and practicing physicians at Salerno and at Montpellier supplied the crucial activities which led to the development of universities. At each of these places, lecturers on the body of scholarship pertaining to the respective professions attracted scholars who formed a *studium,* the nucleus of a university. Salerno never achieved chartered form—indeed, it declined just as other universities were receiving official sanctions for their organizations—but it was, nevertheless, a university. Let us turn to consider briefly the rise of the great mother universities—Salerno, Bologna, Paris, and Oxford—and of Cambridge, Montpellier, Naples, and the Papal University at Rome—each one of which illustrates certain important facts respecting development and character of university scholarship.

Salerno. It will be remembered that Southern Italy was the *Magna Graecia* of antiquity; that for much of the Middle Ages part of the region—notably that under the rule of the Counts of

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[15] D'Irsay, Stephen, *Histoire des universités français et étrangères,* Vol. I, p. 99. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1933.

[16] Burke, R. B., Translator, *Compendium on the Magnificence, Dignity, and Excellence of the University of Paris in the Year of Grace 1517.* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928.

Salerno—acknowledged the authority of the Eastern Emperors; and that the Greek language flourished there for almost nineteen hundred years—that is, from the planting of the Earliest Greek colonies there in the sixth century B.C. until the thirteenth century, when it was displaced by the rising Italian tongue. Balsilian monasteries, repositories of Greek books, were to be found in Sicily and southern Italy; monks from Italy traveled in the Byzantine Empire, and their numbers were recruited from the east. Bronze doors, the product of Byzantine craftsmanship, ornamented palaces and churches in southern Italy, while the enterprise of Amalfi merchants enriched Italy by a constant flow of objects of use and of art from Syria and Constantinople.[17]

Among the Greek survivals in Southern Italy none was more significant for the rise of science than the tradition of Graeco-Roman medicine, which lingered at Salerno, to find a voice in the writers and translators of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and so to become the fountain of the stream of medical scholarship which was one of the great forces in the intellectual life of medieval Europe. Salerno, located about thirty miles southeast of Naples, was a center for the *practice* of medicine as early as the ninth century. Early in the eleventh century Garipontus, first of the medieval writers at Salerno of whom we have knowledge, produced a compilation in the Graeco-Roman tradition. About the middle of the same century the most famous of Salernan translators, the monk, Constantine the African, brought out Latin versions of works by Greek, Graeco-Roman, Arabic, and Jewish writers on medicine which were soon to be prescribed as textbooks in the medical faculties of universities, and "formed the *ars medicinae* of the Middle Ages."[18] A succession of writers on medical subjects extended the fame and influence of the school, so that it was, undoubtedly, the most important early center of medical scholarship in western Europe.

Salerno never developed a university organization. It received its first official recognition only in its decline, when, in 1230, Frederick II issued a decree giving to persons examined at his court by masters of Salerno and certain other officers a monopoly of the practice and teaching of medicine in his Kingdom of Sicily. During the great period of the school's work, it seems to have been a sort of voluntary and self-perpetuating association of practicing and teaching physicians and of teachers of the arts. Students were required to spend three years in the study of the liberal arts before taking up the study of medicine. Five years were devoted to the study of medicine itself. The society of doctors seems to have had a head, called at first a *praepositus* and later a prior. The significance of Salerno, therefore, lies solely in its contribution to scholarship and to the growth of the scientific spirit. There is no trace of any contribution made by the school to academic organization, or titles, or degrees, or dress, or student customs. Salerno, "The City of Hippocrates," as the Middle Ages called it, is notable for having built up the medical curriculum of the medieval universities and for having furnished the early textbooks and professors of medicine to Bologna and Montpellier.[19]

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[17] Haskins, C. H., *Op. cit.*, pp. 141–142.

[18] Powicke, F. M., and Emden, A. B., Editors, Rashdall's *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 86. See also pp. 78–81. See also D'Irsay, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 104–106.

To the question "Why did Salerno develop into a medical school of higher grade, while other tenth-century centers of the teaching of medicine in western Europe—Chartres for example—had no such development?" it may be answered that not one reason but many must be assigned for this development. These reasons were: (1) the survival there of the Graeco-Roman tradition of medicine, (2) the fact that at a crucial time the Count of Salerno acknowledged the sovereignty of the Byzantine Emperors, Greek continued to be a vernacular tongue there, and there was much travel and other communication between the Salerno area and Constantinople; (3) the presence in Sicily and southern Italy of Arabic physicians and of Jewish doctors who practiced among the Moslems; and (4) the happy circumstance that Salerno attracted some men (notably Constantine the African) who wrote on medical subjects. Salerno was not a center of practice and teaching merely. Other forces, such as the presence of monasteries, may have helped in the progress of studies, but the meeting of scholarly traditions and their assimilation by productive scholars were the determining forces in the creation at Salerno of the medical faculty of the university.

Bologna. In the eleventh century a political development took place which was unique in the Middle Ages: this development was a medieval revival of the city state. Pavia, Venice, Pisa, Bologna, and other northern Italian cities made themselves felt as political forces. At Bologna, during the later Middle Ages, the bishops, feudal lords, and the municipal corporation struggled for ascendancy in the government of the city. At times one, at other times another, of these parties was dominant. The ecclesiastical and municipal authorities found that their interests coincided in many respects and were served by Roman institutions. They therefore had constant recourse to Roman law in attempts to find support for their claims against the secular lords.[20]

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[19] D'Irsay, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 108–109.

Both Church and municipalities supported schools, those of the municipalities being "the direct descendants of the Roman schools." The struggle between the contending parties—bishops, feudal lords, and municipalities—operating in the midst of and upon medieval ideas and institutions, produced effects of the utmost importance for the growth of liberty and of scholarship. These effects were the university corporation, the revival of Roman law, and the creation of canon law as an organized and exact body of knowledge. The institution about which these great developments centered was the University of Bologna.

The University of Bologna resulted from the growing together of three educational institutions which had long existed side-by-side in the city. These three were the system of monastic schools, which developed the canon law as a field of scholarly endeavor; the Cathedral, which brought to the growing university the study of the liberal arts; and the system of municipal schools of rhetoric and of law, which contributed the *scientific* study of law not only to Bologna but to the world.

The vital force in the University's growth is not to be sought in some external influence, but is to be found in legal scholarship, which developed there in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Great masters of the law went beyond *compendiums* of their subjects and even beyond *codes,* to study the *opinions* of ancient jurists; the crux of the revival was the return to the *Pandects* or *Digest* of Justinian.[21] The *Code* and *Institutes* were not, of course, neglected in the revival; but the emphasis shifted, after centuries during which epitomes and summaries were depended upon, to the study of the decisions of the great jurists of antiquity. Once more, as in the great days of the making and study of Roman law, the entire *Corpus Juris Civilis* was covered systematically by students. The emphasis upon the study of the *Digest* developed lawyers with a grasp of the principles of jurisprudence and consequently with the capacity for independent thinking. The revival was an *intellectual* one.

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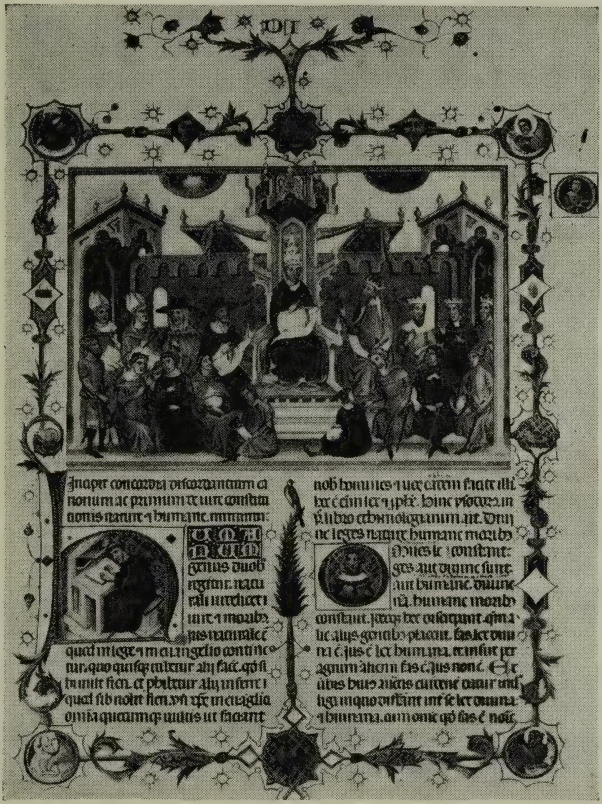
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[21] Rashdall, Hastings, *Op. cit.*, pp. 98–101, 112–114, 120–125.

The manner of the revival was as follows. Citizens of the renascent city-states of northern Italy awoke in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an intense consciousness of their political rights and liberties. The rise of commerce, the great schism in the Church, and the protracted struggle between the Papal Curia and the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had combined to place the Lombard municipalities in a strategic position: they were courted on the one side by the Emperors and on the other by the papal party, which was also the party of Italian nationalism. Constitutional issues entered into the political disputes of the period. The lawyers of Ravenna, a center of imperial jurisprudence, supported the cause of the Empire. The papal and national forces, therefore, put their lawyers forward. Matilda, Countess of Tuscany from 1075 until 1115, requested Irnerius to renew the books of the Roman law. Even before the accession of Matilda, the legal revival had made considerable progress in Rome, Pavia, and Bologna. The rise of commerce created a demand for the services of lawyers which reinforced the demand for their services in political and constitutional cases. Early in the twelfth century the teachers of the law were a recognized force at Bologna. The revival was fruitful of practical consequences. It was *lay* and *secular* in spirit, as contrasted with the theological interest of the University of Paris. This does not mean that there was more of freedom of inquiry or of resistance to dogma in Italy than in France. There was rather more of intellectual independence and rebellion against obscurantism at Paris than at Bologna. The intellectual character of the whole university movement must not, however, be discounted. The legal revival was closely connected with resurgent Italian nationalism, with revived Italian commerce, and with the vigorous life of the renascent city-states of Lombardy. The revival was fruitful for the regulation of human relations, but the heart of it was the vigorous pursuit of constitutional law. The movement was both utilitarian and intellectual in its significance.

The Irnerian revival of the civil law was paralleled by the development of ecclesiastical or canon law. From time to time, for centuries, decrees of councils and other authoritative statements of ecclesiastical bodies or officers respecting faith and conduct had been compiled and published. About 1140, Gratian, a monk who taught in the monastic school of San Felice at Bologna, brought out a synthesis of canon law, commonly called the *Decretum.* This book, which its author called *The Harmony of Discordant*

Decrees (Concordia Discordantium Canonum), was one of the most important textbooks ever written. It gave a powerful impulse to the cause of papal absolutism [22] and established canon law at once as a subject of study in the *studia generalia* just then being established in Europe. So important was this book that Gratian is commonly spoken of as the founder of the science of canon law. Gratian was a profound student of the Roman civil law and of scholasticism. Now Roman law had affected not only the development of the administrative principles and structure



First Page of a Fourteenth Century Manuscript of the "Decretum of Gratian." The pope is shown in council, flanked by the secular lords and gentry on his left, and by the hierarchy and other clerics on his right. —*Courtesy, British Museum.*

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[22] Rashdall, Hastings, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

of the Roman Church but also of its theology. The revived study of the Roman civil law, therefore, enriched the content of canon law and of theology. Canon law lent itself, moreover, to the method of scholasticism as developed by Abelard as did no other subject. Not even theology and civil law are as complete within themselves and consequently so perfectly adapted to dialectical treatment as is canon law. Abelard's method of balancing authorities in seeking an answer to any question never gives more perfectly the illusion of impartial intellectual inquiry arriving at truth in support of dogma than when the field of inquiry was itself created by the authorities who approved the dogma.

The *Decretum* is divided into three parts. In the first section the principles and grounds of canon law are presented, with the offices of the clergy and other religious persons; the second part treats of church property, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with penance, and with Christian marriage; and the third part discusses the liturgy and sacraments of the Church.[23] Almost at once this textbook became authoritative. The written word enjoyed a prestige in the Middle Ages which it has enjoyed in no other period of the history of western Europe. Gratian's work took its place beside the writings of Aristotle and Peter the Lombard as an authoritative basis of thought and action.

Irnerius and Gratian were great teachers—as were certain of their predecessors and successors at Bologna. Students flowed into Bologna, therefore, from all parts of Latin Christendom. At a very early date, certainly before the issue in 1158 of Frederick Barbarossa's *Authentic Habita,* the doctors or teachers of the law at Bologna formed *colleges* or guilds. Later other faculties organized. Owing to a series of circumstances, this guild never became the University of Bologna, but it is important to remember that the work of scholars and teachers of the law went before the formation of a university.

Foreign students at Bologna, feeling the necessity of mutual protection and of association for fellowship, formed themselves into guilds, called universities. Just how early this was done no one can say with certainty. A Bull of Pope Clement III, issued in 1189, recognized the existence of an organized body of students, or of bodies of students. At one time there seem to have been at least four of these universities, but in course of time they combined. Since the university was organized to afford traveling students protection primarily against the citizens of Bologna, citizens of that city were excluded from membership in it; so it came about that the professors of the city, who were citizens of Bologna, were excluded from membership in the university. This strange situation then arose: despite the fact that the essential functions of any university are academic, the University of Bologna—the guild of students—possessed no academic authority or functions; these functions all pertained to the doctors' guilds. Teaching, scholarly authorship, and the admission of candidates into the learned professions were not activities of the University. The University busied itself with the regulation of the price of lodgings, with passing upon the quality and price of books offered for sale, with controlling rates of interest on loans made to students, with controlling the movements and other activities of professors, with maintaining the rights and dignities of the University against the municipal authorities of Bologna, and with composing quarrels within their own ranks. The University of students reached its greatest development in the thirteenth century and quickly declined in power and in influence. In the fifteenth century it was but a shadow of its former self.

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[23] After the article "Gratian," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, p. 749.

Paris: the theological university. The University of Paris had its origin in an intellectual movement of which Peter Abelard was the ablest and most conspicuous representative. The central aspect of this movement was the dialectical development of theology. This development had results of the utmost importance for European scholarship, for in it the theological interest predominated over both the humanistic interest and the interest in the natural sciences; while logical elaboration of the pronouncements of the Scriptures, of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and of the Roman Hierarchy predominated over experimental religion.

In sharp contrast with Bologna—where a municipal school of rhetoric which had developed the teaching of the Roman civil law, a monastic school specializing in the teaching of canon law, and a cathedral school of the liberal arts attracted the students who formed the University of Bologna—the schools which drew students to Paris in such numbers that a *studium generale* evolved there were all ecclesiastical in character. These schools were: (1) the cathedral schools of Notre Dame of Paris, presided over at the beginning of the twelfth century by William of Champeaux; (2) the schools conducted by the collegiate church of Sainte Genevieve—a foundation not subject to the Bishop of Paris, the chapter of which in the early part of the same century was composed of secular clerics, and (3) a school, opened in 1113, by the canons regular of St. Victor. This last institution was prominent only for a very brief period, but for a short time it did add to the luster of Paris as a center of higher studies.

In the latter part of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century, the *studium* at Paris evolved the characteristic features of an autonomous university. Since certain features of the ecclesiastical schools just listed gave direction to the development of the *studium* and contributed to the distinctive organization of the University of Paris, it is necessary to consider what these features were. They were three in number. (1) The respective chancellors of the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris and of the autonomous collegiate church of Sainte Genevieve were privileged to issue the *licentia docendi.* (2) The members of the schools, both teachers and pupils, were clerics. (3) Long before the university was formed the custom had grown up of requiring each beginning teacher to have a master, who directed and sponsored him. The crime first charged against Abelard was not heresy, but that of teaching without a master.

The ecclesiastical character of the schools from which the *studium* evolved at Paris had an immediate consequence for the masters and students of Paris: their privileges were those of the clergy. Whereas the guilds at Bologna secured their rights and privileges by treaty, winning concessions from their opponents and gaining support from their allies, the members of the University of Paris were clerks and took their place in the governmental scheme of the Church. The liberties of the universities were secured principally because of their alignment with the Papal Court. It is not surprising, therefore, that masters and scholars —all members of the clerical order and all looking to the distant Papal Court for support and encouragement—should have formed a single body. Whereas at Bologna there were a number of guilds of masters and other guilds of students, masters and students at Paris were a single corporation. It is not surprising either, that since members of the university were clerics, they should have formed a hierarchy, not a republic, and that the masters should have dominated the corporation. The dual relation in which pupils stood at Paris had important consequences, moreover, for the development of the autonomy of the university. Students looked for the *licentia docendi* to the chancellor either of Notre Dame or of Sainte Genevieve, but they could be admitted to the society of the masters only by the masters themselves. The masters could not deprive a person licensed by the chancellor of the right to teach, but they could refuse to have anything to do with him or to recognize his students. We shall see that the masters retained and extended their control over teaching and study at Paris and became, under the Pope, an autonomous power.

How the studium at Paris developed and gained university status. About 1100 the schools of Paris came to enjoy a splendid reputation. The liberal arts, theology, and perhaps medicine, were taught there, and a little later civil and canon law were taught in the city. A succession of great masters, among them William of Champeaux and his pupil Abelard, who eclipsed him, attracted hundreds of students to the city. Paris became a city of teachers, and there seems to have been a society of masters.[24] Before the close of the twelfth century, it is said, Louis VII granted to the masters of Paris the right to suspend lectures as a measure of retaliation and protest in case of any injury to any student or master.[25] In 1208 a violent riot took place in Paris, in the course of which there were many fights between students and the townspeople. Following this riot a charter was granted, a provision of which was that any scholar arrested by royal officers should be turned over to the ecclesiastical authorities. The personal property of scholars was protected against seizure except by authority of the ecclesiastical court.[26] The Provost of Paris was required to swear to respect the privileges of the scholars of the city. By the year 1210 the society of masters of Paris had a set of written statutes. A few years later Innocent III recognized the existence of the university as a corporation by authorizing the election of a proctor, who should represent it at the Papal Court. He further recognized the society of masters by sanctioning the readmission to the society of a master who had been expelled from it for a breach of its rules.[27]

Between 1210 and 1230, a struggle of the utmost importance to the University of Paris took place. The chancellor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame attempted to compel all masters of the city to swear obedience to him. A dispute ensued which resulted in a great victory for the masters. The chancellor was required to grant the license to candidates recommended by the masters, and he was stripped of any disciplinary powers over the university. As time went on, the masters of arts of the university organized into groups called *nations*. Each nation had a head or Proctor. By 1225 there was a seal of the entire university, and by 1246 the right of the university to a seal was conceded. The teachers of arts, law, theology, and medicine were organized into faculties—the teachers of the three higher faculties being excluded from the nations. Each faculty had its head. By the middle of the thirteenth century the head of the faculty of arts was recognized as Rector of the entire University and was so addressed by the Pope in 1259. All bachelors of arts were required to swear obedience to him, so that his supremacy was established over the entire university.

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[24] Rashdall, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 289–291.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 295–297.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 300–302.

A great riot of 1228–1229 resulted in the killing of some students of Paris by soldiers. The masters suspended lectures in an effort to secure redress of injuries, and when this measure was not effectual, they dissolved the university for a period of six years.[28] Masters and students left the city. The reigning Pope, Gregory IX, intervened in the quarrel. He secured the punishment of the offenders against the university, and succeeded in healing the breach between the city and the university. He issued a bull giving his sanction to certain privileges of the universities. The prices of rents for the lodgings of students were to be fixed by a committee composed of two masters and two townsmen; the Bishop of Paris and the Abbot of S. Germain-des-Prés were to respect the privileges of the university; the right of the masters to strike in defence of their rights was expressly recognized.[29] In 1245 Innocent IV granted to the scholars of the University of Paris exemption from being cited to appear in ecclesiastical courts at a distance from Paris. The next year he instituted a Court of Conservation the duty of which was to protect the university. Later the faculty of arts secured the right of electing the conservator; the university had attained status in the papal government that made it independent of local civil and ecclesiastical officials. Its Rector and Regent masters were the equals of secular lords and of the great abbots and archbishops of the Church.

The origin of Oxford University. Between the years 1167 and 1190, a *studium generale* evolved with great rapidity at Oxford in England. There had been schools at Oxford for a very long time before 1167, and they appear to have won considerable reputation before the middle of the twelfth century; but late in that century, as many bits of evidence go to show, the little city on the upper reaches of the Thames became the center of scholarship in England.[30] It is hard to say just why Oxford, rather than the capital or some great cathedral city, should have become the site of the earliest university in England, but its location in the heart of rural England is highly significant. For England was, until very recently, rural: the county and parish furnished the bases of its social and economic life. Oxford was easy of access from all parts of England, but few cities of the country could have been further removed from the foreign influences which were drawn to the courts of the King and of the great princes of the Church. Medieval Oxford was enfolded and nourished by England. It was born of England. No medieval university aligned itself more closely with the aspirations of the nation in the midst of which it was located than did the oldest university of the English-speaking world.

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 334–339.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 337–338.

The *studium generale* at Oxford appears, moreover, to have received its first impulse to growth from a nationalistic movement. Henry II, as a measure taken to check the activities of the sympathizers with his enemy, Thomas à Becket, in the year 1167, ordered all clerics who derived their income from English churches and who were abroad, to return to the country within three months, "as they loved their revenues." [31] There is some indication, moreover, that in that same year the King of France ordered all alien scholars to leave his realm. The supposition is that many English scholars transferred to Oxford. Certainly the *studium* must have been well developed by 1184 or 1185, when Giraldus Cambrensis read his book *Topographica Hibernica* before the scholars and "the Doctors of different Faculties" in the city.[32]

The first constitution of Oxford was borrowed from Paris before the French university had achieved its full development. Oxford became, like Paris, "a masters' university"; like Paris, moreover, it developed nations—each with its proctor—in the faculty of arts; and, to an even greater extent than at Paris, the faculty of arts at Oxford predominated over the higher faculties. The officer who presided over meetings of the faculties at Oxford was the chancellor. This official was at first the representative of the

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[30] Rashdall, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III. pp. 12–16.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Bishop of Lincoln and was appointed by him. He was thus an extra-university official—not a member of the masters' guild. The proctors, therefore, discharged many of the academic duties which might well have been within the jurisdiction of the presiding officer of the university. The nations were eliminated at Oxford in the thirteenth century, but the proctors continued. In the course of time it became the custom to have the chancellor elected by the masters. This official, therefore, gained status within the guild of teachers; but the proctors and masters continued to exercise prerogatives secured while they stood apart from the university.

The first written statutes of the masters of Oxford were published in 1253. The following year a papal bull was addressed to the "masters and scholars sojourning at Oxford in the diocese of Lincoln."[33]

A striking feature of the university organization both at Oxford and at Cambridge is the prominence there of resident and teaching corporations—constituent members of the respective universities—known as colleges. These institutions developed in the Middle Ages out of the hostels established and endowed by the charitable to provide lodging, care, and supervision for scholars. The colleges were endowed, while Oxford and Cambridge had almost no endowment in the Middle Ages, with the result that the colleges gradually took over most of the teaching and disciplinary functions from the two ancient English universities. This made possible the development of an exceedingly strong corporate life at Oxford and at Cambridge—a feature which makes them almost unique among universities of the world.

The imperial University of Naples. The universities so far considered grew up spontaneously, as scholars first did highly significant work and then received wide-spread appreciation. The teaching and authorship of the great scholars drew other scholars to the centers where they flourished, and these all formed voluntary societies for mutual protection and assistance. The Emperor, the Pope, and various kings issued charters and decrees, conferring rights and privileges upon these voluntary associations and sanctioning those they already enjoyed. Universities thus became factors in the policies of monarchs.

In the thirteenth century an innovation took place: monarchs began to found universities where none had grown up. The first instance of the founding of a university by a royal charter occurred in 1224, when the Emperor Frederick II chartered the University of Naples. He established it as a measure of retaliation against the university cities of northern Italy, so that it was not the creation of free scholarship but of political action. Frederick forbade his subjects to resort to any other *studium*. The institution was subject in all matters to the political authority, being until 1497 under the supervision of the royal chancellor. It thus lacked, throughout the period under consideration, the freedom essential to scholarly work. Created to furnish bureaucrats for a despotism, the contributions of the University of Naples to the spiritual and intellectual progress of the Middle Ages were negligible.

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

The University of the Roman Court. Unique among the universities of the Middle Ages was that founded by Pope Innocent IV about the year 1245. The university specialized in civil and canon law. Theology flourished there. The University of the Roman Court was, moreover, one of the five universities (Bologna, Salamanca, Paris, and Oxford were the others) at which, by direction of the Council of Venice in 1312, the Greek, Arabic, Chaldee, and Hebrew languages were to be taught.[34] There is, moreover, evidence that some attention was paid there to philosophy and medicine.

The University of the Roman Court did not, of course, conform to the pattern of the typical medieval university of students and masters. The cardinal chamberlain was its chancellor, and it was governed by a college of doctors. It is, however, of peculiar interest, since it reflects the place which higher scholarship, especially in the fields of civil and canon law, had in papal policy. The development of constitutional law and government and of the papacy were inextricably mingled in the Middle Ages.

III. WORK AND LIFE IN A MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY

University degrees. The status of any higher teacher or other professional man in the Middle Ages depended on the one hand upon his being *persona grata* to the Church, and on the other upon his being accepted by his professional colleagues.

In the age in which the universal form of association of merchants, craftsmen, and professional men was the guild, this last meant acceptance into a guild. Entrance to any guild was controlled by its members. As teachers formed guilds of masters—

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[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 30–31.

called *colleges* at Bologna and *universities* at Paris and Oxford—they developed the practice of receiving new members into their ranks by a regular ceremonial. Oaths were administered to the candidate, a book was given the newly created master at Bologna, and at Paris he received the book and scholar's cap. This reception of new members into the ranks of masters was called *inception.*

It will be recalled, moreover, that from the very early period of the history of the Roman Church there existed in every typical chapter of cathedrals and collegiate churches an official called the *scholasticus* or *chancellor,* who exercised general supervision over teaching. One of the principal duties of a *chancellor* was to license teachers, under powers vested in him by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This formal sanction of a teacher by the officials of the Church was called the conferring of the *licentia docendi.* As *studia* arose, the Roman hierarchy was represented at each by an official empowered to license teachers and those entering upon the practice of law, medicine, or divinity. The Archdeacon of Bologna, the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Paris, and the Chancellor of Oxford University—first appointed by the Bishop of Lincoln and later elected by the Oxford masters themselves—conferred the license at their respective universities. Efforts of kings to control the license at certain universities were, on the whole, unavailing. The real power in licensing candidates came, in time, to rest with the university faculties. At Bologna the Archdeacon and the guilds of doctors worked, save for the period of one brief quarrel, in harmony. The Archdeacon appears to have been content with the revenues and dignities attending his right to confer the license, and to have left the actual control of examinations to the doctors of the university. At Paris, on the other hand, the Chancellor of Notre Dame and the University engaged in a long struggle which resulted in the reduction of the Chancellor's power over the university almost to the point of extinction. A papal decree required the Chancellor to license all candidates properly presented by their respective faculties—a requirement which, in effect, made the university the degree-granting authority. At Oxford the Chancellor always owed his position to the university, and when at length he became an elective officer of the university, the masters' guild had all academic matters fully within their hands. Inception and license thus became so closely associated as to be almost indistinguishable.

The first degrees were simply the license to teach or to practice medicine or law. Teachers might be called doctors or masters, and, as degrees arose in the thirteenth century, there was, for a long time, no distinction between masters and doctors, who were also called professors. In course of time, the title *master* came to be used of members of the inferior faculties and that of *doctor* of the superior faculties of medicine, law, and theology. Gradually these licenses came to stand for *status:* they were degrees. In course of time scholars were admitted, in a limited way, to guilds of masters. Since such a student could not, because his privileges were quite limited, be called a master; and since, furthermore, he was just entering upon his new status he was called a *bachelor (baccalaureus)*—which means a beginner. Like the titles of master and doctor, the title *bachelor* was first used quite informally, but came, as the thirteenth century advanced, to be regarded as a degree.

Requirements for degrees were not at all standardized in the Middle Ages. In general it may be said, however, that candidates of the various degrees were required to have attended lectures on prescribed books and to have undergone examinations. Candidates for the baccalaureate were commonly expected to have attended and participated in a given number of disputations. Prospective masters and doctors were required to give a prescribed number of lectures before being admitted to examination for their degrees.

Academic exercises. The work and ritual of a medieval university were no less highly organized than was its governmental structure. The principal exercises by which learning was carried forward were four: the lecture, the repetition, the disputation, and the examination, and all were conducted according to well-defined and recognized principles, and with much formality. The lecture might well involve first the reading of a text, then its full exposition, next comment on passages of special interest, and finally the raising of problems for discussion. Lecturers were expected to confine their remarks to the text before them, avoiding digressions and especially avoiding trespassing upon the ground of other faculties. A teacher of the law of thirteenth-century Bologna stated the plan according to which he proposed to conduct his course as follows:

> First, I shall give you summaries of each title before I proceed to the text; secondly, I shall give you as clear and explicit a statement as I

can of the purport of each law (included in the title); thirdly, I shall read the text with a view to correcting it; fourthly, I shall briefly repeat the contents of the Law; fifthly, I shall solve apparent contradictions, adding any general principles of Law (to be extracted from the passage), commonly called "Brocardica," and any distinctions or subtle and useful problems *(quaestiones)* arising out of the Law with their solutions, as far as the Divine Providence shall enable me. And if any Law seem deserving, by reason of its celebrity or difficulty, of a Repetition, I shall reserve it for an evening Repetition.[35]

Comments made by lecturers were not at random, but were in the accepted tradition of interpretation of the texts before them. These accepted interpretations were preserved in written commentaries called *glosses* read to classes by lecturers, following the reading of the texts themselves. Repetitions were simply detailed discussions of lectures which had been given—they must have been much like a modern interview between a tutor and the student with whom he meets. Lectures were classified as *ordinary* and *extra-ordinary*. An *ordinary* lecture was that given by a doctor or master; an *extra-ordinary* lecture was that given by mere bachelors or even students of a certain standing. Lectures given by bachelors and other advanced students were regarded as learning exercises, by which the lecturer benefited principally, rather than as teaching exercises for the benefit of the student. Success in them, as in disputations, might, moreover, gain a great reputation for a young scholar. Bachelors, therefore, in some instances paid students to attend lectures which they were giving. The *disputation* was the one university exercise most distinctive of scholasticism. The disputation might be conducted by either of two methods. In the first a single reasoner alternately presented the arguments in support of the two sides to a question, ultimately showing the preponderance of evidence in favor of one side of the argument or the other. This was the method of the *Sic et Non* of Abelard. The false impression of objectivity and freedom which this method gave resulted from the complete discrediting of a thesis presented as the only possible alternative to the position which the expositor believed before he began to frame the disputation. With positions chosen and terms defined by a person committed to a fixed idea, the results of such an argument were a foregone conclusion. The second method was that of debate between opponents—one proposing, the other defending a thesis. This method was the more likely of the two to result in a genuine inquiry. The course of the disputation was rigidly prescribed. First, the *question* was stated; next the *affirmative argument* was presented; the presentation of the affirmative argument was followed by the presentation of the *negative argument; objections* to arguments were then made, and the objections were themselves attacked in an attempt to refute them; finally, accounts were cast up and a conclusion reached.

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[35] Rashdall, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 218.

Students disputed with each other as learning exercises. Doctors engaged in public debates which excited widespread interest in the highest quarters. Frequently a public disputation was inaugurated by the posting, by some doctor, of a set of theses he was prepared to defend. Martin Luther thus launched the debates which led first to his excommunication by the Roman Hierarchy and then to the open division of Christendom.

Examinations were not a feature of the work at medieval Oxford and Cambridge, but on the continent of Europe, public and private examinations were used to determine the qualifications of candidates for degrees. These were oral and were conducted with great ceremony and care in the observance of forms. At Bologna a candidate for a degree was presented by the *consilarius* of his nation to the rector, who was requested to admit him to private examination. The candidate took an oath that he had complied with all the conditions laid down in the statutes, that he would obey the rector and would make no gifts and give no entertainments (in excess of the value prescribed in the university statutes) to the persons upon whose decision success in the examination would depend. Before the private examination could be held, moreover, the candidate was presented to the archdeacon by a doctor, who had previously satisfied himself as to the candidate's fitness for a degree.

On the morning of the examination, the candidate, after first attending a Mass of the Holy Ghost, presented himself to the college of doctors in which he was preparing to take his degree. He was given selected passages for study and was permitted to retire, with the doctor who presented him, to his own house, where he prepared for the final trial. Later in the same day the candidate came before the examining doctors and the archdeacon, who presided at the examinations. The doctor who was sponsoring him—his *promotor*—introduced him to the archdeacon and examiners. The candidate then discussed the selected passages assigned to him and was examined on them. After the completion of the examination, a ballot was taken and the fate of the candidate determined by the majority of votes cast by the examining doctors. The *public* examination at Bologna, essentially the inception of Paris and Oxford, was simply the ceremony attending the conferring of a degree. The candidate lectured in the cathedral and was presented to the archdeacon, who, after making a complimentary speech, conferred the degree. The candidate's *promotor* then invested him with the insignia of his new rank, and the newly-made doctor was seated in the professional chair and handed an open book, and a gold ring was placed upon his finger.[36]

Buildings and equipment. Medieval universities were not housed and equipped as are those of the modern world. Professors frequently lectured in their own houses or in rented halls. Irnerius is said to have lectured from a pulpit placed at a street corner. Convocations were held in churches. Books were few, and libraries had but few volumes. Equipment was most scanty. There were no laboratories. Pupils sat about the lecturing professors on rude benches or on rushes of straw on the floor. Buildings were scarcely heated at all.

University studies. The medieval student in pursuit of his university degree read, or had read to him, a number of texts and the glosses or commentaries which contained the accepted interpretation of them. Independent investigation was not dreamed of by the medieval university student; he mastered the content and meaning of the books which constituted the canon of literary and scientific learning in the Middle Ages by hearing them read and explained, by participating in discussions and disputations on points in them, and by conning over them with care. In the course in theology, the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard were the basic books. The works of St. Thomas were approved for members of the Dominican Order. In medicine the works of Galen, Hippocrates, Avicenna, and Bartholomew the Englishman were prescribed at Montpellier in 1340. At Paris the texts of Avicenna and Averroes and of their European followers were also used. Gratian's famous *Decretals* was the foundation of the course in canon law; but the body of the canon law was constantly receiving accessions as popes and councils issued decisions and decrees. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* furnished the content of the course in civil law. In the arts course, logic or dialectic was the subject most studied. The classics of Greek and Roman antiquity were neglected. Priscian's vast compendium of grammar was studied, but the *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle furnished the student the formal framework of studies. The *Ethics, Politics,* and *Economics* of Aristotle, and his works on natural philosophy and on metaphysics made up the very heart of the medieval arts curriculum. The books of Boethius, Gerard of Cremona, Euclid, and Sacrobosco also were read in courses on music, astronomy, and mathematics respectively.

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–229.

The length of time prescribed for study for the various degrees varied so greatly from one age to another and from university to university that it is not worthwhile to attempt a generalization about the matter. At Paris in the fourteenth century a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts was required to be twenty years of age and to have studied from five to six years. For the doctorate in theology at Paris eight years of study were prescribed until the reforms of 1366, when sixteen years were prescribed for this degree. The earliest statutes at Paris prescribed six years of study for license in medicine for those students who had not been previously licensed in arts; students licensed in arts could receive license in medicine in five and a half years.

Colleges. In the very early period of university development in medieval Europe, students who were pursuing their studies away from home made private arrangements for board and lodgings in the university towns. Singly or in groups, they lived in rented houses or rooms. At Paris groups living in hired houses took on a stable character and became in effect societies. Save in the case of very wealthy students, who lived, each with his private tutor, in his own house, each house occupied by students was presided over by a master. Paris thus became the inaugurator of the collegiate system. Direction was given to the development of the collegiate system by a very ancient institution of Europe—that of the *hospital.* A medieval hospital was a guest house, at which travelers, the sick, the aged, children, and the poor, were gratuitously entertained or permanently cared for. Poor students were regarded as proper objects of such hospitality. At Durham, in 1190, places were provided at St. Cuthbert's Almshouse for three poor students of Durham school. They were to be housed and fed at the expense of the foundation. Ten years earlier, however, Joyce of London had endowed a room for poor scholars at Paris, and this foundation developed into the first of the endowed colleges there. Other benefactors established similar halls of residence for poor scholars at Paris and elsewhere. The religious orders built houses for their members at university centers.

Residential halls or hospices for students came to be called *colleges.* The term *collegium* was originally equivalent to *universitas*—it simply meant a corporation. Gradually the term *university* came to designate the entire studium; while the word *college* came to mean a residential institution.

Very different collegiate systems developed in the south of Europe, in German lands, and in France and Great Britain. There were small residential colleges from the thirteenth century onward in Italy and from the fourteenth in Spain, but the colleges of those lands were never of great importance. They continued to be merely halls of residence. The college of Spain, perhaps the most important medieval college of Bologna, was planned to care for only thirty students. The colleges of the German universities were intended primarily for masters, and secondarily, if at all, for students. In France, Scotland, and England, on the other hand, both masters and students lived in colleges. At Paris a college consisted of a group of students presided over by a master. At Oxford and Cambridge a college was a corporation, governed by its head and senior members—the head being elected by all the members of the foundation.[37] As a result of the development of colleges in which both masters and students lived, collegiate teaching developed a system which reached its fullest development in the tutorial systems of Oxford and Cambridge. In the German universities and in the south of Europe, on the other hand, a professional system developed.

Women in medieval universities. The universities of the Middle Ages were men's institutions. Later research has discredited earlier traditions of the medical women of Salerno.[38] There were, however, learned women in university cities, some of whom held recognized positions as public teachers. Rashdall notes that a married woman of Florence was, in 1304, listed among the lay teachers of Latin in that city, and that Dona Beatriz Galindo of Salamanca was summoned by Isabella the Catholic to be her teacher in the Latin language. So few and scattered are the references to women with any pretensions to literary or scientific learning in the later Middle Ages, however, and so limited are the scholarly attainments of those women who are counted as authors or scholars that these very references afford melancholy evidence of the exclusion of women for centuries from literature, science, and the learned professions.

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[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 513–514.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Student life. In age, students of medieval universities ranged from young lads to men entering upon middle life, and in dignity from street gamins and beggars to archbishops and even to cardinals. Some of them were vagabonds, wandering from university to university, and begging at the doors of the charitable for their daily bread. The wilder of them initiated new students into their ranks with rough horseplay and feasting at the neophyte's expense. A body of student songs grew up. Of recognized amusements and games there were, however, few. Lacking outlets for their spirits in recognized ways, many students turned to poaching, to drinking, to brawling, and even to highway robbery, in their search for excitement. The pageantry of university life and the disputations and discussions, however, furnished excitement which seems to have been much to the medieval taste. Letters of students reflect zest of life and preoccupation with the student's perennial problems—finances and studies.

The achievements of the medieval universities. The universities of the Middle Ages achieved a form of organization and a place in society in which scholars enjoyed autonomy in the pursuit of their academic tasks, and, under which, standards of academic work could be elevated and maintained. Since *logic* was the one approved method of scholarship, learning was of necessity limited in range; literature was almost excluded from universities, while medicine and the natural sciences were studied in a relatively profitless way. The study of law and of theology, however, flourished, and the achievements of the scholastic philosophers in these fields were enormous. Deductive logic itself was refined; the meaning of terms was fixed; and scholars were trained to close and exact reasoning.

Two points stand out in this discussion of universities. The first is the central role played by pure scholarship in the creation of universities: a phase of this point is the importance of the humanities in maintaining the tone and direction of scholarship. A second point is this: freedom of study and of speech is the essential condition of higher scholarship. Not even the patronage of Frederick could create a university at Naples under the control, in all matters, of a despotic bureaucracy.

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Education in Manor, Castle, Guild, and the Inns of Court in the Later Middle Ages

Educational activities rich and varied in the later Middle Ages. Until comparatively recently, modern scholars were accustomed to regard the great Renaissance of the fifteenth century as a movement entirely separate from the intellectual life of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages were regarded, indeed, as a sort of interruption of the stream of culture, and Renaissance scholars were represented as "discovering" this or that "lost" monument of ancient literature or learning and so reviving the cultural life of the ancient world. There is a measure of truth in the view of the Renaissance as a catastrophic break with the Middle Ages and a return to the language and literature of Greek and Roman antiquity. The dominant form of medieval scholarship—scholasticism—was vigorously attacked by champions of the new learning. Not only was its distinctive method—logic—reformed, but the reformers ceased to rely almost exclusively upon it, as had the schoolmen, and developed new methods of intellectual inquiry—notably the historical approach. Latin of the Golden Ages of Roman letters, so far as Renaissance scholars could recover it, became the language of the schools and of literature, and the *living* Latin of the Middle Ages was spoken and written no longer. After 1500 the Latin and Greek classics furnished the principal part of a literary education. The spirit of Greek humanism—the components of which were freedom of thought and preoccupation with distinctively human activities and values—was recaptured by many Renaissance scholars and creative artists; and others, unable to grasp the spirit of ancient culture, imitated its forms. But the attempt in the Renaissance to return to antiquity was no more marked than the full emergence in this movement of institutions, systems of ideas, vernacular languages, and other cultural forms which had been initiated and developed by the Middle Ages. If, in the Renaissance, medieval Latin was replaced by classical Latin for some uses, for others it was replaced by modern vernaculars—products of the Middle Ages. If the Renaissance turned to the literature of republican or early imperial Rome for a picture of the public man, it brought to full development the monarchial state, the foundations of which had been laid in the Middle Ages. Even in religion, where—at least so far as Germany, Scandinavia, and Great Britain were concerned—the break was most revolutionary, major forms of thought which had endured since St. Augustine, and which were essential features of the medieval pattern of ideas and of action, remained substantially unchanged. If the Renaissance read and profited by the literary monuments of antiquity, it brought to flower literary tendencies which had already found splendid expression in the *Romance of the Rose,* the poems of Chaucer, the theorizing about government of John of Salisbury and Egidio Colonna, and the writings of a host of other poets, romancers, political philosophers and other authors who gave literary form to the life of the Middle Ages.

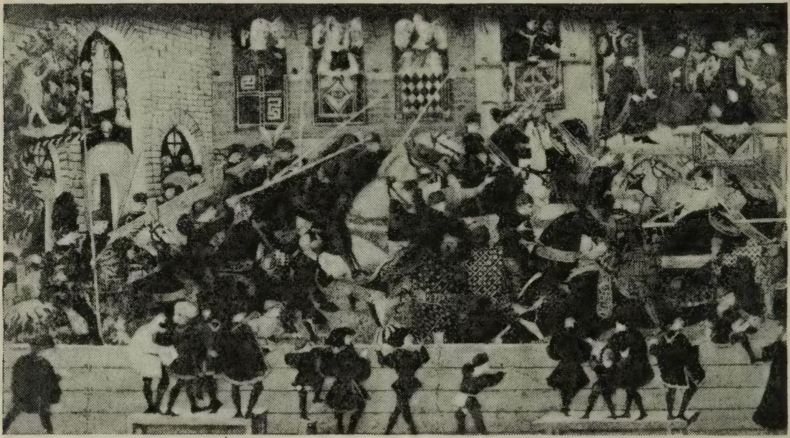
The educational agencies of the later Middle Ages were, in addition to the universities—which were discussed in Chapter XVII—the castle and manor, the life of the guilds and the work of guildsmen, and the schools, which last were increasingly affected as the Middle Ages drew to a close, by the growing worth and force of manufacturing and commercial activities and classes. These agencies offered rich and varied educational opportunities. For inferior as was the education they afforded to Renaissance education, these agencies not only were continued by the schools of the Renaissance, but first reared the plants which the Renaissance brought to full flower.

I. THE EDUCATION OF MANOR AND CASTLE

The nobles. During the later Middle Ages, Europe was governed by a special class called *nobles:* a class devoted to governmental administration, to the management of their estates, to the sports and social functions of their class, and to the profession of arms. Members of this class might not engage in trade or in any form of manual work. A noble was distinguished by his membership in the knightly order and by his possession of a landed estate sufficient to equip and maintain him as a fully armed, mounted soldier with an attendant. The knights had arisen as a body of mounted troops under the stress of the need created for some force for local defense during the dreadful period of the ninth and tenth centuries. They were simply the cavalry or "chivalry" of Europe. The term *chivalry* was used not only to designate the mounted troops of the Middle Ages, the knights, but also to designate the whole knightly way of life—the knight's position, duties, and qualities. Knights held their estates, called *fiefs,* from some overlord, on condition of rendering to him military and governmental services. A knight made his home upon his estates, unless attached to his overlord's service. The home of a noble is called a manor or, if fortified and of sufficient dignity, a castle. A knight, when not in the field, commonly lived at his own manor house, save that many knights were permanently attached to the household of great lords. Such knights had apartments at the castle of the lords they served.

Manor and castle. It was around the manor and castle that the activities of feudal society centered. Entertainments, sport, governmental administration, local defense, and the economic activities by which the life of the manor and castle were supported centered there. Worship, which centered in churches, was, moreover, a prominent feature of the life of a noble's household; a great castle would have its own chapel. The household of a castle of a great manor was likely to include, in addition to its lord and his immediate family, men-at-arms, a chaplain, young people being reared under the direction of the lord of the manor, and a host of servants and other dependents, ranging in rank from the lowest menials to the lord's secretary and the steward who managed his business affairs. A minstrel might also be attached to such a household.

The castle or great manor house was the school in which the younger members of feudal society, both male and female, were educated. There they learned, both by active participation in the normal round of affairs and by formal instruction, the duties, system of values, manners, proficiencies, and accepted ideas of their class. They learned "courtesy"—that is to say, the code, carriage, etiquette, polite accomplishments of their class, and a great amount of information respecting heraldry and the rights and dignities of noble families and high offices. They developed the power of command, for both men and women of "the class called worshipful" had as a major responsibility and duty the maintenance of the ascendancy of their order. The intellectual training of young people of the noble class consisted, commonly, of so much of reading and writing as their parents thought good for them, the essential articles of the Holy Roman faith, and much of feudal law. Since the nobles were the landed proprietors, who lived principally by income from their farms and other real estates, and since most articles of ordinary use were produced on the manor itself, young nobles learned the management of estates and of households. The central interest of chivalry was, however, the profession of arms: the knight was, first of all, a mounted soldier. The principal part of the education of young males, of the noble class, therefore, consisted of training in the use of weapons and in other matters pertaining to a soldier's profession.



A TOURNAMENT IN THE PIAZZA S. CROCE, FLORENCE.—*From Offner, R., "Italian Primitives at Yale University," Yale University Press.*

The qualities of knights. Speaking of fully developed chivalry, Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw says, "Chivalry was a compound of three elements, *viz.*, war, religion, and gallantry."[1] Military qualities ranked first in knightly character, religious qualities were second, and social qualities were third. The virtues of the knight, this author points out, were nine. There were three military virtues: courage, loyalty, and generosity; three religious virtues: fidelity to the Church, obedience, and chastity; and three social virtues: courtesy, humility, and beneficence. The duties of the knight were:

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[1] Hearnshaw, F. J. C., "Chivalry and Its Place in History," in *Chivalry*, edited by Adgar Prestage, p. 32. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928.

> . . . to pray, to avoid sin, to defend the church, the widow and the orphan, to protect the people, to travel far and wide, to make war loyally, to fight for his lady, to love his lord, and to listen to good and true men.[2]

Another author writes:

> The ideal of the knight, as stated by an English writer in the twelfth century, was "to protect the Church, to fight against treachery, to reverence the priesthood, to defend the poor from injustice, to keep peace in his own province, to shed his blood for his brethren, and if necessary, to lay down his life." [3]

From these quotations it is clear that courage, loyalty to a leader or cause to which the knight had given allegiance, fidelity to the Catholic faith and observance of its rites, good manners, magnanimity and generosity, proficiency in horsemanship and in the use of arms, and the qualities of command stood high in the list of knightly traits. The ideal of the good knight is reflected, too, in the account given of the duties of the master of the king's henchmen—that is to say, the teacher of the young nobles who were fostered by the king—at the court of King Edward IV, of England. It was his duty:

> . . . to shew the schooles of urbanite and nourture of Englond, to lerne them to ryde clenely and surely; to draw them also to justes; to lerne them (to) were (wear) theyre harneys (armor); to haue all curtesy in wordes and dedes, and degrees; diligently to kepe them in rules of goynges and sittinges, after they be of honour. Moreover to teche them sondry languages, and othyr vertuous, to harping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behaviour and patience; and to kepe dayly and wekely with these children dew convenity, (discipline) with corrections in theyre chambres, according to such gentylmen; and eche of them to be used to that thinge of vertue that he shall be most apt to lerne, with remembraunce dayly of Goddes servyce accustomed.[4]

It is to be noticed that the chivalric ideal is a professional and class ideal—the idea of the army officer is its central component.

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[2] Duruy, Victor, *The History of the Middle Ages* (E. H. and M. D. Whitney, Translators), p. 232. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1891.

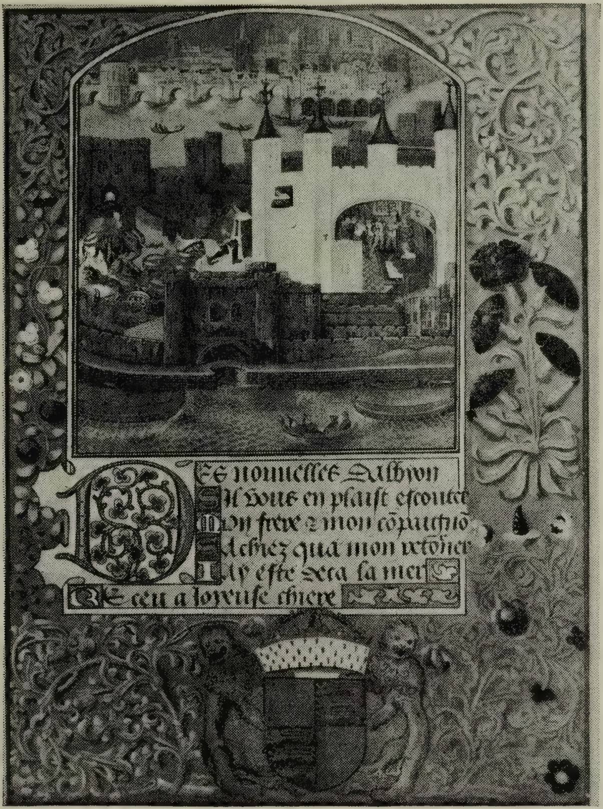
[3] Salzman, L. F., *English Life in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926.

[4] Quoted by Furnival, Frederick J., *Education in Early England*, p. ii. London: N. Truebner and Company, 1867.

The ideal, moreover, was betrayed by certain of its characteristics. In the first place it was snobbish: not that it was wrong for the knights to think well of themselves, but that they thought meanly of others, and relegated women and persons of all other orders to places they—the nobles—assigned them. Insofar as it was a class idea, the real basis of class distinction was force, not worth. Again, the ideal of the profession was narrowly conceived. The relation of the profession of arms to other social functions was not understood. The knight acknowledged his duty to various classes of society; but these duties he thought of as proceeding from his character as a knight, not as something due individuals by virtue of their human character and worth and because of their contributions to life. Finally, the ideal was impracticable, and the vows to put it into effect could not be kept; as a consequence, for the most part, the knights were as far from the announced chivalric ideal as any group of rulers has ever been.

There lived, no doubt, many a "very perfit gentil knight," but in recorded history, ruffians among the knights are encountered on every hand. Sir John Fastolf, of whom the Paston letters have much to say, was evidently hard, ruthless, selfish, and scheming. That pattern of English knighthood, the Black Prince, revenged himself for a rebellion which had taken place at Limoges by putting to death men, women, and children to the number of more than three thousand, of whom the chronicle says that they "wrought no manner of treason." The very literature of "courtesy" bristles with allusions which indicate how crude, rough, ruthless, and cruel the "chivalry" of Europe was. For example, in 1370, the Knight of La Tour Landry wrote a book for the guidance of his daughters which consists of a collection of tales, each pointing a moral. One story is of a wife who persisted in contradicting her husband, until she so wore out his patience that he knocked her down, breaking her nose. The author obviously approves of the husband's conduct in the case, and the moral of the story is that wives should show deference to their husbands. Not only was chivalric society cruel and brutal, but the morals of medieval courts were all too lax. The doctrine of courtly love and the practice of medieval society permitted relations between the sexes now generally disapproved. The actual *practice* of the nobles in the Middle Ages was very far from conforming to the chivalric ideal.

The literature of chivalry. One of the most important factors in developing and maintaining the chivalric ideal and way of life was a very extensive literature, both of poetry and of prose. This literature included heroic poems, prose romances, histories and chronicles, manuals of manners and morals, and treatises on government and on the office and character of a knight. These classes of literature are by no means sharply divided. Ramon Lull's *The Order of Chivalry* begins with a little romance of a squire on his way to be knighted who strays to the cell of a hermit—a knight who has retired from the world. The hermit knight then instructs the youth, describing in great detail the ceremony by which a youth is inducted into knightly rank and giving the symbolism of each of the ceremonies and of each article used in it. Lull gives an account—not at all a historical one—of the origins


Des nouvelles dalbyon
Sil vous en plaist escouter
Mon frere ⁊ mon cõpaignõ
Sachez qua mon retõner
Jay este deca la mer
Re ceu a loysir chiere

MINIATURE FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF THE POEMS OF CHARLES, Duke of Orleans, Prisoner at the Tower of London, 1415–1440.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

of chivalry. There are extensive treatises on the theory of government—the great interest of the ruling class. John of Salisbury's (*c.* 1115–1180) *The Statesman's Book (Policraticus)*, Egidio Colonna's *Of Princely Rule (De Regimine Principum*, *c.* 1285), Lydgate's (*c.* 1370–*c.* 1447) *The Active Policy of Princes*, and Sir John Fortescue's *In Praise of the Laws of England (De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, *c.* 1468) are famous books of this type. There were, too, in the Middle Ages, a great many manuals of manners and morals of children, some of which might well be ranked also as treatises on the education of members of the noble classes. Vincent of Beauvais's *Of the Instruction of Children of Noble Lineage (De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, *c.* 1266) is an example of a "courtesy book" which is also a treatise on education. Famous English courtesy books were *The Babee's Book, Stand Boy at the Table (Stans Puer ad Mensam), Of Manners to Bring One to Honor and Welfare, Urbanitas,* and *Lerne or Be Lewde.* Froissart's *Chronicles* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of British Kings* are great repositories of stories of knightly deeds. Finally a great body of romantic literature, in both prose and poetry, much of it based on historical incidents, at once reflected and helped to enhance and maintain the chivalric way of life. The cycle of Arthurian romances and the *Song of Roland* are among the most famous examples of literary works of this type.

Where and how young nobles were educated. Both boys and girls of noble families in some cases went to schools—girls to convent schools, boys to such other schools as were available—but such cases were the exception; for the most part, the education of young persons of high rank was given at the courts of kings, great barons, bishops, or archbishops. A child was, ordinarily, taught at home for some years and then was sent to the castle of some great person, there to be instructed in all the arts and knowledge pertaining to the rank and duties for which he was preparing. Instruction was principally by participation, but there was formal instruction. It will be recalled that the Master of the King's Henchmen at the Court of Edward IV of England saw to the instruction of the young nobles under his charge in the use of weapons, in religion, manners and morals, in the polite accomplishments, and in languages. In order to oversee his charges better the Master of the King's Henchmen sat next to them in the King's hall and constantly supervised them. Association with members of the court was, of course, a principal means of education. The chronicler of the Court of Edward IV writes:

> These Esquires of household of old (were) accustomed, wynter and

> sumer, in aftyrnoons and eveninges, to draw to lordes chambres within court, there to kepe honest company aftyr theyre cunnynge, in talking of cronycles of Kings and of other polyces, or in pypeyng or harpyng, synging, or other actes martialles, to help occupy the courte, and accompany straungers, tyll the time require of departing.[5]

In the course of his advancement, the young noble normally held three ranks—those of *page, squire, and knight.* As a child of seven years of age, the young noble became a page. As a page he performed menial tasks, which taught him subordination, the code of manners of good society, and industry. He was taught many other matters, however. At fourteen years of age the page became a squire and devoted himself to military exercises and to waiting on the knight to whom he was attached. At twenty-one years of age he was knighted by an impressive ceremony. This ceremony was usually performed at some great palace or cathedral. An essential feature of the ordination of a knight was the practice of having the candidate spend the whole night preceding it in prayer in a church, where his sword lay on the altar. On the day following his vigil, the knight knelt before his king or other great overlord; he received instructions in his duties, he took his vows, and was touched lightly on the shoulder with his sword and "dubbed" knight. He then arose and the gold chain, sword-belt, sword, and spurs which were the symbols of his rank were put on him. In some ceremonies he was bathed the night before his investiture, laid on a bed, and clothed in a white garment and black hose. The bath was supposed to symbolize the knight's purity of life; laying him on a bed and clothing him in white symbolized his obligation to die, if need be, for the Holy Roman Church.

Impressive as this ceremony was, and great as was the effect it must have had upon the mind of the youth undergoing it, the years of practical training which had preceded it constituted the real education of the noble. Let us turn to a consideration of the components—one might well say the curriculum—of the education of young nobles in the Middle Ages.

Education for the management of households and of estates. Medieval nobles gained their livings principally from their estates. Even the spoils they won in war were the product, for the most part, of the serfs and tenants of vanquished nobles. Most of what was used in the support of the persons living on an estate was produced and manufactured or processed there. While the men and women of high social position disdained to do any of the manual work of their estates and households, they were, of necessity, much concerned to see that crops were made, that meat and flour and fish and ale were produced, that wool and flax were produced and spun and woven and knitted, and that, above all, the lord of the manor received all that was due him by way of service or goods or money from his serfs and tenants and others with whom he had dealings. Rural manufactures, the household arts, and agriculture were at a low ebb in the Middle Ages, but successful landowners and their ladies were thoroughly familiar with the arts by which they and their dependents lived.

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[5] **Furnival, *Op. cit.*, p. iii.**

The prospective noble and his lady learned to direct the work of their farms and households, to look after their own interests in buying and selling, to maintain ownership and control of their lands, and to see that buildings, domestic animals, implements, utensils, and tools were cared for. The learner actually shared in these activities and was also given specific instruction respecting problems with which he was involved. The *Paston Letters,* for example, furnish many instances of the handling of business matters or of the oversight of farm work and fishing by members of the Paston family, and of instruction being given by older and more experienced members of the family respecting the conduct of practical affairs, and respecting points of law.

Education in courtesy. Chaucer's squire was, it will be recalled, a young man of various accomplishments. The *Prologue* of *The Canterbury Tales* describes him as follows:

> With him [the knight] there was his sone, a yong Squyer,
> A lover, and a lusty bacheler,
> With lokkes crulle as they were layde in presse.
> Of twenty yeer he was of age I gesse.
> Of his stature he was of evene lengthe,
> And wondurly delyver, and gret of strengthe.
> And he hadde ben somtyme in chivachie,
> In Flaundres, in Artoys, and in Picardie,
> And born him wel, as in so litel space,
> In hope to stonden in his lady grace.
> Embrowdid was he, as it were a mede
> Al ful of fressh floures, white and reede.
> Syngynge he was, or flowtynge, al the day;
> He was as fressh as is the moneth of May.

Short was his goune, with sleeves long and wyde.
Wel cowde he sitte on hors, and faire ryde.
He cowde songes wel make and endite,
Juste and eek daunce, and wel purtray and write.
So hote he lovede, that by nightertale
He sleep no more than doth a nightyngale.
Curteys he was, lowly, and servysable,
And carf byforn his fadur at the table.[6]

It is important to notice that the traits most emphasized by Chaucer are social; for the acquisition of polite accomplishments, forms of etiquette, and the code which governed the intercourse of gentlefolk was a matter of major importance in the education of young nobles. Courtesy books lay down elaborate rules regulating details of conduct. Romances and chronicles emphasize the courteous bearing and mannerly behavior of gentlefolk. The code of the knight is expressed in the phrase *noblesse oblige*—that is to say, his morality was that accepted and sanctioned by his class.

Page and esquire learned mannerly behavior by life and service at the castle of some lord, where they served at the table, served the lord and his guests as valets, ate, conversed, and practiced the polite accomplishments under the eye of their elders. Practice, instruction, and rebuke all had their parts in the acquisition of the attitudes, codes, and proficiencies of etiquette.

Chief among polite accomplishments were music and dancing. So important was music in courtesy that the knight-troubadours formed an important class. These are not to be confused with professional musicians, such as the jongleurs. Music with the troubadours was an accomplishment, not a business, but there were among them musicians of great ability: many of them were composers as well as accomplished performers. Dancing and music were universal accomplishments of both sexes; dancing was the art, *par excellence,* of courtesy, which reflected every shade of meaning in social relations. Skill in chess ranked as an accomplishment close after dancing and music. Falconry and the chase, while sports rather than courteous accomplishments, may well be mentioned here, as they had exceedingly important places in the social life of nobles. Playing at dice and at a form of backgammon were also favorite diversions of the upper classes.

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[6] Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1880.

The tournament, tilting at a figure, called a *quintain,* and a form of fencing on horseback called the *behourd* were the most typical games of the knights.

Religious and intellectual training. The training of nobles in the Middle Ages was not bookish, but was rather intensely practical; the intellectual part of their education was distinctly subordinate to the development of habits, motor proficiencies, attitudes, and fixed convictions. It was impossible, however, that a ruling class should have been without some training of an intellectual sort, and while no general rule can be stated, it is certain that knowledge of feudal law, languages, heraldry, and the principal articles of the Catholic faith was widely diffused among members of the ruling classes during the Middle Ages. Squires were required to be good speakers, since one of their duties was to present the messages of their lords, and it was important that they produce a good impression in the discharge of their duty.

Egidio Colonna argues that princes should be trained in the liberal arts and sciences and philosophy. He says:

> It is proper that all men should be literate, so that they may be prudent, wise, ready in action, and informed respecting what is unlawful. . . . But gentlemen and nobles and especially kings are greatly to blame if they do send their children to school.[7]

The advantages of a liberal education in childhood, according to Egidio, are: (1) the command of Latin, the language of all Christendom and of scholarship; (2) the development of literary tastes; and (3) the development of the intellectual powers and of understanding. A liberal education, says Egidio, is a safeguard against a king's becoming a tyrant; for it furnishes him with spiritual interests, while the ignorant man cares only for money and other material things. Knowledge of Latin and the liberal arts, moreover, renders the ruler independent of his clerks and ministers: he can conduct state business, if need be, without intermediaries. The ruler is not, however, to be taught in a bookish way—his knowledge is for action; dialectic, for example, is not to be studied for the purpose of making subtle distinctions, but to get at the truth of cases to guide action. The ruler is not to concern himself, either, with theological distinctions, but is to be taught the "rightful and universal" points of the Christian faith. While Egidio's summary of what a prince should be taught represents rather the ideal than the actuality of education of nobles, it is not to be regarded as insignificant. Young nobles did, in innumerable cases, study languages and the liberal arts, and they were universally instructed in the principles of the Catholic faith.

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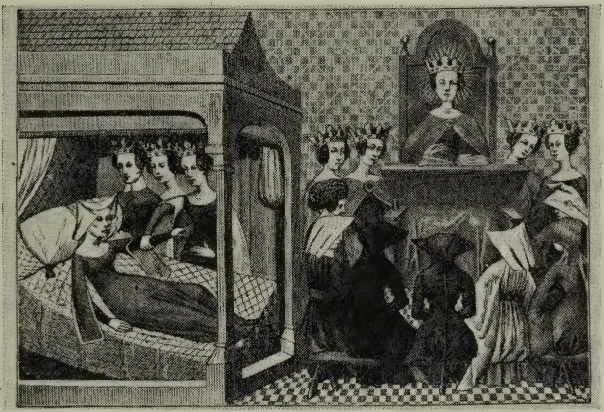
[7] Colonna, Egidio, *De Regimine Principum*, Bk. III, Ch. VII. Venice: 1498.

Education for the profession of arms. War was the profession of the upper classes during the Middle Ages, and the great object of a noble youth's education was to give him skill in the use of weapons and mastery of all the science and art of war. We are told that the sons of the famous English knight, Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur) began to learn their letters at four years of age; when they were six years old, their training in table manners, polite accomplishments, the usages of good society, and grammar was begun; at fourteen they began to hunt; and at sixteen years of age they practiced with weapons daily, being "ready to take the field in tournaments of war." [8]



CHRISTINE OF PISA BEING URGED TO WRITE A BOOK OF ETHICS.

For the most part, the education in military accomplishments and the arts of war was practical in nature. The youth practiced riding, fencing, charging with his lance at a dummy, and similar exercises under the direction of his lord or some other instructor. He took part in hunting, in tournaments, and, when still quite young, in war. Thus he learned to care for and to control his horse, to keep and use his weapons, and acquired a military character. There were, moreover, treatises on the art of war, an example of which is *The Fayt of Arms and of Chyvalry,* by Christina of Pisa, (*c.* 1364–1429). Of the greatest importance in the education of the young page and squire was his constant contact with mature knights. He was not isolated, in some school, from the real business of ruling and warfare, but was in constant attendance upon the members of the profession which he planned to enter. He thus made friends among future companions at arms, came to know his future commanders, and absorbed the standards and code of conduct of the knights—the cavalry officers of medieval Europe.

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[8] Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

The education of women of noble families. Two professions were open to women of high social rank in medieval Europe: that of nun, and that of mistress of a household. As a nun, a noble woman was likely to become a prioress, for even within the church gentle breeding, the habit of command which belongs to families long accustomed to rule, and family influence were of importance. Like their brothers, girls of noble families were trained for social leadership, to direct estates and households, and to rule. Save in two respects, therefore, they were educated much as were their brothers; they were not trained for the profession of arms, and they were accustomed to master needlework, spinning, and weaving. They were educated in the faith, morals, and ritual of the church; the arts of reading and writing were widely diffused among them; many of them display in their management of affairs and in their correspondence a very considerable knowledge of the law; they were trained to manage their own households and farms, as well as to care for and treat the sick, and were proficient in matters of etiquette, in the polite accomplishments—such as music, dancing and games—and in falconry. Many of these women reigned as queens or countesses or held some other high position by their own right, and the prolonged absences from home of the knights threw upon women the responsibility of the management of estates for long periods of time, so that practical competence was demanded of medieval women no less than of women of today. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote for the benefit of Margaret, widow of John Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, a treatise on the management of estates. It is clear that the young noblewoman was expected to maintain strict discipline and morale among all the persons employed about her home and estates. Knowledge of domestic work of all sorts, of farming operations, of accounts, and of the management of servants—including even her estate-managers—was demanded of her.[9]

A thirteenth-century version of *The Romance of Guy of Warwick,* describes a Norman-English lady, the daughter of an earl, at considerable length. The poem speaks of the lady's beauty of face and form, and goes on to praise her qualities of mind and of heart.

> Gentil she was and as demure
> As girfauk, or falcon to lure,
> That out of muwe were drawe;
> So faire was noon (none), in sothe sawe.
> She was thereto curteys and free ywys,
> And in the .vii. artes well lerned without mys.
> All the .vii. artis she kouthe well,
> Noon better that euere man herde tell.
> Her mainsters were thider come
> Out of Tolouse all and some;
> White and hoore all they were,
> Bisy they were that mayden to lere;
> And they hir lerned of Astronomy,
> Of Ars-meotrick, and of Geometrye,
> Of Sophestrie she was also witty,
> Of Rhetoric and of other clergie;
> Lerned she was in musyke;
> Of clergie was noon her like.
> She was a woman of great corage,
> Wise and fair and of gay parage.[10]

A thirteenth-century account of the accomplishments of a well-educated French girl portrays her as accomplished in literature, eloquent, and wise. She excelled particularly in engraving, in sketching or painting, and in embroidery.[11] In the thirteenth century, too, a French grammar, the oldest extant, was written at the request of a noble lady, evidently for the instruction of her daughter.[12]

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[9] Gardner, Dorothy, *English Girlhood at School.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

[10] Zupitza, Julius, (Editor) *The Romance of Guy of Warwick,* ll. 75 to 94. London: L. Truebner and Co., for the Early English Text Society, 1883.

[11] Gardner, Dorothy, *Op. cit.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

II. MEDIEVAL GUILDS AND EDUCATION

Education through occupations. From the very earliest times to the present, *work* has always been one of the most important of educative activities. By participating in the activities of working groups, young people have established human relationships, formed their temperaments, built up their bodies, and acquired tastes, skills, and knowledge. Some of the learning which has gone on wherever people have worked has been the result of *instruction;* but much more of it has taken place without any effort at instruction, simply as the effect of association and of self-activity upon the personality of the worker. It is clear that the educative value of work varies with a great many factors: with the character of the work done; with the balance between instruction, independent effort, and co-operative activity; with the materials, tools, and models furnished the worker; and with the organization and control of work activities.

There has scarcely been any other age in which work has had so great educational value or in which work activities have had so large a place in the educational scheme as in the Middle Ages. One reason for the importance of work as a means of education in the period is to be found in the development of the handicraft arts in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Medieval workers in metals, leather, glass, wood, and stone achieved results which are still the admiration of all who see examples of their craftsmanship—results which reflect an extraordinary degree of cultivation of taste, intelligence, and skill. This cultivation took place principally outside of schools. Builders, carvers of wood and stone, jewelers, smiths working in metals both precious and nonprecious, and all the other great round of handicraft artisans of the European Middle Ages developed and transmitted their arts almost exclusively in connection with the practice of the arts themselves. Handicraftsmen created their arts and taught them to their successors as they worked. A second reason for the success with which occupations functioned as educative agencies in medieval Europe is to be found in the prominence, during this period, of *guilds* of tradesmen.

What were guilds? Guilds were associations of persons joined for mutual aid and protection, for social purposes, for common worship, and for the regulation of commerce and manufacturing. There were guilds which were almost exclusively religious and charitable in nature. Others were primarily associations of producers—artisans and merchants—in whose hands were lodged the direct control and management of commerce and industry. Guilds of craftsmen and merchants were subject to some governmental regulation designed to safeguard the public interest, but were almost autonomous. They existed principally to promote and regulate manufacturing and commerce, to establish and maintain high standards of workmanship and of fair practice in trade, to increase the strength and add to the privileges of the producing classes, and to protect the members of this class in their rights. Some guilds wielded great resources and governmental powers, so that they virtually "constituted the State or municipal authority."[13] Other guilds were subject to very detailed governmental regulation. Guilds very generally were self-perpetuating; their members chose, trained, tested, and eventually accepted or rejected, candidates who aspired to enter upon careers as artisans or merchants. The work of selecting and training youths for occupations was, of course, educational in character. The guilds organized and pursued their educational undertaking systematically.

While education in connection with occupations during the Middle Ages reached its finest development in the training given by the guilds, many workers who were unorganized taught their sons or other youths the trades by which they themselves earned their livelihoods. Rural workers generally were unorganized.

The origin of guilds is obscure, but it is certain that before the twelfth century there were in Europe a great number of general associations, each embracing both trading and manufacturing elements of its locality. Such an association was chartered by the state. It was called a "guild merchant." In course of time, separate organizations of artisans of the various crafts and of merchants engaged in handling different commodities were organized, so that "craft guilds" displaced the guild merchant. Later a further and fatal division took place in the ranks of the producers. During the early period of guild history a youth entered the guild as an *apprentice,* served his period of training—usually a term of seven years—and was then tested as to his proficiency and character. If found worthy, he became free of the craft and might work for wages as a *journeyman.* Later, as a usual thing, the workman set up shop for himself, and was himself a *master* of apprentices and of journeymen. Apprentices, journeymen, and masters, at this period formed one fellowship. Toward the end of the Middle Ages the road to mastership was not kept open. A poor journeyman remained, in many instances, a journeyman for life, while the masters' sons had no need to be master workmen. The control of trade and manufacturing had passed from the producers to the owners, and a great era in education in the crafts and in commerce had come to a close.

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[13] Cole, G. D. H., "Introduction," *Guilds in the Middle Ages,* by Georges Renard, p. xii, English Edition. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1918.

Guilds and education. The medieval guilds made a very large contribution to the progress of education. The participation of guild members in the production of pageants and dramas, in festivals with their accompanying feasting and worship, in transacting the business of the guilds, and in the practice of charity and mutual aid made these associations important agencies for the education of their own members. As charitable and mutual aid associations, moreover, guilds numbered among their functions the support of schools, assistance of poor scholars, and the payment of schoolmasters.[14] The support of a grammar schoolmaster by the Guild of the Holy Cross of Stratford on the Avon is a case in point. Guilds unquestionably exercised a great deal of influence upon the development of municipal governments and in Germany and Italy upon the development of city republics.

The most distinctive educational function of guilds, however, was the control and direction which each guild exercised over the young people who, as apprentices, were being trained for careers as members of the craft or trade association. Each apprentice was trained by his own master, but each guild regulated the training of apprentices by its own members.

The education of apprentices. The education of apprentices in the Middle Ages was fully recognized and regulated in detail by law and by custom. When it was planned to have a child taught a trade, a "master," a merchant or craftsman competent to instruct and to sponsor him, was found. A contract—called "articles of indenture"—was drawn up, specifying the duties and rights of the parties to it. The parents or guardian of the apprentices commonly paid a fee to the master; the length of the period of apprenticeship was specified; the apprentice promised to be obedient to his master, to guard his interest and keep his secrets, to refrain from immoral conduct, and to work. The master promised to provide food, clothing, and shelter for his apprentice, to care for him in sickness, to treat him well, and to

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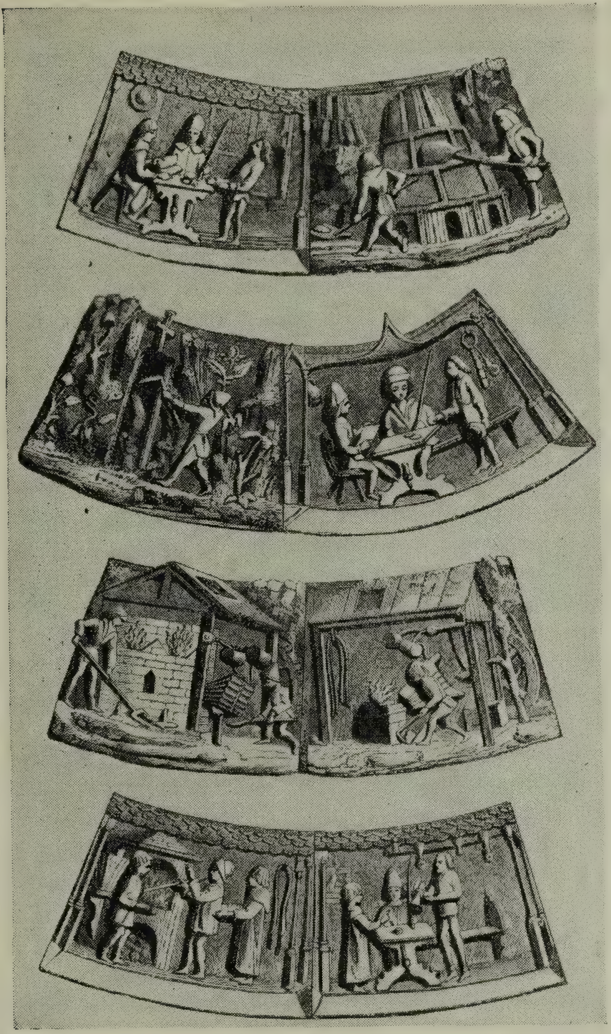
[14] Bretano, L., "Introduction," *English Guilds*, by Toulmin Smith, p. lxxxiv. London: Truebner for Early English Text Society, 1870.



Pieces in the Ceremonial Collar of the Senior Member of the Goldsmiths at Ghent, Fifteenth Century.—*From La Croix, "Science and Literature in the Middle Ages," Chapman.*

teach his craft and all things belonging to it. The master had authority over his apprentice and might chastise him.[15] If the apprentice had been trained by a member of a guild and sought entrance to his master's guild, he might well be required to demonstrate his skill before the guild warders. Once a youth's apprenticeship was complete and he was declared a competent workman, he was free to set up as a free craftsman or trader.

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[15] Renard, Georges, *Op. cit.*, pp. 10–11. See also Morgan, R. B., *Readings in English Social History*, pp. 203–204.

The enforcing of the terms of articles of indenture might be the responsibility of municipal authorities, or might be entrusted to the officers of the various guilds. The regulation of the training of apprentices represents the most striking example of public intervention in secular education in the later Middle Ages.

III. THE EDUCATION OF ENGLISH LAWYERS

The English Common Law. Subsequent to the Norman Conquest there developed in England a royal judicial system and a system of law practiced in its courts. The king's law was the law to which all were subject, it was the "common law." The old law of the king's court in England was influenced by Roman law, canon law, by feudal law, and by immemorial custom. It developed in practice: it was made by judges and practicing lawyers, not by schoolmen. The languages of the old English law were Latin, French, and English. It was illegal for clergymen to practice in the king's courts; so English lawyers were laymen. According to Sir John Fortescue (*c.* 1469), moreover, the King could legislate only through the Parliament and could dispense justice only through the courts.[16]

The development of English common law had most important consequences for education. The law not only constituted a great body of secular scholarship, but clerics were excluded from its practice; as a result, it was the English law which did most to break the clerical monopoly of higher learning in England. The English law constituted, moreover, the first learned literature in the English language, and it was in the study of law that English first found a place in higher education. Finally, in the doctrine, that the representatives of the people alone can legislate and the courts alone can dispense justice, was laid the theoretical basis for British and American liberty under law: the doctrines of the separation of *sovereignty* from *authority* and of the *representative character of the legislative authority* are corner-stones of just and free governments. From the doctrine of representative government to the doctrine of the general diffusion of knowledge, moreover, is but a step.

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[16] Fortescue, Sir John, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, p. xviii.

The Inns of the Court and of Chancery. English lawyers in the Middle Ages formed a sort of guild; all were required to belong to societies called the "Inns." The societies were housed in groups of buildings located in London close to the buildings in which sessions of the King's courts were held. Much of the ground occupied by the Inns had belonged to the Templars, an order of military monks. The Templars were suppressed, and their lands and buildings in London confiscated. The lawyers acquired these grounds a short time later and still have them.

Both lawyers and their students lived in the Inns and constituted a society governed by its senior members. A student of the law was required to reside in the Inns for a certain period of time before he could be admitted to the practice of the law. A youth was admitted to the Inns after having attended a grammar school and possibly a university. Training at the Inns was liberal, social, and professional. Sir John Fortescue writes:

> There is both in the Inns of Court and Chancery, a sort of Academy or Gymnasium, fit for persons of their station; where they learn singing, and all kinds of music, dancing, and such other accomplishments and diversions (which are called Revels) as are suitable to their quality, and such as are usually practiced at Court. At other times out of term the greater part apply themselves to the study of the law. Upon festival days, and after the offices of the Church are over, they employ themselves in the study of sacred and profane history: here everything which is good and virtuous is to be learned: all vice is discouraged and banished. . . . Neither at Orleans, where both the Canon and Civil Laws are professsed and studied, and whither students resort from all parts; neither at Angiers, Caen, nor any other University in France (Paris excepted), are there so many students, who have passed their minority as in our Inns of Court, where the natives are only admitted.[17]

The fact that the Inns brought young men from all parts of England into one fellowship and gave them an *English* education in close contact with the courts of justice and other governing bodies of England is of profound significance. The education of youths in scattered feudal manors and courts was a force making against English nationalism; the education of hundreds of wellborn English youths in one group, without any admixture of persons of any other nation, was a force making for the unity of the English ruling class. The Inns mark a clear break with the tradition of knightly education. They marked as clear a break with the tradition of medieval university education. It has been pointed out that the education of the Inns was secular and lay, and employed the Norman French and English languages along with Latin. Moreover, the eleemosynary features so prominent in medieval universities and in cathedral schools were absent from the Inns. Prospective lawyers were educated, as were prospective merchants and manufacturers, at the expense of their families. As the cost of life at the Inns and of the taking of the degree of sergeant at law were very great, the private expense to which students of the law were put entrenched the upper classes in the control of the profession. It helped, also, to make the profession of the law a very remunerative one, for, since few could afford the training for it, there was no overcrowding.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. xlix.

Students of the law read cases and judge's decisions. They also held disputations, in which the law was said to be "sifted." The method of the sifting was this: two barristers and "an ancient" would sit as judges and hear a case argued by three students, after which the points in the case would be argued by the barristers. This was a private exercise. Cases were argued, by students as an academic exercise, publicly in a sort of mock-court called a "moot-hall."

The graduates of the Inns. The Inns produced men who wrote and thought in English: Chaucer and Sir John Fortescue, the latter being the author of the first work on government to be composed in the English tongue, are cases in point. Among their graduates, too, were the men who took the lead in formulating the principles of free constitutional government and who led in the fight for British liberties. The tradition evolved by these students of the English law was continued in America, where, supported by other forces making for freedom, it gave direction to the thinking of the great constitutional lawyers who shared in the making of the American government.

IV. CONCLUSION

The secular interest in medieval education. Although the theological interest dominated the universities and grammar schools of western Europe in the later Middle Ages, government, manufacturing, commerce, and the social activities of the ruling classes were promoted by systems of education of distinctive types. A considerable literature dealing with the education of secular rulers —a literature dealing with theory of education, with problems of government, with chivalry and with etiquette—was produced and widely read. This literature and the type of education associated with it were in the spirit of the writings of the modern educational theorists, classed by historians of education as social realists. Montaigne is probably the most notable writer of this school of thought. The aim of chivalric education was to produce men of breeding, courage, loyalty, sound judgment, and practical competence. The aim of the educational system designed for the training of tradesmen and manufacturers was to produce men of affairs—sound in practical judgment and proficient in their trade or business.

The peculiar weaknesses of the education of the ruling and producing classes in the Middle Ages were: (1) their poverty as respects intellectual content—they were neither scientific nor humane; and (2) the fashion in which these educational systems served to entrench the established classes in their special privileges to the detriment of progress and of other producing groups. The strength of all of these types of education lay in their realism. They were designed to promote useful ends and for the enrichment of life. They were never divorced from the real business of living; they were carried on in connection with the conduct of commerce, business, government, war, manufacturing, farming, and the ordinary life of family, village, and countryside.

These systems of education made real contributions to western civilization. They played a large part in the evolution of manufacturing, of commerce, of constitutional and parliamentary governments, and of the fine arts. They had, moreover, no small part in raising the standard of living and ameliorating the manners of all classes. Thus Europe of the later Middle Ages was, as a result, a much more decent and happier place than its western portion, at least, had ever been before.

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The Rise of the Municipal Schools

Fundamental causes—need of reading and writing. In the history of education the matters of greatest significance are not so much the founding of some particular school or some change in the curriculum, but rather the causes that behind the scenery brought about these events. In the period from the end of the twelfth through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most significant cultural phenomenon in northern Europe was the surging impulse to write and to read. Hitherto literacy had been confined to the clergy. The growth of civic life especially in the free towns, the conducting of guild organizations, the great expansion of business and commerce, the establishment of universities with the emphasis upon the higher professions, and, finally, the deepening interest in religious literature—all these combined to intensify and spread the desire to write and read among every class of society. The invention of printing did not create this desire; but was rather one of its results and, in turn, it added fuel to a fire already kindled. As a matter of fact, the popular desire to write and read preceded printing by two centuries.

The fact that writing was given precedence over reading at this time is highly suggestive; it reminds one strongly of the similar emphasis in ancient Egypt, where reading was never mentioned independently. It is evident that, whenever the commercial need is dominant, the making of records is more important than the reading of literature. Reading took precedence later when religious, literary, and civic interests became dominant. During the later Middle Ages every parent wanted his boys to learn to write in order to become independent of the clergy, to get on more successfully in the world, and to participate in the higher culture. Hitherto when letters or legal documents were to be written, contracts made, minutes or proceedings and transactions recorded, bills and accounts rendered, a priest or cleric had to be called upon to perform the task. As a result, business and other affairs were greatly hampered. To remedy this intolerable situation men were obliged to learn to write and read. The Church Latin Grammar schools were the only ones available, and they were wholly inadequate to care for the great numbers who now sought instruction. To fill this need, new types of schools were essential.

Development of secular school control. The rise of popular schools, controlled and administered by the secular authorities, is somewhat clouded in obscurity, although the main events are fairly clear. Up to the end of the twelfth century, schools remained an accessory of the Cathedral, the monastery, and the parish churches. No one could give instruction without the approval of the *scholasticus,* who, under the Bishop, had charge of all schools in a diocese, selected the teachers, and distributed the income. In many localities he was also the public writer or secretary, not merely by virtue of the fact that he could write, but by actual appointment to this office. To meet the broad demand for the tools of learning, school facilities had to be vastly expanded. This expansion took place, however, not through the initiative of the Church and its scholasticus, but through the action of the temporal authorities. What, then, we must inquire, brought about the entrance of these lay agencies into the realm of education?

In accounting for the new development it is well to look for the possibility of the transfer of ancient traditions of public education. Three points offer hope of historical relation. First, the Italian towns had kept control of their ancient municipal academies throughout the Middle Ages, and many lay teachers were conducting private schools. For example, in the second half of the thirteenth century as many as eighty secular teachers of boys were found at Milan, and in Florence the number was so large that they formed one of the minor guilds. Contact with Italian towns during the Crusades and later through commerce must have carried this school tradition to the Hanseatic centers of northern Europe. But even more important than this were the numerous Italian agents, refugees, and sailors who made their homes in these ports of stirring commercial life.

It is probable that Aristotle's support of public education was another factor that exerted considerable influence. Along with his logical and philosophic treatises, which came in by way of the Arabians, there came also translations of his *Politics* and *Ethics*. These treatises, it will be recalled, advocated public education. What weight his authority may have had on this issue is not entirely clear, but in the thirteenth century we find Egidio de Colonna espousing his ideas freely, and a little later Dionysius, a Carthusian monk living in Belgium, wrote a treatise *On the Life, Morals, and Cultivation of Scholars* in which he declared:

> The authorities in villages and towns shall see to it that pupils have training in knowledge and that by efficient teaching.[1]

Furthermore, the fact that Philip of Macedon engaged Aristotle to educate the youthful Alexander left an ineradicable impression on the minds of emperors and kings throughout all the centuries. Probably to this more than any other one item must be traced the practice of the rulers establishing palace schools for the education of their young princes.

A third important factor in the emergence of lay control over education was the activity of civil rulers from the Emperor down to the local duke. It will be recalled that Charlemagne assumed the lead in the spread of education throughout his vast domains. To be sure, the instruction that he promoted was given in monasteries, and in the Cathedral and parish churches; moreover, only monks or ecclesiastics were employed in carrying out his educational program. Nevertheless, it was the imperial power and not the Church that initiated this first reform movement. After Charlemagne, Alfred the Great of England had a definite policy of education. He desired

> that every youth now in England that is free-born and has wealth enough, be set to learn, as long as he is not fit for any other occupation, till they know well how to read English writing; and let them be afterwards taught in the Latin tongue, who are to continue learning, and to be promoted to a higher rank.[2]

In discussing this pronouncement, De Montmorency declares, "Alfred was the first great national educationalist." English kings never relinquished their claim to the control of education even when the Church was apparently in full charge.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the civil power was quiescent, and ecclesiastical control increased and in most lands was undisputed; in consequence, every teacher had to be licensed by the Church authorities, and learning was the prerogative of the clergy; soon, however, a great change took place, and temporal rulers again asserted their jurisdiction over the schools.

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[1] Kunz, F. X., *Pädagogische Schriften*, p. 285. Freiburg in Breisgau; Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1904.

[2] De Montmorency, J. E. G., *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 7. Cambridge: The University Press, 1902.

The victory of the imperial power over the Papacy in the control of temporal affairs during the twelfth century gave new impetus to the effort of the princes and municipalities to control educational facilities. This movement came at a time when business activity of all kinds as well as civil life required much more in the way of training. The three R's at least were becoming indispensable for the middle and upper class of townsmen.

1. *The Netherlands.* It is clear that the higher civilization of northern Europe began in the port towns of the Netherlands; this civilization early took on a democratic aspect. Before the twelfth century these towns wrested from their feudal overlords charters granting them the right of inheritance, justice, taxation, wood, water, and other privileges. In the Netherlands the temporal princes or dukes exercised control over all schools on the ground that they or their ancestors had founded them; for example, the chief schools at Dortrecht and at Leiden belonged to the duke, and he appointed the scholasticus or teacher just as he did other civil servants. In 1290, Floris V gave the school of Dortrecht to "the dear faithful citizens," and the control of schools in all the principal towns of the Netherlands was either conferred as a gift or was purchased by the city authorities. Municipal control was given the significant term *schoolvrijheid,* "freedom of schools." As early as the fourteenth century, the Dutch proudly boast, "instruction was the monopoly of the city governments," and practically everyone could read and write. The town councils provided the buildings, regulated tuition, selected and paid the teachers, and decided what children should go to school.

2. *Scotland.* In the fourteenth century the kings of England and Scotland began to show renewed interest in education. In 1430, James the First of Scotland sought to reform the clergy. To this end he decided "to provide the best he could for the future; he eagerly set up publik schools of learning, and liberally to endowd them; because these would be seminaries for all orders of men; and whatever was excellent or noble in any commonwealth, took from thence its origin as from a fountain."[3] An act

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[3] Buchanan, George, *History of Scotland,* Book XXXVIII.

of the Scottish parliament in 1496 is the first introduction of the State as distinct from the crown into the domain of education in Britain.

3. *Germany.* The movement for the establishment of town or burgh schools spread to Germany by the middle of the thirteenth century.[4] The church in this country was much more firmly entrenched in power, and the towns were slower in developing their civic and economic control. Here the town councils had to assume the initiative and had to secure the right to establish schools of their own. Brieg, in Germany, obtained municipal rights from Duke Henry III of Breslau in 1250, and immediately the town council established a school. The school of Schlettstadt in Lower Alsace, founded about the middle of the fifteenth century, was under the influence of the Brethren of the Common Life. Louis Dringenberg, who was the rector for about forty years, received his training at Deventer. This was the first school in that country to be taught by laymen, a fact that testifies to the wresting of education from the control of the Church.

Kinds of schools established. Under the impetus to acquire the elements of culture, various kinds of schools were established. The chief of these were the Town or Burgh Latin Grammar schools, Town writing and reading schools for boys and for girls, and the private school for writing and reading.

1. *Burgh Latin Grammar schools.* The most prominent of the new schools were the Latin Grammar schools, whose function was to provide training for the sons of the commercial class so that they could better conduct their own businesses and carry on the affairs of government and of their guilds. The character of instruction in these city schools was precisely the same as that offered in the Church Latin schools. In establishing the new schools, the city councils intended no reform in curriculum or in method of teaching. It did not occur to the council or to anyone

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[4] Among the first municipalities in Germany to establish schools were the following:

Mühlhausen	1232	Hanover	1280 and 1282
Cologne	1234	Schweidnitz	1284
Munich	1239	Dresden	1300
Brieg	1250	Glauchau	1309
Lübeck	1252 and 1262	Nordhausen	1319
Breslau	1267 and 1293	Kiel	1320
Leobschütz	1270	Brannan	1336
Trier	1272	Mähren	1342
Medebach	1275	Steier	1344
Wismar	1279	Leipzig	1393 or 1395
Hamburg	1281		

else at that time that the matter or method of instruction in the city schools needed to be different from those in church schools. The city schools were in all respects parallel to the church schools except in the matter of control; they furnished the same opportunities of general education to children of the burgher class of society that the clergy received.

2. *Writing and reading schools.* As the demand for the primary arts rapidly extended more and more among the lower middle class, the Burgh or Town Latin schools were unable to cope with the situation. But the common people desired the vernacular and not the Latin language for the pursuit of their business operations.

To supply this demand for writing and reading, some Town Latin schools instituted a special class for this purpose. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory, and the town authorities were obliged to establish "deutsche Schreib–und Lese Schulen," that is, elementary schools for teaching writing and reading in the common language of business life.

According to the earliest available historical suggestions, Ghent and Brugh in the Netherlands were the first towns to secure vernacular writing and reading schools. Nothing definite, however, is known of the origin of institutions of this character. The only reliable documentary information shows that Brussels founded such schools under interesting circumstances in 1320. A higher school for boys and a lower school for girls formed the original means of education in the town. For some time, it is stated, private teachers had been operating without the approval of the scholasticus, but with the patronage and support of the people. The scholasticus carried the issue to John III, the reigning Duke of Brabant. He settled the dispute by the establishment of five elementary schools for boys and four additional schools for girls. The five new schools for boys and the five schools for girls were permitted to teach only in the vernacular. A superintendent was given the duty of examining, supervising, dismissing, and appointing the teachers of the ten elementary schools. One-third of the fees from pupils of these schools had to be given to the superintendent. This arrangement was typical of the situation in other towns. Private teaching was forbidden.

3. *Girls' schools.* It is important to note that the education of girls was no longer confined to the nunneries. Elementary schools for girls in which they learned Latin and French were early established in the Netherlands. In Germany the town councils in

many cases provided for writing and reading schools for girls at the same time that they established such schools for boys. In some instances girls and boys attended the same schools, but this practice was usually frowned upon.

4. *Private schools.* The various schools already described were by no means sufficient to satisfy the demand for instruction. In all towns of any size wandering scholars set up private schools to furnish instruction in writing, reading, and the elements of arithmetic. Fees were collected by the teacher. These were termed *Winkel, Klipp,* or *Hedge* schools.

Conflict with Church authorities in Germany. The establishment of the Burgh schools in most German cities did not take place without a bitter struggle with the scholasticus. It was not merely that he was unwilling to relinquish one of the cherished prerogatives of the Church, its control of teaching, but, in addition, he did not wish to lose a most lucrative monopoly. The local clergy, who with the scholasticus as local secretary did the reading for all the people of the parish and wrote the letters, wills, and business records, were loath to see laymen learn these primary arts. The new schools not only threatened their income, but the educational services of the monasteries and churches had brought these institutions many gifts and rich endowments from the people. The danger of losing this source of wealth nerved the monks and clergy to oppose most bitterly this subversive movement.

There was at this time no thought of doctrinal opposition to the Church, but only a determined effort to secure the right to establish schools. The town authorities invariably pleaded that the church schools were too far away for little children to attend, that the streets were dangerous, bridges bad, or that the parish school was too small to serve their needs because of the increase in population.

The warfare was most bitter in the towns where the civil power had not been strongly asserted over secular affairs. In some instances it lasted many years and resulted in bloodshed. The clergy often resorted to excommunication, and, in some instances, the citizens responded by throwing them out of the town. Usually, however, the town authorities appealed to the Pope who generally sided with them and effected a compromise. The town council was given the right to establish the school, but in deference to the scholasticus it was required that the Latin school be taught by priests. The town authorities required, on their side, that the teachers be under their authority and be considered as public employees. In some instances the council had to guarantee that the revenues of the scholasticus would not be decreased by the founding of the new schools.

When the town writing and reading schools were established, the clergy again offered strenuous opposition, but in the end the two parties compromised on these terms: one-third of all the fees collected must go to the scholasticus, who also retained the right of selecting the teacher and supervising his work. Moreover, these schools were forbidden to teach the Latin language; this prohibition, it was thought, would brand them as purely vocational in character and lacking in real culture.

School competition and progress. During the closing years of the Middle Ages, fierce conflict raged among the various types of schools. There was no line of demarcation between the universities and the Latin schools, both of which taught youth of the same ages in the liberal arts subjects. Church schools were bitter against the Burgh Latin schools, and both the Church and the Burgh schools made vigorous efforts to suppress the private schools, but they continued to flourish in every community because they had the support of the people.

Local interest in education was exceedingly great. Every prosperous community took pride in founding schools. They also founded bursaries for a multitude of students who otherwise would have remained ignorant. The citizens gave alms most indulgently to poor students and frequently took them into their homes. The Brethren of the Common Life not only provided many students with quarters in their "houses," but had no difficulty in persuading citizens to take in from one to eight pupils without compensation. Moreover, people of wealth provided for the endowment of scholarships, colleges, and the employment of teachers in their wills.

So great was the demand for the arts of writing and reading that no town was without a school under the control of and in some cases, largely if not wholly, supported by the civil authorities. Practically all the people of the middle class learned to read and write.

About the middle of the fifteenth century the use of paper made from rags became common for writing material in the schools. Ink was now brought into general use, and goose quills were cut for pens. After learning the letters of the alphabet, the pupils wrote words, sentences, proverbs, and verses. When the first difficulties of learning to write were overcome, the pupil was introduced to letter writing, and also to copybooks, which had long been in use.

Reckoning was not an essential of the elementary vernacular schools. Frequently it was taught in a private school, but instruction in numbers, coinage, weights, and measures were to be found in every school. The first texts on reckoning were not so much for children as for merchants. Connected with reckoning was the making of a calendar and the marking of feast days, which had been one of the essential subjects of instruction in the Church schools since the time of Charlemagne.

Singing occupied an important place in the services of Church worship, and schools for singing were common. Charlemagne had instituted such schools before he established grammar schools. Singing was taught in the Church Latin schools not because of its educational value, but for the services of worship, for the school formed the church choir. In small communities the elementary town school served the same purpose. But where the Church had its own schools, singing was the exclusive right of these institutions, and frequently the scholasticus declined to allow the town schools to teach singing.

I. ENGLISH SCHOOLS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Schools of medieval England of special interest to American students. In the later Middle Ages there were established in England schools which continue to this day and which are known, by name at least, throughout the civilized world. In this period, too, the English tongue, the most important instrument of education and of culture of the English-speaking peoples, began to be used in schools. It was in the later Middle Ages, moreover, that the Latin grammar school took form in England. This institution was profoundly modified during the Renaissance, but it was so deeply rooted in English life that changes in its structure went on without breaking the continuity of its work. Changes then and later were effected on the basis of what was being done; new importations were assimilated by the institution. Finally, the foundations were laid in this period for the system of parochial schools under diocesan control, of endowed grammar schools, and of private teaching, which, with the universities, constituted the principal agencies of formal education in England until the nineteenth century. It was not until after the industrial revolution and the rise of modern science had destroyed the social and intellectual structure of the older England that the administrative pattern and character of schools evolved in the Middle Ages were fully superseded.

Education encouraged under the Canon Law. It will be remembered that, from very early Christian times, education was regarded as a responsibility of the Church. The duties of priests to study and to teach were repeatedly asserted. Classes for inquirers and new converts and schools were commonly maintained by churches. Monasteries and cathedrals maintained both elementary and higher schools. In the later Middle Ages the ecclesiastical hierarchy extended its patronage of education and jurisdiction over it. Canon Law, in 1160, forbade diocesan officials to exact any fees for granting the license to teach, and Pope Alexander III (d. 1181) wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, requiring him to enforce this prohibition within his jurisdiction. The Fourth Lateran Council, in 1179, decreed that each cathedral church should provide, out of its revenues, adequate support for a master who should teach gratuitously the clerks of his church, poor scholars, and any children, coming to him, whose parents were not able to pay for their schooling. This Council also dealt with the matter of the licensing of teachers by cathedral chancellors. No payment of any kind was to be exacted for the license, and any official of the Church who received payment in return for the grant of a license or who prevented any fit person from teaching was to be deprived of his office. The duty of cathedral chapters to maintain schools of grammar and theology was, in 1215, reaffirmed by a decree of Pope Innocent III. Mr. W. A. Parry presents evidence to show that in the later Middle Ages it was a common practice for parish priests in England to maintain schools in which boys were taught reading and the rudiments of the Latin language, and that the cathedrals were supplied with both elementary and higher schools.[5]

At this early date any school connected with a cathedral or collegiate church was subject to the chapter of that church. Parochial schools were subject to the bishops. In the early period of Christian schools, the scholasticus of each cathedral, who was a member of the cathedral chapter, was a teacher. In a small cathedral he might even do all the teaching; in a large one he taught only theology. Later, the scholasticus became quite generally the *chancellor,* or keeper of the seal, of his cathedral and became absorbed in administrative duties. Actual teaching was then the responsibility of schoolmasters, who had little or no autonomy in the organization of schools.

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[5] Parry, W. A., *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 80–92. London: University Tutorial Press, 1920.

In addition to schools of theology, grammar schools, and schools for teaching reading and the rudiments of Latin, the larger medieval churches of England maintained song schools or schools for choristers. These schools taught music, and some of them, at least, taught grammar.

Schools of London in the twelfth century. The developments which took place in English schools as the end of the Middle Ages drew near can be understood only if the status and character of schools at an earlier date are known. William Fitzstephen, as an introduction to his *Life of Becket,* has given us an account of London as it was late in the twelfth century. The description of schools and of the sports of youth contained in Fitzstephen's *Description of London* affords a great deal of light upon the education of the day. He writes:

> The three principal churches [of London] possess, by privilege and ancient dignity, celebrated schools; yet often by the favor of some person of note, or of some learned men eminently distinguished for their philosophy, other schools are permitted upon sufferance. On festival days the masters assemble their pupils at those churches where the feast of the patron saint is solemnised; and there the scholars dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and others logically. . . . Sometimes certain orators in their rhetorical harangues employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe all the precepts of the art, and to omit nothing apposite to the subject. The boys of the different schools wrangle with each other in verse, and contend about the principles of grammar or the rules of the perfect and future tenses. There are some who in epigrams, rhymes, and verses, use that trivial raillery so much practiced amongst the ancients, freely attacking their companions with Fescennine licence, but suppressing the names, discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them, touching with Socratic wit the failings of their schoolfellows, or biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth. The audience,
>
> "well disposed to laugh,
> With curling nose double the quivering peals."[6]

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[6] Fitzstephen, William, "Description of London," quoted as an appendix in John Stow's *The Survey of London.* This work is readily accessible in the Everyman's Library, published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., London, and by E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. Stow's book was originally issued in 1598.

It will be noticed that the permanent schools described by Fitzstephen were all under the control of churches, but that schools under the patronage of prominent persons and other schools without this protection which were conducted by recognized scholars were permitted in the city. These schools obviously were of the grammatical type. Fitzstephen's account describes school sports in the twelfth century. He writes:

> Let us now proceed to the sports of the city [London]; since it is expedient that a city be not only an object of utility and importance, but also a source of pleasure and diversion. . . . Morover, to begin with the sports of the boys (for we have all been boys), annually on the day which is called Shrovetide, the boys of the respective schools bring each a fighting cock to their master, and the whole of that forenoon is spent by the boys in seeing their cocks fight in the schoolroom. After dinner all the young men of the city go out into the fields to play at the well-known game of foot-ball. The scholars belonging to the several schools have each their ball; and the city tradesmen, according to their respective crafts have theirs.

The account goes on to tell of the miracle plays and other sacred dramas; of fights and of mock battles fought on foot, on horseback, on skates on the ice, or in boats on the water; of field and track sports; of boar fights and bull and bear baiting, and of skating. It is interesting that Fitzstephen concludes his accounts of sports in London by a description of the prowess of Londoners in feats of arms and in war. The account refers especially to the great number of spectators who witness the sports of youths and young men, and of their laughter at the discomfort of combatants in the mock naval engagements. Sports were brutal: cock fights, fights between great boars, the baiting of bears and bulls by dogs, and combats on the ice were either stupidly rough or cruel. They were, however, the recreations of a zestful, vigorous people—a people full of courage, energy, and spirit of enterprise. In school and workshop and on playing fields, the British were developing the traits which were to spread their commerce, language, sons, and Empire over the entire earth.

II. EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Support of English schools in the later Middle Ages. Between the early thirteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century England developed foundations for the support of education which proved to be of the utmost importance. Not only do some of these foundations continue to this day, but the manner in which they were secured and administered has greatly affected the character and development of educational institutions in Great Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

Monastic schools and cathedral schools continued as prominent forms of educational foundations. Both institutions maintained almonry schools—that is to say, schools for boys serving as choristers in the service of a monastery or cathedral. Such boys were taught singing, and also religion and the liberal arts. The monasteries and cathedrals continued to maintain grammar schools. Late in the fifteenth century there began a movement which freed schools from direct control of cathedral chapters, and in the sixteenth century monasteries were abolished in England, not to be re-established for centuries.

Developments which contributed to free schools from the administrative control of local ecclesiastical authorities included the development of chantries, of guilds, including chantry guilds, and of colleges founded with the principal or even the sole purpose of maintaining and conducting a school. It is not to be thought that these developments were opposed by the Church or were brought about by persons attempting to establish secular schools. On the contrary, such foundations were religious, and religious influences continued in them. What they affected was the character of administrative control exercised by local churches over schools.

Chantries were foundations established by wealthy individuals or by associations to provide funds for various religious and charitable purposes: the relief of the poor, the support of an assistant to the local parish priest, the maintenance of an almshouse, the provision of the support of a priest who should teach children gratuitously, are examples of typical purposes of chantry foundations. Since it was customary in the Middle Ages for beneficiaries of such a charitable foundation to sing masses and say prayers for the souls of their benefactors, foundations of this type were called "chantries." The maintenance of schools was probably the most common and prominent purpose of chantries in the fifteenth century. The chantries are important for the number of "chantry schools" which they made possible and for the schools endowed by funds realized from them when they were "nationalized" at the Reformation.

It is of special interest that many chantries were established by voluntary associations, formed by the local inhabitants of some community for the purpose of founding and maintaining a school. Mr. Leach describes a number of such chantry foundations; that of the Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost of Basingstoke, England, goes back to the thirteenth century. There were less formal community efforts. The inhabitants of Wragby[7] and of Aldeborough[8] had no educational foundations in their respective parishes, but they had endowed education with gifts of real estate.

Rise of lay control. The schoolmaster supported by a chantry foundation dealt directly with the guild or other patron which had established and which maintained the school. He did not owe his office to a chapter of canons, and even his bishop was likely to have little more control over his professional career than the giving or withholding of a certificate of his moral and religious fitness to teach. Control of schools was in process of migrating to lay patrons, and the establishment of chantries marks a stage in that migration.

A second stage in the development of schools under lay control was the foundation of colleges which became in the course of centuries the earliest of the great "public schools" of England. The revolution in education effected by the English boarding schools for the classical education of leaders in church and state was inaugurated by the chartering, in 1342, of Sainte Marye College of Winchester, now Winchester school. The founder of this school was William of Wykeham, who had also founded New College, Oxford. In the custom of establishing colleges for the lodging of students at the universities, in the very common custom of providing for the care of poor scholars in almshouses and in connection with monasteries, and in the custom of cathedrals of providing masters who should teach the poor without charge, William of Wykeham found ample precedent for establishing a free boarding school. What was unique was that he gave Sainte Marye College of Winchester a separate corporate existence; it was as autonomous as any other collegiate church, but its sole function was the maintenance of a grammar school. In 1440, the foundation charter of Eton, a second college for the teaching of the liberal arts, was issued.

At the end of the Middle Ages, guilds of craftsmen and tradesmen and other lay patrons assumed control and patronage of schools. John Abbot placed the control of the school which he established at Farthinghoe, in 1443, under the control of his guild, The Mercers' Company. The "felliship of the craft of goldsmythes" were entrusted with the direction of the school which was founded in 1487 by Sir Edmund Sha, a member of the craft.

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[7] Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, II, p. 168.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, p. 297.

The free grammar school founded at Macclesfield, in 1502, by Sir John Percyvale was to be governed by seventeen local laymen, who were its trustees. The schoolmaster at Sevenoaks Grammar School was required by the terms of the founder's will to be a layman. Schoolmasters were recorded at York in the list of Freemen of the city.[9] One effect of all of these movements was to give the schoolmaster a standing as a distinct figure. In a monastery there were monks who taught, but they were not, primarily, schoolmasters but priests. Even where a schoolmaster was employed by a cathedral chapter, he was denied the responsibility of organizing and supervising his own school: some other officer was appointed for that sole duty. Subject to lay patrons as they were, English schoolmasters at the end of the Middle Ages enjoyed an autonomy and responsibility in their work, which in time gave them high standing, and which have contributed greatly to the progress of English education. A distinctive feature of English education is summed up in the phrase "The master makes the school." The establishment of schools not directly connected with local ecclesiastical administration marked the first stages in the long process by which teaching in a secondary school became a profession in England.

The changing character of English schools. Important phases of the early stages of the evolution through which English grammar schools and schoolmasters won independent status were: (1) the breaking down of Norman control in England; (2) the effort to crush Lollardy; and (3) a long struggle in the courts between persons who claimed the right to seek pupils and to teach freely and other persons who sought to maintain a local monopoly of teaching.

As respects the first of these phases, between 1340 and 1400 the Norman monopoly of rights and certain special privileges of Normans were abolished. For example, from the Conquest to 1241 the murder of a Norman in England was on a different legal basis than the murder of an Englishman; this infamous discrimination was abolished. The Great Death of 1348–1349, moreover, expedited the resurgence of English leadership in England. The priesthood was decimated, and native Englishmen found opportunity to rise to leadership in the Church. In 1362 English was prescribed for use in the courts of law. After the Great Plague a schoolmaster-priest, John of Cornwaile, made a revolutionary change in the usage of English grammar schools. It had long been the custom to construe the Latin into French. John of Cornwaile substituted the use of English for the use of French in construing Latin. His example was generally followed, and in less than a generation English and Latin were the languages of the grammar schools. It must never be forgotten that the boy who translates Latin into English and English into Latin studies English quite as definitely as he studies Latin. The English grammar schools—and their successors, the Public Schools—have sent out a long succession of writers who have produced, in their native tongue, verse and prose never surpassed in the world for richness and beauty. The work of John of Cornwaile and his immediate successors resulted in the assimilation of the Latin grammar school to English culture.

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[9] Parry, *Op. cit.*, pp. 125–126.

Lollardy was a movement native to England. It was national and sprang from the plain people. Oxford was one of its centers. In undertaking to extirpate this heresy, appeal was had to the king's courts, and petitions were addressed to the king; eventually a national policy as respects education gradually took shape. The place of education in English law was further made clear by a response of Richard II to a petition, and by a series of court decisions. The matter of the response is as follows: In 1391, the Commons of the Realm of England petitioned King Richard II, requesting him to "ordain and command" that no daughter or son of a villein should be permitted to attend school and so find promotion through learning. King Richard II, to his everlasting credit, denied this selfish petition of the middle class.[10] Fifteen years later, in connection with legislation prescribing the regulations governing the apprenticing of children, it was enacted that parents, no matter what their condition of rank or estate, were free to send their children—sons and daughters—to any school in England they wished.

In the meantime in the King's courts a series of cases had been heard in which was involved the right of some local church or official to maintain a monopoly of teaching within a given area. The reasons assigned by plaintiffs in bringing suits to enforce a monopoly were that the property rights of the master of the established school were unlawfully invaded. The most important of these cases from the standpoint of educational history is the Gloucester Grammar School Case of 1410. There had long been at Gloucester a grammar school, the masters of which were appointed by the Prior of an abbey nearby. A schoolmaster not appointed by the Prior set up a rival school, whereupon the masters who had charged forty pence a quarter for each child could charge but twelve. The regular masters brought suit for damages against their rival. The court held that the plaintiffs had no action for damages. They had, the court asserted, no estate, "but merely an uncertain ministry." It held further that the teaching of youth "is a virtuous and charitable thing, and a benefit to the people."[11]

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[10] De Montmorency, J. E. G., *State Intervention in English Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902.

Thus, in the later Middle Ages, the English view that properly qualified persons should be permitted to teach freely and that parents should be free to have their children trained in letters and sciences at their own homes or in any schools they chose was fully developed and stated. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these principles—that schools might be established freely and parents might educate their children where they would—very greatly influenced the course of development of dissenting academies and private schools. The principles of the right of teachers to offer instruction freely and of parents to control the education of their own children have been powerful factors in determining the course of development of American education.

Schools multiplied in England as the Middle Ages drew to a close. During the reign of Henry VI, and by his authority and that of Parliament, six new grammar schools were established in London alone. Mr. Leach declares that there are records of two hundred grammar schools which were in operation in England at the outset of the reign of Edward VI, and he infers that these were the only "survivors of a much larger host" of grammar schools of which all trace has been lost.

As the Middle Ages drew to a close, the curricula of grammar schools were greatly enriched. In the twelfth century the Arabic numerals were first used in a European work, the translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* by Gerard of Cremona (1136). In 1202, Leonardo of Pisa wrote a book, the *Liber Abbaci,* in which he explained the Arabic system and gave the zero and the nine digits. The system was generally adopted. In 1489, John Widman of

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[11] The text of the *Report* of this case is to be found in De Montmorency's *State Intervention in English Education,* pp. 241–242.

Leipzig first used the signs for plus and minus. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries translations of Euclid into Latin had been made. Important treatises on optics and astronomy had been produced. In the fifteenth century, progress in the use of the Greek language stimulated interest in the study of mathematics. Greek was introduced at Cambridge in 1465, and it is likely that this language was taught at both Eton and Winchester schools at some time in the later decades of the fifteenth century. In this century, too, the substitution of the political writers—notably Cicero—for the Latin authors on divinity made itself felt in English schools. The Renaissance had, at last, reached England.

Summary. The later Middle Ages are notable in the history of English education for the establishing at law of the principles that qualified persons have a right to teach and parents have a right to determine the character of their children's education. They are notable, too, for the founding of schools by lay patrons, and for the control of schools by guilds and by other bodies designated by their founders. The trend toward lay control of schools is not to be mistaken for any trend toward secularism in education; guilds and other lay patrons employed priests to teach many of their schools, and lay schoolmasters must generally have been loyal to the established religion. It does represent a movement in the direction of freedom of teaching. Schools multiplied in England in the later Middle Ages. They came to represent a door to economic opportunity for the poor; the charitable contributed to them, and all who had means labored to give their children schooling. As the Middle Ages drew to a close, the course of study of schools was enriched by new accessions of ancient literature which once more became available to schoolboys in original works. In Latin studies—and Latin furnished the great bulk of the course of study—the political interest supplanted the theological; the modern world was at hand.

In Scotland and on the Continent developments closely paralleling those in England took place between 1150 and 1500. In Germany and the Netherlands the educational evolution of the last centuries of the Middle Ages gave rise to institutions, patterns of ideas, and to cultural changes which have had the most far-reaching effects upon the history of Europe. A principal factor in giving character and direction to educational developments in those two lands were the presence there of free cities and a great number of small, virtually autonomous principalities.

Whereas in England voluntary lay guilds or associations of private individuals displaced ecclesiastical authorities in the control of many schools, in Germany and in the Netherlands the civil political authorities—municipal or royal—assumed control of education as the church was forced to relinquish its monopoly. Burgh schools and princely schools developed in Germany. In England, therefore, private education, education under the auspices of minority groups and of corporations the sole function of which was education, enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom and autonomy. Attempts on the part of the government or of the Established Church to maintain a monopoly of education were resisted; opponents of monopoly cited ancient English law and custom. In Germany, on the other hand, the movement was toward a state system.

On the Continent and in Great Britain alike, however, the later Middle Ages witnessed a steady movement toward lay control of education, toward an enriched course of study, toward use of the local vernacular as the living language of schools, toward a greater diffusion of literature and learning in all classes of society, and toward the development of schools for commercial purposes.

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20

The Renaissance

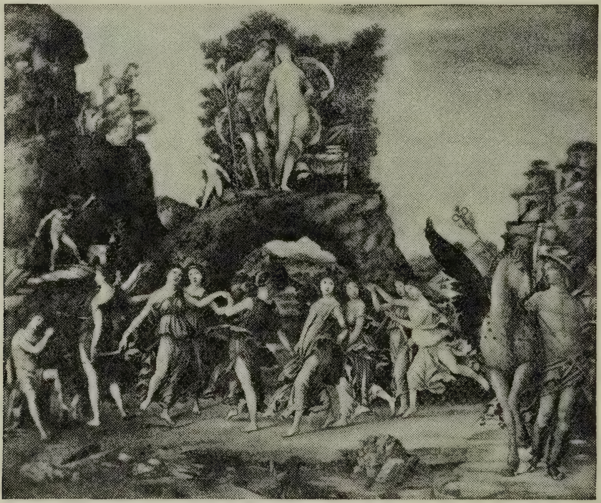
Orientation and definition. Thrice in history the human race has scaled the highest peak of creative genius: first, in Greece during the glorious fifth century B.C.; second, at the birth of Christianity; and again, in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century. Erase from human experience these three momentous epochs and their effects, and all else is but plodding pragmatism. Other periods of far-reaching promise there have been, to be sure, but in the end they proved only fitful dreaming; their contributions to human progress, while important and sometimes substantial, were never of transcendent reach.

In the Age of Pericles man's creative genius first attained the highest pinnacle in poetry, architecture, sculpture, painting, philosophy, and science. In the birth of Christianity the prolonged incubation of Semitic ethical experience reached full fruition and gave man for the first time a purely spiritual religion. Fourteen centuries later came the Renaissance, the third and most expansive expression of creative energy. This remarkable outburst of genius, in whose illumination humanity still abides, must now be explored.

The word *Renaissance* strictly means "rebirth." It is applied to certain cultural developments that began in the fourteenth and continued into the sixteenth century. They began in Southern France and in Italy and spread throughout Western Europe. They began at the top and gradually made their way to lower strata of society. Of what was it a rebirth? Too often scholars make a mistake at this point; they regard the Renaissance as the rebirth of the spirit of antiquity, the "Revival of Learning," of reason, or of conscience. In other words, they interpret the Renaissance narrowly. Of what, then, was it the rebirth? The best answer is that it was the awakening of the higher and broader spirit of man; not intellect alone, not merely a great addition to his store of knowledge, nor an interest in the fine arts, but a new integration of the entire man, physically, mentally, aesthetically, and ethically. John Addington Symonds, who by his vast researches earned the right to define the term, summarizes it thus:

> The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European race.[1]

As a matter of fact, it is historically incorrect to call this phenomenal awakening the "Renaissance." It was verily a new era and not merely the recapitulation or rebirth of an old. History may seem to repeat itself, but the nascent developments of a genuine organism such as human society do not. The Renaissance was the adolescence of modern European civilization.



Parnassus.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The interest of education in the awakening. All historians are vitally concerned with this wonderful era, the historians of society and politics, of the Church and religion, of philosophy and science, of literature and language, of art, discovery, and invention; but even more than any of these the historian of education is interested. ~~He is concerned because modern education began with this movement~~. But furthermore, he must discover, as far as possible, the underlying causes of the creative genius of the Renaissance. The educator is particularly interested in discovering these causes, for he needs to know what it is that arouses the human consciousness to creative activity, whether it be in the individual or in the race. To accept such awakenings as purely accidental, or merely a matter of course, is impossible. Naturally historians disagree as to the real causes, but in the interest of a philosophy of human history the subject must be discussed. An awakening such as the Renaissance is just another of the great problems of genetic psychology, all too much neglected by the scientists of the human mind.*

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[1] Symonds, J. A., *Renaissance in Italy; The Age of Despots,* p. 4. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1883.

General Aspects of the Renaissance

1. *The new attitude toward the body.* One of the most fundamental causes of this great awakening was the radical change in attitude toward the human body. For a thousand years men had regarded the body as the prison house and enemy of the soul. According to the ideology of asceticism, the flesh must be weakened by fasting and flagellation in order to subdue its appetites which war against and degrade the spirit. However, a profound change of view had come about in later centuries. The monkish attitude had lost all appeal for the northern races, who took a natural delight in vigorous action. The knightly life strongly emphasized the value of physical prowess and skill. In the Crusades strength and endurance were consecrated to the most sacred of all causes, the rescue of the Savior's tomb from the infidel. Physical vigor and heroic action thus received the benediction of Mother Church, and a higher value was placed upon man's animal nature.

The physical activities of knighthood introduced new control and manual dexterity. These developments had profound significance for the coordination of nerve and muscle. Symonds gives this illuminating account of the situation:

> The force of the nations who were destined to achieve the coming trans-

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* Symonds felt unable to assign a cause for this outburst of creativity of the human spirit. He did, however, though somewhat timidly, suggest how creativity goes on in the individual mind, and he assumed an analogy with the creativity of the Renaissance. See Symonds, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, p. 12.

> formation was unexhausted; their physical and mental faculties were unimpaired. No ages of enervating luxury, of intellectual endeavor, of life artificially preserved or ingeniously prolonged, had sapped the fiber of the men who were about to inaugurate the modern world. Severely nurtured, unused to delicate living, these giants of the Renaissance were like boys in their capacity for endurance, their inordinate appetite for enjoyment. No generations, hungry, sickly, effete, critical, disillusioned, trod them down. *Ennui* and the fatigue that springs from skepticism, the despair of thwarted effort, were unknown. Their fresh and unperverted senses rendered them keenly alive to what was beautiful and natural. They yearned for magnificence, and instinctively comprehended splendor. At the same time the period of satiety was still far off. Everything seemed possible to their young energy; nor had a single pleasure palled upon their appetite. Born, as it were, at the moment when desires and faculties are evenly balanced, when the perceptions are not blunted nor the senses cloyed, opening their eyes for the first time on a world of wonder, these men of the Renaissance enjoyed what we may term the first transcendent springtide of the modern world.[2]

But the freshness of physical life had still deeper meaning as the basis of a new and more expansive emotionalism that thrilled the hearts of the men of the Renaissance. After all, it is the emotional nature that gives life and energy to the intellectual and moral being.

2. *Wealth and leisure.* It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the new movement was cradled in the courts of the princes of southern France, in the palaces of the wealthy burghers, and in the chanceries of the republics of Italy. Politically, Italy was a morass consisting of many half-free democratic city-states, and a number of principalities ruled by hereditary nobles, by *condottieri*, and by the princes of the Church. In most cities wealth had accumulated for several centuries after the Crusades as a result of commerce with the East and North. In spite of their debaucheries, wars, and intrigues, the petty despots and dictators found leisure for the interests that made for culture. Only where wealth abounded were the necessary conditions at hand for the creative spirit to express itself for the first time in many centuries. It became fashionable for the powerful and wealthy to embellish their courts with artists, men of letters, scholars, learned exiles, astrologers, and even buffoons. It added untold prestige and glory to any ducal house to have under its patronage some cele-

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[2] Symonds, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy; The Age of Despots*, p. 12.

brated poet, humanist, or artist. It is, of course, true that many Italians of the middle and lower classes had a share in Renaissance activities, but, since they lacked wealth and leisure, they were unable to indulge their yearning for literature, art, and learning. Yet, as a matter of fact, most of the people of Italy were animated by a profound artistic awakening that showed itself in everything they did and made.

3. *Travel, adventure, and invention.* Some centuries before, the peoples of western Europe had settled in more or less fixed habitats, but the spirit of *Wanderlust* was still strongly entrenched within their breasts. The Crusades offered an excellent opportunity for its expression, and religious pilgrimages constituted another most colorful and revealing pageantry of the same kind. The Crusades and religious pilgrimages opened new vistas to European eyes, which further excited in all hearts the passion for travel and discovery. The spirit of exploration and adventure resulted in numerous geographical discoveries. Marco Polo (1236–1324) and Sir John Mandeville (1300–1372) traveled in the East and brought back thrilling stories of oriental wonders. Step by step the boundaries of geography were pushed back. In 1402, the Canary Islands were discovered; in 1419, the Madeira; and in 1460, the Cape Verde. In 1487, Vasco da Gama sailed around the South of Africa and reached India. To climax it all, Columbus discovered America in 1492, and a quarter century later Magellan circumnavigated the earth.

Each new discovery had two effects: it fired some other adventurous spirit to bolder exploits; and it set the imaginations of all Europeans in liveliest vibration. Incidentally, it proved the earth to be round and relegated all medieval geographies to the dump. Under such stimulation the instinct of curiosity was stirred to the utmost depth. The creative imagination, once thoroughly aroused, operated in different ways according to the dominant capacities of individuals. Some explored the external world; others were busy inventing new means for the control of nature; still others were busy plumbing on all sides the inner world of human experience—more especially the emotional life; while others, turning back to the past, reconstructed the glories of ancient Rome and Greece.

4. *Growth of Romance languages.* A new factor of highest import was the evolution of the vernacular languages as the means of poetic and literary expression. The origin of the

Romance languages may be briefly explained in this way. In ancient times, classical Latin was spoken by orators and written by poets and historians. But in the homes, at the market-place, and in daily intercourse, the common people and soldiers spoke the local dialects. Literary Latin was taught in the grammar schools and used by the Church. In due time this usage was corrupted into the vulgar Latin of the scholars of the Middle Ages. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, the ancient rustic Latin of common usage had become transformed into a number of dialects which had much in common but, to all intents and purposes, constituted new languages. At the close of the thirteenth century these languages emerged with strength and beauty in the poetry of that time. In this manner, the everyday rustic Latin, familiarly used by the common people in ancient days, gradually became changed into the modern Romance languages of Southern Europe.

5. *Chivalry and poetry.* Most significant for understanding the causes of the fifteenth-century reawakening was the enormous production of poetry in the vernacular tongues. Here the chivalric life and education must be cited as the point of origin. Among the qualifications of knighthood was the ability to compose and to sing one's own poetic effusions. In fact, poetry was one of the "seven knightly arts" which every worthy knight was expected to appreciate and practice.

It was in Provence, a part of Southern France, that knighthood first put aside its original crudeness and took on a graceful and gentle character. There for the first time it became associated with song, poetry, and the romantic emotion. The tongue of Provence was the first to become the language of learning and of the amenities of higher civilization. A rich literature of ballads, war-songs, and love-songs sprang up which inspired the rest of the world. This new literature arose spontaneously and became the chief source of entertainment. A special group of men, the troubadours or *jongleurs,* enlivened the court circle with song and dance. Here, for the first time in human experience, woman was accounted noble and was reverenced for her beauty and delicacy; chivalry, gallantry, and tenderness were integrated with rugged strength to form the personality of the idealized knight. From Provence the poetic fervor was carried by wandering minstrels to other countries. In Spain it produced the poetry about their own heroic character, the Cid, and in Germany, the native songs of the Minnesingers. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were the period of the most extensive development of vernacular poetry and song.

In all the mass of romantic poetry, courage and love are the virtues extolled. There arose for the first time the refining influence of song and poetry in connection with the romantic passion. Here again, as in ancient Greece, we come upon the fact that in the process of human evolution song and poetry have been the means of lifting man from the level of the brute to the level of genuine humanity. According to Politian, who was one of the chief scholars of Italy and a poet of lasting renown, poetry on the emergence of men from barbarism was given "as a consolation for the miseries of life and as an instrument of culture; their first nurse in the cradle of civilization was the muse." It was philosophic as well as historic insight that made the Greeks extol Clio as first of the muses. Knighthood, romantic love, music, and song evolved together in Provence during the later part of the Middle Ages.

Troubadour knights were almost invariably nobly born, and far better educated than others. Among them were to be found counts, dukes, and even princes—in a word, men of the highest station. They entertained lavishly, and became the recognized arbiters of taste, fashion, and refinement. The knight who knew true courtesy and possessed the gift of song was the *beau ideal* of the women, and invariably he composed his poetry and songs as an expression of passionate homage to some mistress.

> The life of the fair one addressed was passed in an intoxicating atmosphere of music, flattery, and amorous intrigue . . . The adulation he lavished in song upon the object of his affections represented in it the personification of every physical grace and every mental accomplishment, and could not fail to fire the romantic imagination of the ladye in whose veins coursed the hot blood of the South, and whose vanity caused her to recognize in his extravagant flattery and devotion the highest tribute to her charms.[3]

The Troubadour knights circulated from castle to castle and not only furnished amusement in times of leisure, but incidentally performed the function of our modern papers and magazines as the purveyors of the latest news.

6. *The romantic passion.* Another aspect of man's nature which underwent a profound transformation throughout the Middle Ages

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[3] Meller, W. C., *A Knight's Life in the Days of Chivalry*, p. 229. London: W. Werner Laurie, 1924.

was that of the love passion. In general it may be accepted that in ancient times the relation of the sexes was not what it is today. The sublimation of the amorous impulse into the romantic emotion of modern experience was the development of centuries. It was one of the important products of chivalric training to which source the modern world owes far more than is usually thought. The romantic passion arose from the integration of various factors, among which were the basic sexual impulse, the increasing sensitiveness to feminine beauty, the admiration of the moral superiority and altruism of woman, the feeling of pity and protectiveness for feminine weakness, and the worship of the Holy Mother and Child. All of these were bound together by reverence for virginal purity and for the forces that produce and ennoble life. All these emotions cooperated to bring the crude passion of the barbarian soul under control, and to instill gentler manners and more unselfish aspirations into the masculine nature. Thus the "gentleman" was born into the modern world.

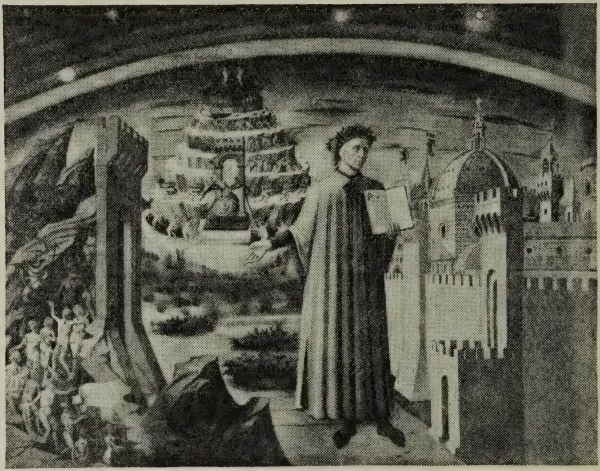
Love became not only a theme of song, but of discussion, and courts of love were instituted to determine the rules for the proper expression of this emotion. Brute strength and lust were humbled in the presence of beauty and moral quality. Physical weakness was no longer construed as cowardice. The fact that the romantic feelings were usually found in men of more refined natures tended to mark them off as superior to those of grosser mold.

The romantic passion made notable contributions to the evolution of man in that it enhanced the integration of the sex-life with the higher aesthetic, ethical, and religious experience. To it we trace the development of modern music and poetry, sensitiveness to beauty, and especially the greatest quickening of human imagination. It must not be forgotten that asceticism looked upon the sex-life as the chief cause of human depravity, and spurned woman as the arch temptress of man. Asceticism threatened the annihilation of the reproductive instinct and the consequent suicide of the human race. The romantic passion of the later Middle Ages did not arise from traditional religious life, but from the association of the sexes of the aristocracy of the Teutonic peoples. The emergence of this higher romantic attitude toward woman was an expression of genuine humanism, the recognition of the fundamental soundness of man's normal emotional life.

The new attitude toward the sex-life was strongly influenced by the Latin poet, Ovid. Next to that of Virgil, his poetry had been most widely read; in fact it formed one of the textbooks of the schools for centuries. Strange to say, Ovid was the most sensual of the amatory poets of ancient Rome, and much that he wrote was erotic in character; his *Art of Love (Ars Amatoria)* is nothing but the method of seduction rationalized. It was made palatable, however, to even the purest minds of the Middle Ages because his ideas were subjected to an allegorical interpretation which cloaked his real meaning. By this mystical means, his sensuality had been given an ethical significance of which the poet himself never dreamed. Ovid thus became a powerful factor in the humanistic revival of sexual life and its sublimation into the romantic passion.

Traditionally, marriage had always been a matter of form and station governed by social usage; the love of man for woman had never been permitted to play its natural role by bringing the two together and ripening into the conjugal tie. Girls were married at a young age; neither they nor their husbands were consulted. After marriage husband and wife were granted wide liberty, especially among the baronial class. In the castles of the nobles, the wife became the patroness of the household, which consisted of knights, men-at-arms, and *jongleurs* whom the lord entertained. Naturally eager for admiration and affection the fair ladies of the house became the objects of attention. It is claimed that in all the vast body of love poetry of this era there is no nuptial song nor any address to a marriageable young woman; all the love poetry of the troubadours was addressed to married women. This explains the profound respect and extreme deference of the poets for the mistress addressed. The code of chivalry, which had been growing up, continued to cling to the old social form of marriage arranged by parental or other authority, but it likewise approved romantic love as a noble and legitimate sentiment. The inevitable result of this dual situation was at one extreme the idealization of love by the poets and, at the other, the lowest form of licensed infidelity by realistic sensualists. The sublime passion of Dante for Beatrice, of Petrarch for Laura, and perhaps of Leonardo da Vinci for the lady who posed for Mona Lisa, are the most exalted examples of a pure romantic passion.

Knighthood did not flourish in Italy. This fact distinguishes the course of events there from happenings in transalpine lands. But, nevertheless, song, poetry, and chivalry found a hearty welcome for other reasons. From Provence the poetic interest penetrated the mainland of Italy by way of Sicily and took a powerful hold. The perusal of the ancient Latin poets, particularly of Virgil and Ovid, had never completely died out in Italy. Early in the fourteenth century, this interest revived in intensified form and produced one of the greatest poets of all time, Dante Alighieri. His *Divine Comedy* was written in Italian, and though it was medieval in spirit and ideas, it was the first work to reinstate antiquity in the foreground of interest.



Dante and his Divine Comedy.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

In this same connection, it is interesting to note that, from the age of nine, Petrarch, who became the first and sweetest of Italian lyric poets, lived for many years with his exiled father in Provence. In Italy the passion for writing poetry and for singing was not confined to the upper class. As to the prevalence of versification, the testimony of Petrarch was:

> Within our memory, it was rare enough for people to write verses. But now there is no one who does not write them; few indeed write anything else.[4]

He complained that carpenters, fullers, and plowmen desert their implements for this new craze, which he compared to a "plague." "If the disease spreads, I am undone," he cried. "Shepherds, fishermen, hunters, ploughboys—all would be carried away, even the cows would low and ruminate in sonnets."[5]

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[4] Robinson, James Harvey, *Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, p. 164. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

7. *The role of art.* Art was just as central an interest of the Renaissance as vernacular poetry or ancient literature. This is not peculiar in the least, for spontaneous expression in art is an essential aspect of any genuine humanism. The art of the Renaissance is one of the most voluminous and intricate of subjects. The purpose here is merely to call attention to a few points showing how its progress was related to the general movement of the great awakening.

For centuries, asceticism had suppressed man's natural love of beauty. Men had been made to feel that the enjoyment of aesthetic pleasure was a flagrant disloyalty to Christ; the beauty of holiness could not tolerate admiration of beauty either in nature or in man. To be sure, the arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting had not been wholly eliminated during the Middle Ages. These were, however, completely subjected to the purposes of the Church and its method of inculcating Christianity. Admiration of the beautiful in nature for its own sake had no congruity with the Christian spirit.

Spontaneous expression of the beautiful is the life of genuine humanism. The Age of Pericles was the first transcendent emergence of man's inherent impulse to create beauty, an impulse that inhabits all nature. From the beginning to the close of the Italian Renaissance, aesthetic appreciation was its central motif. Like the ancient Greeks, the Italians of this era felt the inner urge not alone to enjoy whatever good the world affords but to create beauty, and this inner impulse found expression in everything they made, even to the commonest of domestic utensils.

This profound appreciation of the beautiful that appeared so widely, more particularly among the Italians at this time, has given rise to several stories that may be only legendary tales, yet they aptly explain the change in the aesthetic life of that age. One tells of a monk who came out of the monastery on a clear spring day when the trees were blooming. For a brief moment he was enchanted by the superb beauty of nature, then he was seized with a sense of shame and remorse for his weakness in yielding to the lust of the flesh. Drawing his cowl over his head, he returned to his cell, conscience-smitten. Contrast with this the story of the petrified body of the Roman girl, Julia. She had been only fifteen years of age when she died, and her form, which was perfectly preserved, retained the bloom of youth on cheeks, lips, and limbs. Those who saw this messenger from the ancient world gloried in her beauty which they declared was beyond all description or anything imaginable. This story illustrates the new attitude that came in with the Renaissance, the abandonment of the soul to its aesthetic capacities.

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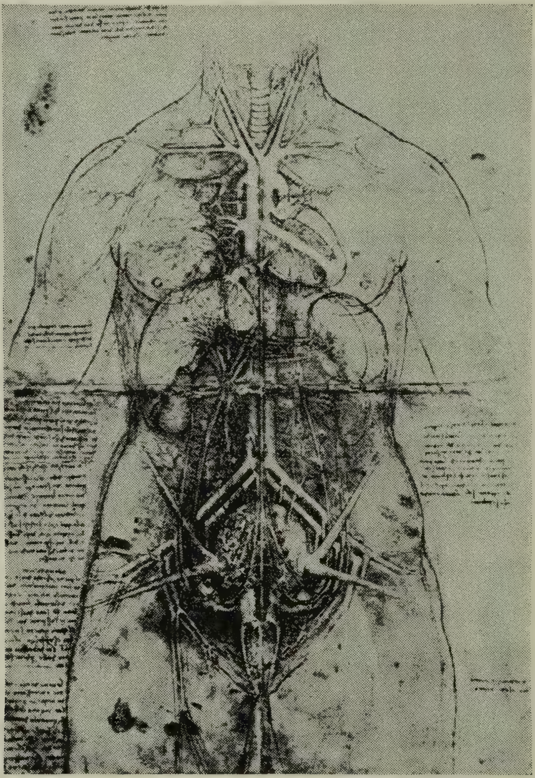
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 169.



Anatomical study by Leonardo da Vinci.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The love of beauty, once it had again cast its spell upon mankind, could not be resisted. Artists and poets vied with one another to portray the ideal of feminine pulchritude and manly perfection. In the sixteenth century an Italian wrote a remarkable analysis of ideal feminine beauty discussing at length every individual feature. Furthermore, Castiglione, in his famous work, *Il Cortegiano,* portrayed the ideal of personality for woman, as he also did for man.

a. *Aids to art.* Four developments greatly stimulated the art of the Italian Renaissance.

(1) The first of these was the new scientific understanding of perspective. This was by far the most profitable development, and it brought revolutionary changes. In designing and painting, the chief drawback had always been that objects appeared flat. When the laws of perspective and of light and dark shading were clarified, objects took on their full dimensions. This change caused painting to overshadow sculpture. The Greeks were superior in the one; the Italians now became supreme in the other.

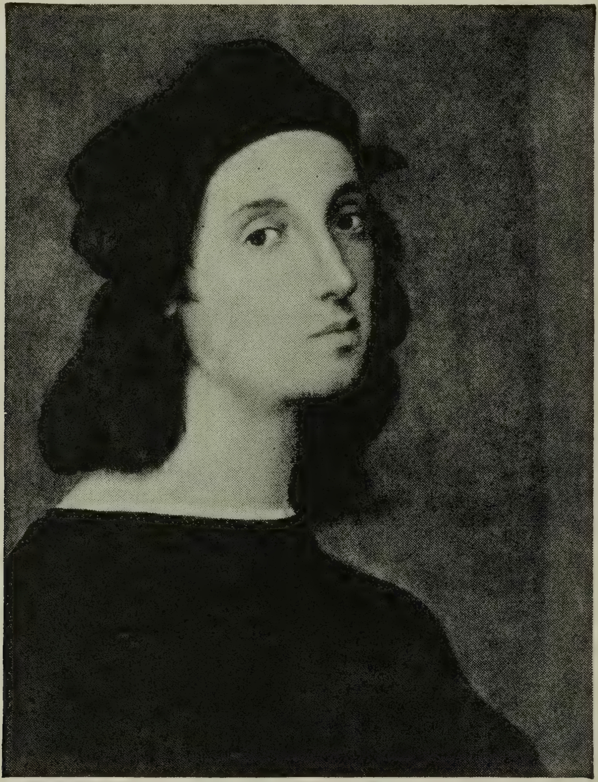
(2) The second aid to Renaissance art was the study of anatomy. The Greeks were perfectly familiar with the nude and studied it both in motion and at rest, but their knowledge of anatomy always remained superficial. By the middle of the Renaissance, the study of the human body had made remarkable progress. It is astonishing how long a time and how detailed a study the great artists expended upon anatomy. Such knowledge was felt to be absolutely essential to the correct portrayal of any part of the human figure.

(3) The third element was the better understanding of the use of oils and water colors in painting. Remarkable new effects were attained by bold experiments with these mediums.

(4) The fourth assisting factor was the re-evaluation of the surviving art of the ancient world. What ancient manuscripts did for literature, the ancient monuments, sculptures, coins, and buildings did for the revival of art.

The range of artistic production was another point of superiority of the Italians as compared with the Greeks. They excelled in architecture, sculpture, fresco and easel painting, mosaic and terracotta work, goldsmithing, bronze figures, and engraving. In all these lines Italian artists exhibited amazing genius. The building of churches, palaces, and great public structures which called for decoration made an intensive appeal to the artistic spirit. In no other age of human history have artists along every line been so busy supplying the demand.

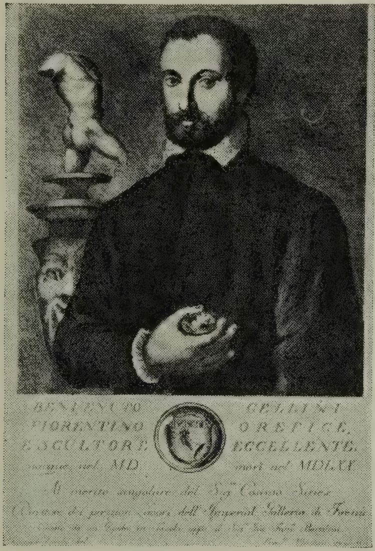
b. *Art and Religion.* Art is essentially idealistic; it strives after perfect representation. In consequence of its idealistic character it is naturally tied up with religion. Greek art was profoundly religious; the representation of the gods and of ethical situations in human life furnished its chief subjects. The same was true of Medieval and Renaissance art. Some authorities contend that the more spiritual aspects of Christianity did not readily lend themselves to symbolization in sculptured forms, but could more easily be presented by painting. The desire to decorate the walls of their great buildings was also a prominent factor in determining the direction of Renaissance art. For these reasons, the Italians chose painting as their chief form of artistic expression. They faced one great difficulty, however; that was the harmonizing of the spirit of Christianity with that of the art of the ancient pagan world. On the whole, the artists were more successful in uniting the two great civilizations than were the literary men. The most celebrated of the Italian artists were



RAPHAEL.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Benvenuto Cellini. Some knowledge of the amazing accomplishments of these men is an essential for every cultivated man.

8. *Significance of printing.* The invention of printing had much to do with the spread of the Renaissance spirit, and the subsequent influence of printers' ink is beyond all computation. The scarcity of books outweighed all other causes of the long-continued ignorance of antiquity. Before the invention of printing, books had to be multiplied by a hand process, which was extremely slow, costly, and frequently inaccurate. One can judge of the rapidity of multiplying books from the fact that it took forty-five expert copyists twenty-two months to reproduce 200 manuscripts. As a consequence, books were always few and expensive. In late centuries numerous professional copyists were employed who, because of special skill, produced works of more artistic appearance. When, about the middle of the fifteenth century (the exact date is not known), Gutenberg hit upon the use of movable type, he put an end to all this drudgery and ushered in a new era. Copyists naturally opposed the new invention and collectors in possession of old and beautifully illuminated manu-



Benvenuto Cellini.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

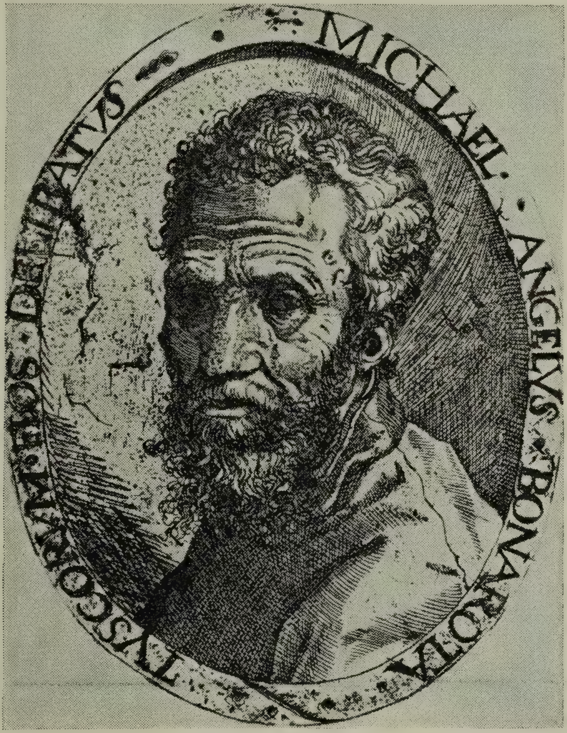
scripts contemptuously disparaged the printed page as mechanical. But opposition soon crumbled, and the new art became the greatest means for the diffusion of literature and knowledge.

In 1462, Adolph of Nassau sacked Maintz which had become the cradle of the printing press; as a consequence, printers were scattered far and wide. Immediately German printers set up several presses in Italy, and before long Italians were printing in Bologna, Florence, Milan, Rome, and in fifty other places; the foremost of all was Venice. By 1500, when the new art had taken firm hold in Italy, it spread like fire on a dry western prairie. Publishing took rank as a high and scholarly profession, and men of ability won lasting fame for their editorial work. Aldus in Venice, Stephan in Paris, and Froben in Basel, Switzerland, became the most celebrated printers of all time. Aldus conceived the noble ambition of printing all the Greek and Latin classics. In about twenty years he issued thirty-three first editions of the greatest Greek authors.

The rapidity of publication at that early date when facilities were still so crude is astounding. By 1472, no less than 12,495 volumes were issued in Italy alone. Cicero's works were printed from 1465 to 1470, Virgil as early as 1469, Quintilian in 1470, Ovid in 1471, and Aesop's *Fables* in 1478. Greek type was struck, and Homer was issued in 1488, the works of Aristotle from 1495 to 1498. In 1516, Froben, at Basel, printed Erasmus' edition of the New Testament in Greek. The task of publication was difficult in the extreme, requiring the most painstaking scholarship. Every edition in reality was a triumph of the highest order. No one can guess what the course of the Renaissance would have been without the printing of the Latin and Greek authors. It infinitely simplified the work of scholars and educators in the revival of learning and added to the intense interest in reading which had already begun.

9. *The emancipation of the individual.* For a thousand years human life had been quite thoroughly institutionalized and conventionalized. Obedience to rule, imitation, and strict regimentation, had curbed every impulse of self-assertion. As a consequence, the mental attitude of the Middle Ages was that of intellectual lethargy, of prostration before the dogmas of the Church, and of blind acquiescence to traditionalism. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as we have seen, an intellectual revolution of great promise took place; but this outburst was quickly restrained in the interest of dogmatic theology, and free-

dom of thought was subjected to an intellectual strait jacket in the form of scholastic philosophy. It is, nevertheless, a mistake for historians to heap execrations upon the Middle Ages as an ill-starred era. Though intellectual life was in a state of inertia, the discipline of this period was unquestionably a necessary stage in the higher evolution of mankind. These years may best be looked upon as a time of moral regimentation and incubation. The schoolmen of the thirteenth century were men of pure morals and, in spite of the formalism of scholastic philosophy, they exhibited remarkable intelligence.



MICHELANGELO.—*From Burckhardt, J., " The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

Nothing marked the Renaissance of the fifteenth century so positively as the revival of self-assertion. The free play of personality in conflict with society, or with rivals, or even in the gratification of individual desire, was at the basis of the striving to produce some achievement worthy of immortality. For the first time in centuries men dared to be themselves, dared to express fully their natural impulses and capacities. Philosophers speak of the Renaissance as the liberating of the rational nature, but vastly more significant was the liberation of the entire emotional nature. Never has there been an era of human history when individuals showed at once such audacity in action and such versatility in the range of genius. The men of the Age of Pericles were greater as philosophical thinkers, as individual poets, orators, and statesmen. But no one of them possessed such versatile genius as did Leonardo da Vinci, Boccaccio, Benvenuto Cellini, Michelangelo, and Alberti. Each of these was, indeed, many men in one. The Renaissance was an age when individualism and individuality had complete reign. The consequence was a profusion of original and many-sided personalities such as the world has never known before or since.

a. *Rivalry.* Whether it was a resurgence from ancient times or the natural outcropping of the superabundance of youthful spirit matters little; in any case, the age was sharply characterized by the spirit of emulation. Knighthood was completely a life of rivalry. Tilting and jousting were the common practice not alone of the knights, but of boys at play. The political and commercial activities of individuals and of cities intensified the passion to surpass others in some particular feat or skill. The spirit of emulation was not confined to such lines, but extended to song and poetry, the painting of pictures, and the writing of letters and orations. It gave emphasis to individuality as nothing else can do. As a means of stimulating pupils to study, it is noteworthy that the use of rivalry had never died out in the schools of Italy.

b. *Passion for fame.* For the first time in centuries the desire for fame became a consuming fire; without it life was no longer worth living. Never has the thirst for personal glory been more passionate. Men worshipped fame and strove with might and main for posthumous glory. The leader in this was none other than Petrarch himself, who confessed: "It is glory which is the end of my labours. From my childhood I have desired above all else the immortality of my name."[6] According to Symonds, it was the resurgence of antiquity that called forth this spirit of emulation and desire for renown:

Throughout the length and breadth of Italy, memories of ancient great-

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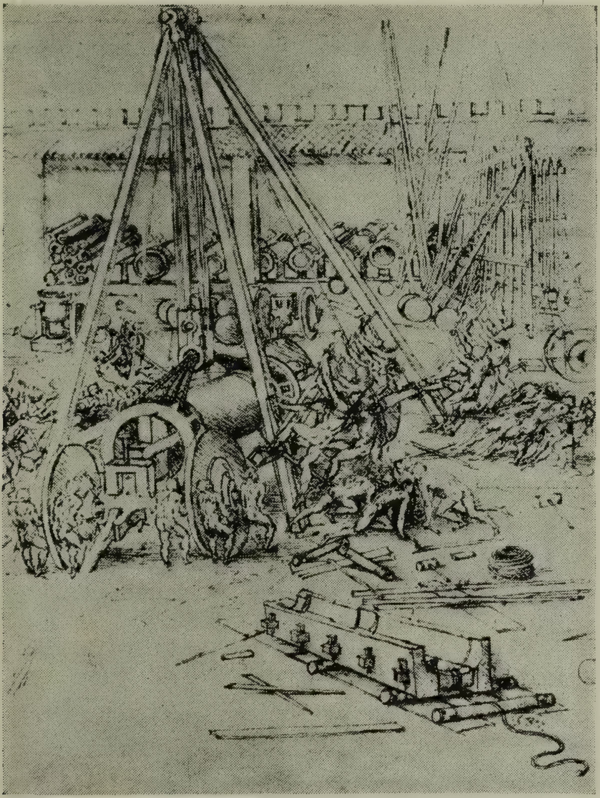
[6] De Nolhac, Pierre, *Petrarch and the Ancient World*, pp. 36–37. Boston: D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1907.

> ness spurred her children on to emulation. Ghosts of Roman patriots and poets seemed hovering round their graves, and calling on posterity to give them life again . . . The yearning toward antiquity acted like



MOUNTING A GUN; PEN DRAWING BY LEONARDO DA VINCI.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

> a potent stimulus on personal endeavor, generating an acute desire for fame, a burning aspiration to be numbered with the mighty men of old . . . It was the universal object of the humanists to gain a consciousness of self distinguished from the vulgar herd, and to achieve this by joining the great company of bards and sages, whose glory could not perish.[7]

A most enlightening statement in this connection is made by Woodward, who writes:

> The condottiere prince, as the "new man" amongst the dynasties, with

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[7] Symonds, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, pp. 29–32.

an illegitimate title, was compelled to rely upon personal qualities for due recognition of his status. "Virtus" and "Gloria"—personal consequence and repute were the qualifications for distinction which alone were open to him.[8]

From this it will be seen that not only men of scholarly aspirations but the new aristocracy of Italy were motivated by the passion for personal glory.

10. *The creative imagination.* It is a common psychological observation that creative genius depends chiefly upon a vivid and facile imagination. Without this power, thought lacks wings to lift it out of the groove of habit or conventionality. Every age of creativity has had its inception in a quickening of the power of imagination.

When one considers the many new and startling events that accompanied the breaking up of the Middle Ages, the disproving of many ancient superstitions, the broadening and deepening of all fields of experience, it is clear that imagination was given a tremendous impetus. Discoveries, inventions, rivalry, and finally, poetry and song liberated the senses and thought. Once again men were free to imagine and to express themselves as their natures and circumstances dictated.

Another factor that greatly stimulated imagination, especially among the Italians, was the presence of the monuments of ancient Rome. These silent memorials of an age of power and glory were ever before them. The graves of their ancient poets had always been revered as sacred shrines even though they were pagan in origin. The discovery of the bones of Livy in 1413 sent a deep thrill throughout all Italy.

Such were the underlying causes of that dynamic era which is known as the Renaissance. These interesting phenomena were more or less generally diffused throughout all western Europe. They manifested themselves in diverse fashion among the Italians and among the people of the North. But everywhere a new era was at hand. It now becomes necessary to observe the special course of the awakening in Italy.

The Renaissance in Italy

Introduction. Some writers attribute the origin of the Renaissance to Italy alone. This view is entirely too narrow, for the reawakening was general throughout western Europe. It exhibited itself everywhere in a disgust for the scholastic method, antipathy to the ascetic and monastic life, and in a desire for individual self-expression. Owing to the presence of innumerable traditions and the monuments of ancient civilization, a new direction was early taken by the movement in Italy.

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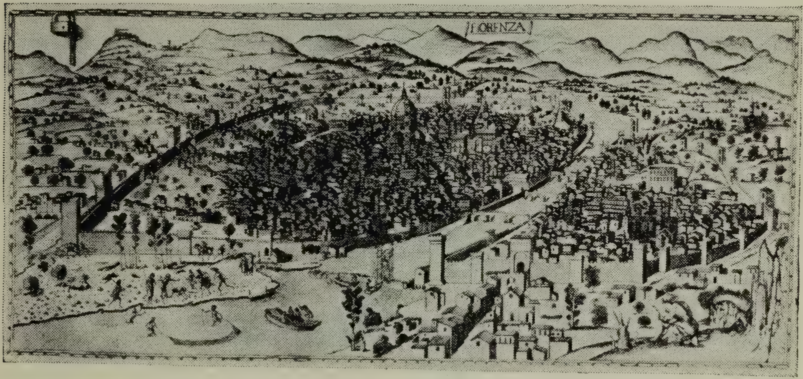
[8] Woodward, W. H., *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, p. 23.

I. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

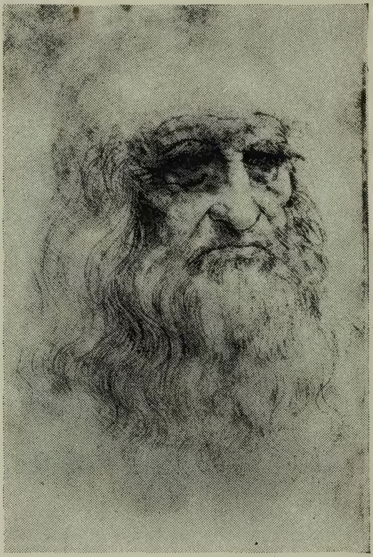
Cultural developments. At the conclusion of the Middle Ages, Italy had many conditions that favored an awakening to a higher level of creative life. She was socially and politically a morass of conflicting institutions. There was neither unity nor uniformity in government, for in most of the free cities democracy was giving way to petty despotism. But these differences were an advantage in destroying the regimentation and uniformity of the past. Furthermore, the growth of power in the hands of the petty aristocracy enabled these men to do for culture what had not been done since the Roman Emperors had established the ancient public schools and universities. The new families found that patronizing ancient literature and learning was a good means of attaining distinction and winning popularity. Again, Italy still retained considerable wealth, which commerce with the East and North had tremendously increased, and which made possible new standards of living and magnificence.



FLORENCE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The presence of the past. Italians, as we have seen, still retained much that reminded them of the ancient glory of their land.

All about them were the ruins and monuments of ancient times that had a profound effect upon their sentiments. In the towns were still to be found the old public schools that had come down through the centuries. Though not very active, they still retained a spark of life. Portions of the ancient Roman literature were still being used as textbooks in the schools. Moreover, we must never forget that Latin was the old Italian tongue, and with just a little effort it was more readily understood by the Italians than by other peoples.



Leonardo da Vinci.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

For these reasons there sprang up in Italy and first of all in the city of Florence, an insatiable interest in ancient life, art, and literature. The Renaissance began in Florence, for this city had maintained its civic independence longer than others, and its people were the most gifted of Italians. It is highly significant that three of the greatest artists, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, and Michelangelo, the greatest patron of humanism, Lorenzo de Medici, and also such renowned leaders in other fields as Alberti, Galileo, Benvenuto Cellini, and Savonarola sprang from Florentine stock.

The mainspring of the Revival. Would you understand the inner spring of the Revival of Learning? Then study the character and career of Petrarch, for these furnish the necessary explanation, the secret of it all. He was honored first because of his vernacular lyrics. Later, his enthusiasm for antiquity made contemporaries forget his vernacular lyrics and sonnets, and he was celebrated for reviving the literature of the ancient Latin world.

A peculiar combination of qualities was essential in one who would lead the human mind back to the clear insight of ancient intelligence and knowledge. First, he had to perceive deeply the utter futility of the dominating interests of the time: monasticism, scholasticism, the false science of Averroes, and the deadening legalism of the Italian universities. Second, he had to have the soul of the poet in order to direct the chivalric enthusiasm that had captured the aristocracy of Italian society. Third, he had to be possessed by a sublime reverence for the glory of antiquity. Fourth, he needed the indefatigable industry of the research scholar in discovering and amassing the details of ancient art, literature, and learning. Last, he had to be utterly fearless in the pursuit of the new interest in the face of popular indifference and even opposition. Only one man in the fourteenth century met all these exacting specifications. That man was Petrarch, by common agreement of historians, "the arbiter of the fourteenth century," "the initiator of the Renaissance," and "the first modern man."

To resurrect the ancient spirit it was necessary that some one should completely alienate himself from his own day and immerse his heart in the past. It was Petrarch who became a voluntary exile in order to reinstate the glory of antiquity. In one of his letters, he declared: "In order to forget my own time, I have constantly striven to place myself in the spirit of other ages." [9] So far as the life of his own day was concerned, he was in absolute conflict with formalism, superstition, tradition, pedantry, the monastic ideal of self-abnegation, and with the consequent intellectual stagnation. Thirsting for fame as no other man, Petrarch demanded self-expression for himself and others. He had no sympathy whatever for the intellectual interests of his time; he disliked logic and despised the interminable disputes of scholastic theologians. He dared to belittle Aristotle and ridiculed the ignorance and superstition of Averroism, the magicians, and the astrologers. His father employed every means to make a lawyer out of him, and in obedience to his wishes Petrarch spent four years at Montpellier and three at Bologna in the study of jurisprudence. When he was twenty-two, his father died, and, free to follow his own inclination, he at once put from his mind all thought of legal affairs.

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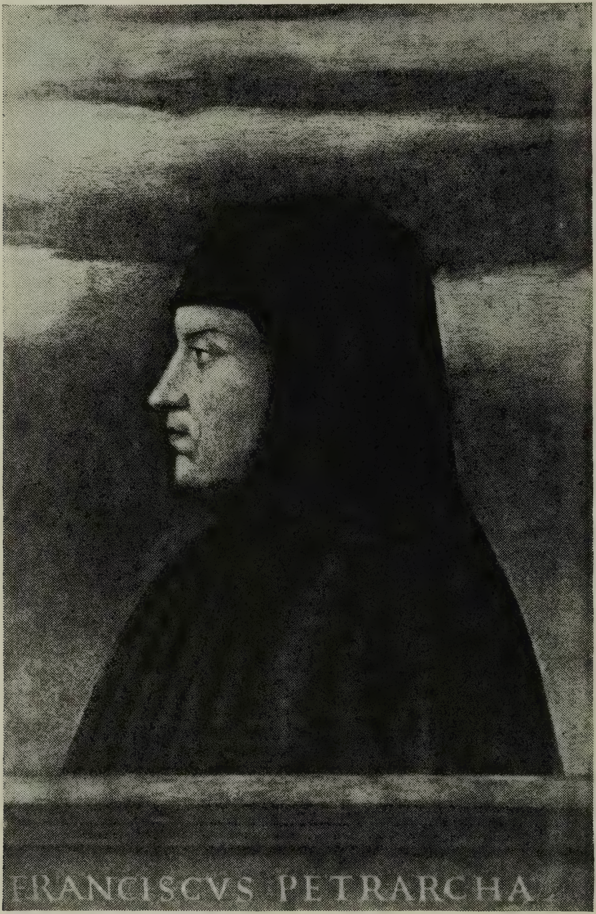
[9] Robinson, James Harvey, and Rolfe, Henry Winchester, *Petrarch; the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters*, p. 64. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909.

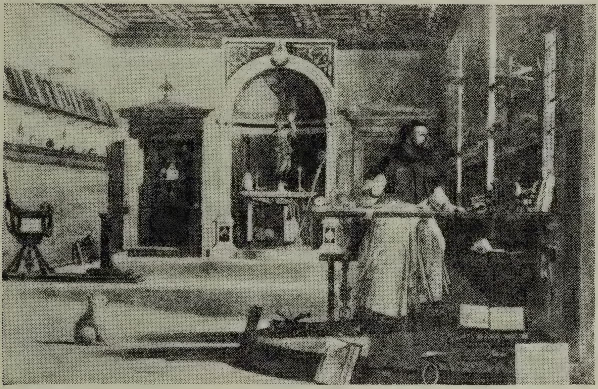


Petrarch.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

Petrarch was born with all the delicate sensibilities of the poet. Even as a young child he thrilled to the rhythms and cadences of the language of Cicero.

> At that age, when I was unable to understand the meaning of the sentences, their sweet and sonorous sound sufficed to hold me, and all that I read or heard, which was not by Cicero, seemed harsh and dissonant to me.[10]

When a boy at school, Petrarch outdistanced his fellows in learning Latin. When others were still struggling with the simple Latin of Aesop's *Fables*, he was already reading Cicero with fascination. When his father visited the school and discovered his devotion to literature, he, in a rage, threw his son's books of poetry and rhetoric into the fire. The passionate pleadings of the youth finally caused him to relent and pull from the flames the half-burned manuscripts of Virgil and Cicero. While still a young man, Petrarch wrote Italian lyrics and sonnets and became the second greatest poet of Italy.



WORK ROOM OF A SCHOLAR.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harpers & Brothers.*

His poetic fervor made Petrarch the leader of the literary enthusiasm that lay at the foundation of the Italian Renaissance. His profound interest in beauty of language made him an indefatigable student of Cicero and Virgil. Through prolonged effort he learned to love the simple truth these authors had proclaimed, and his heart was charged with the most insatiable yearning to repossess the entire literature of the ancients. The vividness of his imagination was so realistic that Petrarch felt that ancient authors were returning in actual flesh and blood and entering into intimate relations with him; they conversed and debated with him and accompanied him on his rambles. Upon receipt of a manuscript from a friend, he wrote, "Your Cicero has come with me. He is astonished at the striking beauty of the place . . . and indeed he seems to enjoy himself and to be my willing guest." [11] When, in 1345, he discovered Cicero's *Letters to Atticus,* he sat down and wrote a letter to the ancient author apprising him of this happy fact. He wrote similar letters to Homer, Virgil, Horace, Livy, Seneca, and Quintilian. Living in such intimacy with the ancients, he made them live again as contemporary authors for other men.

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[10] De Nolhac. Pierre, *Petrarch and the Ancient World*, p. 109. Boston: D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1907.

Petrarch was poet first and later the indefatigable investigator of classical literature, especially of Cicero and Virgil. He was opposed to the medieval method of interpreting these authors. When he became the careful student of ancient literature, he looked upon his own vernacular poetry as something despicable. His contemporaries reverenced him as the discoverer of pure Latin and the rival of the ancient poets. The modern world has reversed the order; his Italian lyrics have been reprinted hundreds of times, but his Latin poems have long since been forgotten.

Petrarch loved books as if they were people, and spoke of his library as "his daughter." Though it was never large, it embraced the most important authors of the ancient world. In the end, he died of wounds inflicted by a large volume of Cicero's *Letters* that fell several times and cut his leg with its silver clasps. He died at his desk with his head resting on an open book. His passion for books he described in one of his own works:

> There is in me an unquenchable desire which I have never been able to suppress . . . I cannot satisfy my hunger for books . . . Books have a charm which is theirs alone; gold and silver, pearls and purple raiment, mansions of marble, well-tilled fields, horses with fine trappings, all these and their like—afford but a dumb and shallow pleasure. Books alone give delight to the very marrow of one's soul; they speak to us; they counsel us; they become an intimate and living part of us.[12]

So profoundly did he associate himself with the ancient spirit that he treated every rare manuscript as a guest in his home. The sculptures, coins, as well as ancient writings called forth ecstatic feelings and transported him to the age of imperial power and glory. No other man by patient industry and careful scholarly insight had in the fourteenth century so completely reconstructed and mastered the thought of illustrious Romans. Not merely what they said, but more especially how they said it registered on his sensitive mind. It was by virtue of his double nature, as poet and as scholar, that Petrarch was enabled to become the first Roman to live again after the lapse of a thousand years.

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[11] De Nolhac, *Op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–72.

The Revival of Learning and the Renaissance. The Revival of Learning designates that passionate interest in the ancient Latin and Greek literature, learning, and culture that swept over western Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. *Humanism* [13] is another name for it. This term signifies that it was a turning away from the dogmatic and supernatural revelation of truth and the ascetic mode of life to the ways and products of pure humanity as these were expressed in the culture of the Greeks and Romans. To interpret correctly this great change that came over the human spirit, there are several facts of importance that the student must keep in mind. First, the Renaissance, as such, had already begun when the Revival of Learning arose in Italy; and second, it was a deeper and more extensive movement than the Revival. The Renaissance embraced all western Europeans with its quickening energy and was much the same everywhere. The Revival of Learning, was one thing in Italy and quite another in the North. The scholars who view the Renaissance and the Revival of Learning as designating one and the same movement interpret this great change in civilization far too narrowly. The Renaissance was the outcome of a creative spirit, the free expression of man's spontaneous nature. It was fundamentally humanistic in character. The Revival of Learning, on the other hand, was essentially an imitation or recapitulation. Dante belonged to the first movement; Petrarch belonged to both, but he ushered in the second.

The Revival of Learning began with the passionate interest in the ancient Latin literature and later combined with this the interest in ancient Greek learning. One must note that the number of ancient Latin works possessed throughout the Middle Ages was exceedingly few. Of the poets, Virgil had been studied more or less continuously, and there always lingered some familiarity with Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, and Statius. Of the prose writers, portions of Cicero were read and also the summaries of the liberal arts by Boethius and Cassiodorus. The grammars of Donatus and Priscian were studied, and importance must be attached to the many quotations from the ancient writers which these textbooks used to illustrate grammatical rules. This extreme paucity of ancient classical literature during the Middle Ages was one of the chief causes of the intellectual sterility of the time.

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[13] From the Latin *humanitas*, humanity, refinement, and good taste; culture.

The Medieval Mind. The inner character of the medieval mind was also to blame for the darkness of this era. Even the best scholars of the period did not really understand the Latin literature which they read, because of a wrong method of interpretation. Their difficulty arose from certain preconceptions and childish tendencies of mind inherited from the oriental wrappings in which learning was transmitted to them. Symonds explains the situation in the following:

> While mysticism and allegory ruled supreme, the clearly defined humanity of the Greeks and Romans could not fail to be misapprehended. The little that was known of them reached students through a hazy and distorted medium. Poems like Virgil's fourth Ecologue were prized for what the author had not meant when he was writing them; while his real interests were utterly neglected. Against this mental misconception, this original obliquity of vision, this radical lie in the intellect, the restorers of learning had to fight at least as energetically as against brute ignorance and dullness. It was not enough to multiply books and to discover codices; they had to teach men how to read them, to explain their inspiration, to defend them against prejudice, to protect them from false methods of interpretation, to purge the mind of fancy and fable, to prove that poetry apart from its supposed prophetic meaning was delightful for its own sake, and that the history of the antique nations, in spite of Paganism, could be used for profit and instruction, was the first step to be taken by those pioneers of modern culture. They had, in short, to create a new mental sensibility by establishing the truth that pure literature directly contributes to the dignity and happiness of human beings. The achievement of this revolution in thought was the great performance of the Italians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[14]

According to medieval scholars, there were four methods of interpreting every passage: the literal, the metaphorical, the allegorical, and the analogical or mystical. The fundamental error lay in the tendency of the symbolizing mind to read into language moralizing thoughts that were never intended by their authors. After all, one reads with the ideas already in his mind, and the medieval mind cast a spell of allegory over all literature, art, and even natural phenomena. This elaborate method of thought gave way during the Renaissance to the direct and simple interpretation of an author's meaning.

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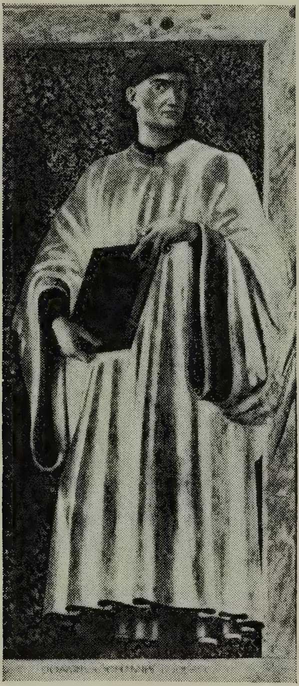
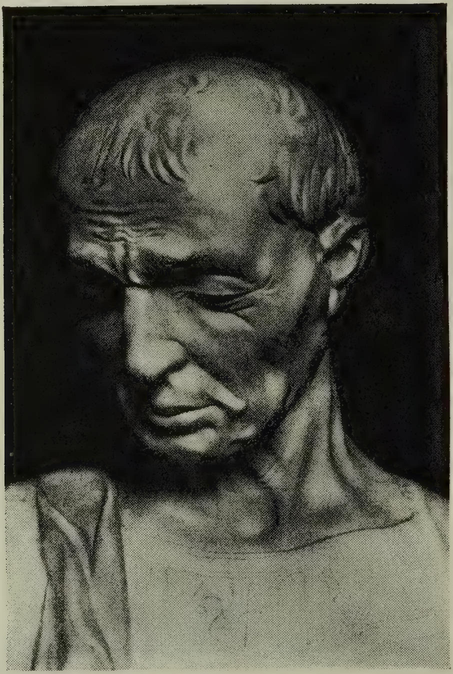
[14] Symonds, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, pp. 65–66.



BOCCACCIO.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The search for manuscripts. It was Petrarch's fine sense of beauty that caused him even as a child to be enchanted by the rhythm and harmony of the phrases of Cicero. It was this same sense that awakened in him an irresistible longing to repossess the literature of antiquity. In 1333 he discovered two of Cicero's orations and in 1345 one-half of Cicero's *Familiar Letters;* the diligent study of these made him the most enraptured worshiper of the great orator. Petrarch was thus the first to feel the burning impulse that found no rest until the entire literature of Rome and Greece was resurrected after an entombment of a thousand years. The first step of recovery was, therefore, to find the ancient manuscripts and to copy and preserve them.

Petrarch died possessing the largest collection of the works of antiquity of his day, some 200 volumes in all. The other most noted collectors who caught the fire of his passion were Boccaccio, Guarino, Filelfo, Poggio, and Niccoli. The search for ancient manuscripts now became the fashion of intellectual leaders, the patricians, and the despots of Italy. Pope Nicholas V ran deeply into debt by buying manuscripts and having copies made. Niccoli spent his entire fortune in buying books. Happily for him, the Pope then came to his rescue and furnished him with all the resources necessary for his expensive hobby. It was Niccoli who discovered a complete copy of Cicero's *De Oratore*. When Poggio attended the Church Council at Constance, he seized the



Poggio.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

opportunity to search the monasteries of Southern Germany. At the celebrated St. Gall in Switzerland he found six orations of Cicero and a complete edition of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory.* The discovery of the literature, learning, and art of the ancient world gave these intellectual leaders the same ecstatic thrill that the discovery of the new world did Columbus. According to Symonds:

> Manuscripts were worshipped by these men just as the reliques of the Holy Land had been adored by their great-grandfathers. . . . Waifs and strays of pagan authors were valued like precious gems, reveled in like odoriferous and gorgeous flowers, consulted like oracles of God, gazed on like the eyes of a beloved mistress.[15]

Cosimo de' Medici, dictator of Florence, Pope Nicholas V, and Duke Frederic of Urbino, because of their great wealth and power to employ others and to purchase manuscripts, became the greatest collectors of the fifteenth century. Within the century after Petrarch had discovered Cicero's orations, most of the important Latin classics were recovered.

The rediscovery of Greek language and literature. Scarcely a vestige of the Greek language had survived in western Europe for a number of centuries. We have, however, already seen[16] that about the twelfth century the works of Aristotle were translated into Latin from the Arabic texts of the Saracens in Spain. Furthermore, it is now ascertained that about the same time a few individuals in Sicily and Venice were in contact with the Greek world, learned the Greek language, and translated some works of Aristotle and several books of Plato directly from the Greek. For several of the works of Aristotle there existed from the twelfth century two translations: one from the Arabic and another directly from the Greek. There were also translations directly from the Greek of Plato's *Meno, Phaedo,* and the *Timaeus.* Other writings translated from the Greek were Euclid, Galen, Chrysostom, Basil, and the Pseudo-Dionysius.

Petrarch possessed a copy of Homer and some of Plato's dialogues in Greek, all of which he greatly revered but could not read. Bernard Barlaam, a native of Calabria, after returning from a visit to Greece in 1333, gave Petrarch some instruction in the Greek language, but he never attained any proficiency. Another student of Barlaam, Leontius Pilatus, taught Greek to

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[15] Symonds, *Age of Despots*, p. 21.
[16] See page 736 of this text.

Boccaccio, and later gave instruction in the language at the University of Florence. But no genuine progress in the acquisition of Greek was made until a number of native Greeks came over to Italy and lectured on Greek literature and philosophy. The first of these was Manuel Chrysoloras (1355–1415) of Constantinople, who came to Venice on an embassage and remained to teach in Florence from 1396 to 1400. Twenty years later, George of Trebizond, a learned Aristotelian scholar, came to Italy, and ten years later he was followed by Theodore of Gaza, another student of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Both gave instruction in the Greek language and in Aristotelian philosophy. From 1438, Georgios Gemistus Pletho (1355–1450) of Constantinople, who had been the teacher of Chrysoloras, gave disputations on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle at Florence. He was the most important authority of the day on Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy, and through his influence Cosimo de' Medici was led to establish the Platonic academy at Florence.

When Chrysoloras returned to Constantinople after teaching in Florence, Guarino da Verona followed him and spent five full years in his home mastering the Greek language. Guarino was a man of thorough scholarship and became the ablest of the Italian teachers of Greek. He reinvigorated the University of Ferrara as a purely classical school and made it the most popular institution of the kind in Europe. Here Theodore of Gaza, the ablest teacher of Greek, who had studied for some time with Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua, taught for many years and spread the knowledge of Greek over Western Europe. His Greek grammar was the most important text written during the fifteenth century.

Interest in Greek literature was greatly increased after Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks in 1453. A large number of Greeks took refuge in Italy where they seized the opportunity to gain a living by teaching.

Meanwhile, the interest in Greek manuscripts was intensified. At first only two copies of Homer and some few works of Plato and of Aristotle were to be found in Italy. When Guarino da Verona returned from Constantinople in 1408, he landed in Venice with some fifty Greek manuscripts. In 1423 Giovanni Aurispa, who like Guarino studied Greek under Chrysoloras in Florence, brought home from Constantinople copies of 238 Greek classical works, which included writings of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Lucian. Four years later, Filelfo, another student of Chrysoloras, obtained 40 Greek manuscripts. This recovery of Greek literature had a dynamic effect upon Italian scholars.

The effects of Greek upon Italy. In Italy the study of Greek began at Florence and spread to other places. But it was never so widely popular as Latin, partly because of the difficulty of mastering the language, still more because of a natural dislike for the Greeks. Symonds has fully summarized the importance of the revival of Greek as follows:

> The scholars who assembled in the lecture rooms of Chrysoloras felt that the Greek texts, whereof he alone supplied the key, contained those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilization of the modern world would be impossible. Nor were they mistaken. . . . The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research. Systems based on ignorance and superstition were destined to give way before it. The study of Greek opened philosophical horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen, and the monks; it stimulated the germs of science, suggested new astronomical hypotheses, and indirectly led to the discovery of America. The study of Greek resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art and literature. It subjected the creeds of Christianity, the language of the Gospels, the doctrine of Paul, to analysis, and commenced a new era for Biblical inquiry. If it be true, as a writer no less sober in his philosophy than eloquent in his language has lately asserted, that, "except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin"; we are justified in regarding the point of contact between the Greek teacher Chrysoloras and his Florentine pupils as one of the most momentous crises in the *history* of civilization . . . since the reawakening faith in human reason, the reawakening belief in the dignity of man, the desire for beauty, the liberty, audacity, and passion of the Renaissance received from Greek studies their strongest and most vital impulse.[17]

This high eulogy of the revival of Greek does not entirely fit the situation so far as the study of the language and literature was pursued in Italy. As a matter of fact, with the passing of the Greek exiles, the study of Greek literature largely died out in Italy. Fortunately for the modern world, by this time northern scholars had become masters of the language. The great significance of the return of Greek is due to its study in England, Germany, and France.

Relation of the universities to Humanism. It is important to note that the universities of Italy were not the nurseries of the

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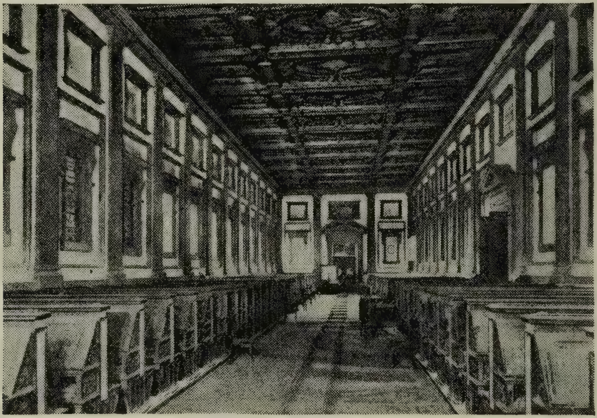
[17] Symonds, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, pp. 112–113.

Revival of Learning. The new enthusiasm found hospitality in the courts of the nobles, in the houses of wealthy merchants, and in the palaces of the princes of the Church. The courtly circles, formerly devoted to chivalric poetry, now turned their conversation into learned discussion of the literature and philosophy of the ancient world. There were, however, several universities, as Padua and Pavia, which admitted letters. Then, too, some new institutions, notably Florence and Ferrara, were founded expressly for the pursuit of humanistic culture. The universities of Florence, Pavia, and Padua nearly always employed professors of Greek, and other cities or universities occasionally. But the older institutions, with their interests fixed upon the professional studies of Theology, Law, and Medicine, looked with supercilious contempt upon these new subjects. As they saw it, literature belonged to the "trivial" arts and not to higher learning. Even where chairs for the new learning were established, the professors were given a subordinate rank and did not enjoy as high compensation as others.



THE LAURENTIAN LIBRARY.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper and Brothers.*

Founding of libraries. The profound mania for recovering manuscripts and the passion for books during the Renaissance resulted in the establishment of libraries. Petrarch's library of 200 volumes was, as we have seen, the first and most extensive assembly of classical works since ancient times. Cosimo de' Medici founded three important collections, among them the

Medicean Collection in Florence to which the famous collector, Niccoli, left 800 manuscripts. Niccoli was the first man to conceive a library publicly open to all students. In 1453, Pope Nicholas V founded the Vatican library in Rome. These libraries greatly stimulated scholarship in the field of classical learning.

II. THE EDUCATIONAL RENAISSANCE

A. *The New Study of Education*

Study of education during the Middle Ages. Little did the problems of education occupy the attention of men throughout the early Middle Ages. They slavishly followed the narrow traditional ideas and practices. With the translation of Aristotelian literature, men again began to reflect upon the education of children and youth.[18]

Education of the early Renaissance. The Renaissance was the most important factor in the revival of educational theory. The first discussion on education was that of Pietrus Paolus Vergerius about 1393, *On the Manners of a Gentleman and on Liberal Studies (De Ingenuis moribus et liberalibus).* According to Woodward, this was "one of the most widely read educational tracts." It was the first treatise to advocate the teaching of Latin literature as part of a liberal education. Vergerius evidently read all the ancient authorities available at that date on the subject. He referred to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, although his information on Plato and Cicero could not have been very

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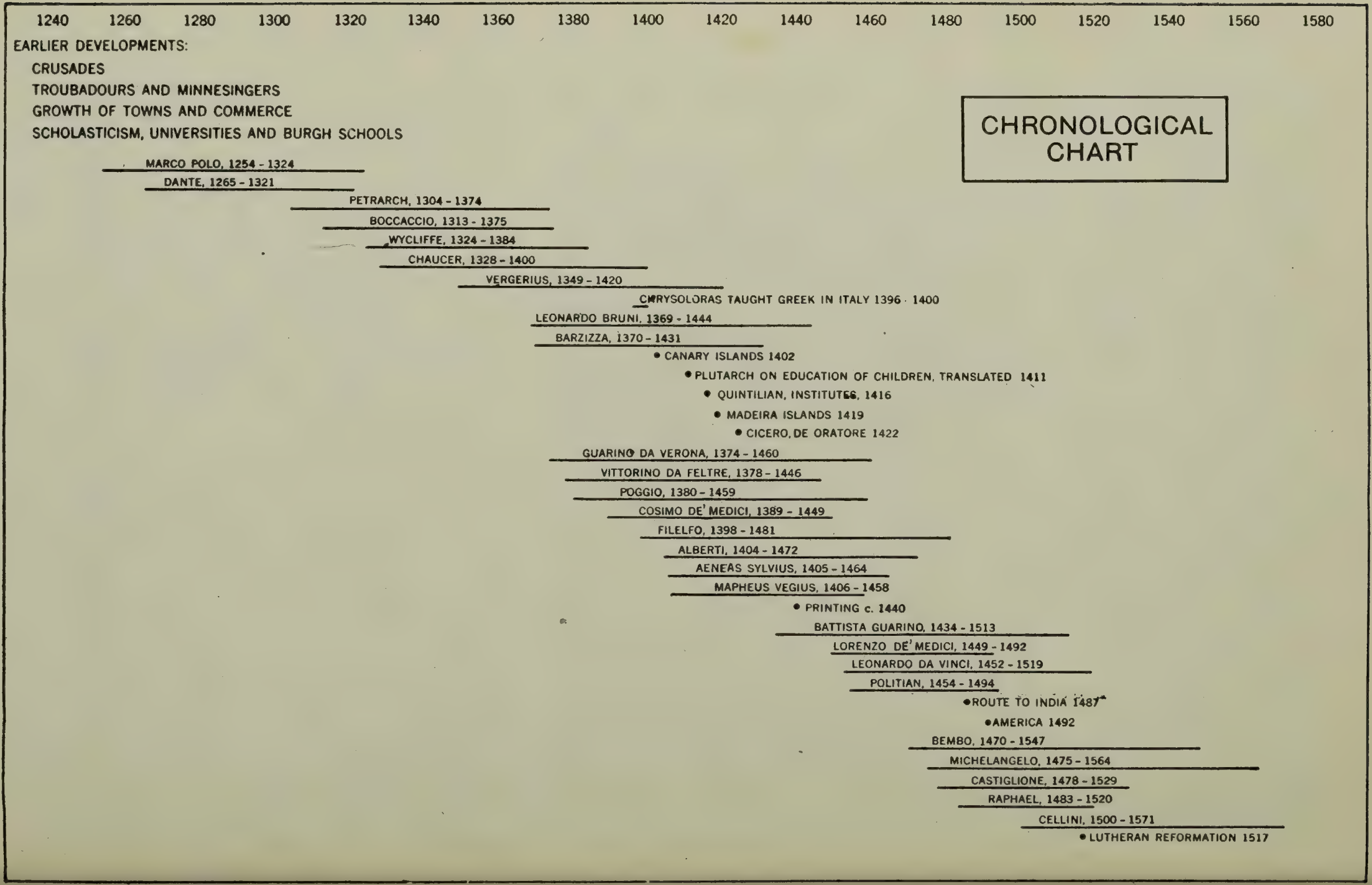
[18] The *De Regimine Principum*, written by Egidio da Colonna in 1295 is largely based upon the educational writings of Aristotle. The most important writers on education before the fourteenth century were Egidio da Colonna (*c.* 1246–1300) John Gerson (1363–1429); and Vincent of Beauvais (*c.* 1190–*c.* 1264).

Some idea of the change of pedagogical tradition may be gained from a brief comparison of the sources cited by different writers. About 1245–1249 Vincent of Beauvais wrote *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, a sort of pedagogical sourcebook. The work contains about 900 citations in all; 371 came from Greek and Latin church fathers; 335 came from ancient classical authors, and 107 from scholastic literature. The chief authors and the times cited are as follows:

Jerome	147	Cato	19
Augustine	75	Aristotle	19
Seneca	57	Cyprian	18
Hugo St. Victor	46	Quintilian	17
Bernard of Clairvaux	45	Varro	17
Ambrose	43	Horace	16
Cicero	39	Gregory the Great	15
(Pseudo-) Boethius	23		

From *Vincent of Beauvais; De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, pp. xix–xxi. Edited by Arpad Steiner, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1938.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CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
EARLIER DEVELOPMENTS:
CRUSADES
TROUBADOURS AND MINNESINGERS
GROWTH OF TOWNS AND COMMERCE
SCHOLASTICISM, UNIVERSITIES AND BURGH SCHOOLS
MARCO POLO, 1254 - 1324
DANTE, 1265 - 1321
PETRARCH, 1304 - 1374
BOCCACCIO, 1313 - 1375
WYCLIFFE, 1324 - 1384
CHAUCER, 1328 - 1400
VERGERIUS, 1349 - 1420
CHRYSOLORAS TAUGHT GREEK IN ITALY 1396 · 1400
LEONARDO BRUNI, 1369 - 1444
BARZIZZA, 1370 - 1431
● CANARY ISLANDS 1402
● PLUTARCH ON EDUCATION OF CHILDREN, TRANSLATED 1411
● QUINTILIAN, INSTITUTES, 1416
● MADEIRA ISLANDS 1419
● CICERO, DE ORATORE 1422
GUARINO DA VERONA, 1374 - 1460
VITTORINO DA FELTRE, 1378 - 1446
POGGIO, 1380 - 1459
COSIMO DE' MEDICI, 1389 - 1449
FILELFO, 1398 - 1481
ALBERTI, 1404 - 1472
AENEAS SYLVIUS, 1405 - 1464
MAPHEUS VEGIUS, 1406 - 1458
● PRINTING c. 1440
BATTISTA GUARINO, 1434 - 1513
LORENZO DE' MEDICI, 1449 - 1492
LEONARDO DA VINCI, 1452 - 1519
POLITIAN, 1454 - 1494
● ROUTE TO INDIA 1487
● AMERICA 1492
BEMBO, 1470 - 1547
MICHELANGELO, 1475 - 1564
CASTIGLIONE, 1478 - 1529
RAPHAEL, 1483 - 1520
CELLINI, 1500 - 1571
● LUTHERAN REFORMATION 1517

complete. However, Vergerius did not clearly understand the character of ancient education from the authors he had at hand.

Rediscovery of classical education. In 1411 Guarino da Verona made a translation of Plutarch's *On the Education of Children.* This was universally read by scholars, and its importance can scarcely be overestimated. Five years later the celebrated discoverer, Poggio, found the complete text of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* at the Swiss monastery of St. Gall in a dump heap in one of the towers of the abbey. These books put scholars in possession of the two works that summarized the pedagogical wisdom of antiquity. Some six years later, *i.e.,* in 1422, the text of Cicero's *de Oratore,* found at Lodi, added still further to the mounting interest of educators as well as general classical scholars in ancient education. The study of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics* also aroused interest.[19] But of all these ancient discussions of education Quintilian's was the most far-reaching and profound in its impression. He was the supreme authority, who, as all agreed, had shown how the Roman orators should be trained. The universal attitude may best be seen in the statement of Erasmus who excused himself for not touching upon the aim and methods of education "seeing that Quintilian has said the last word on the matter." As a result of the study of these ancient works, a deep interest in the study of education sprang up at this time. It pertained especially, though not exclusively, to the education of the princely class. Naturally many of the ideas were the rehashing of the principles of Plutarch and Quintilian, but numerous references to Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and other classical authors show that these works were carefully studied. Moreover, the ideas of the Church Fathers, especially Basil, Chrysostom, and Augustine, were accorded the greatest respect. Out of this study of ancient education arose the establishment of a new order of schools.

B. *Humanistic Schools*

1. *Vittorino da Feltre*

The first humanist schoolmaster. The first, most famous, and most successful schoolmaster of the Renaissance was Vittorino

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[19] Leonardo Bruni translated into Latin Aristotle's *Ethics* in 1414, and the *Politics* in 1437. Later Theodorus Gaza made new translations, as did also Argyropolus, who translated the *Ethics, Politics, Oeconomicus,* and *De Anima.* He taught Greek in Florence from 1456 to 1471.

Rambaldini, usually known as Vittorino da Feltre. Feltre is a picturesque village which nestles under the southern slope of the Alps, facing the great Venetian plain. It was here that Vittorino was born in 1378. Less than fifty miles away was the noted university of Padua, which was second only to Bologna. Near this center of culture, Petrarch had resided many years, and his library had found a temporary shelter. Here, too, his disciples and princely admirers kept alive his deep devotion to Latin literature. Into this university atmosphere, surcharged with scholarly enthusiasm for ancient learning, Vittorino entered at the impressionable age of eighteen. The selfsame year that Vittorino entered Padua, one of the epochal events in the history of letters took place: Manuel Chrysoloras, a Greek from Constantinople, accepted the invitation from Florence to become the first professor of Greek letters in the western world. Furthermore, it was while Vittorino was still a student at Padua in 1407 that the scholarly Barzizza became professor of Latin rhetoric in that institution.

VICTORINVS FELT
RENSIS SVMMVS
MATHEMATICVS
OPVS PISANI PICTORIS

Medal Presented to Vittorino da Feltre.—*Courtesy, British Museum.*

As student and private tutor Vittorino spent over twenty-five years in this university atmosphere, where all arts made their home. Years of intelligent toil brought their due reward, and he became one of the most conspicuous humanistic scholars of the age. As a Latinist he was equaled by Barzizza only; as a mathematician he attained the reputation of being the ablest master of the day, although mathematics was not taught in the university, but only by private instructors.

At the age of forty-five just as he had settled in his newly established school in Venice, Vittorino received a strong appeal from Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, one of the humanistic despots of the day, to direct the education of his family. It had long been the custom for the princes to set up schools for the training of their children; even more was it the fashion at this time, when the nobles felt it a matter of personal honor and glory to interest themselves in the patronage of the new learning. As we have already seen, emulation was rife in their efforts to outdo one another in attracting humanistic scholars to their courts. In supporting poets and scholars, an Italian prince felt himself in possession of the ancient, imperial prerogative, the patronage of letters and learning.

Vittorino was loath to accept the proffered task because of his deep aversion to court life with its usual acquiescence, if not actual involvement, in intrigue, immorality, and crime. Nevertheless, when he could no longer resist the urgent appeal of the Marquis, he accepted the position with the conviction that in undertaking the education of a prince he was performing a genuine service to his future subjects. Only after the Marquis had consented to the following condition, which Vittorino firmly laid down, did he finally agree to go to Mantua: "I accept the post, on this understanding only, that you require from me nothing which shall be in any way unworthy of either of us; and I will continue to serve you so long as your own life shall command respect." The school of Vittorino richly merits description not only because it was the first and most outstanding school of the Italian Renaissance, but because of its importance to the history of Humanism.

In person Vittorino was slight and frail; he had, however, accustomed himself to vigorous gymnastics and by this means had kept his physique supple, graceful, and hardy. His voice was low, his articulation clear, and his address grave and impressive, yet sympathetic and affectionate. By nature he was passionate and of violent temper, but by careful training he had acquired masterly self-control. His dress was simple almost to austerity; in fact, he was rather inclined to ascetic modes, refusing to wear his doctor's ring and gown. He was, furthermore, extremely temperate in eating and drinking and indifferent to heat and cold. He always felt a strong aversion to court life and to all external show and pomp. In a word, in his personality Vittorino harmonized the severity of the ancient Romans, the simplicity of the monk, the sympathy and gentleness of the Christian, with the dignity and urbanity of the humanist.

Superficially, it might be assumed that Vittorino, as well as others of that day, entered upon the teaching office with no professional preparation other than knowledge of classical literature and learning. Such, however, was not the case. In the first place, he had studied the educational essay of Vergerius, who taught at Padua. But more than that, he had mastered in every detail the educational principles of Plutarch, Quintilian, Plato, and Cicero. The fact is, he had lectured on their works at the university, for they were the center of scholarly interest at Padua while Vittorino was teaching there. They were, indeed, courses in educational theory and practice that contained the ripened fruit of centuries of teaching experience. No great educator of that day failed to saturate his mind with this pedagogy of the ancient world.

2. *Description of La Giocosa*

a. *School building.* The Marquis of Mantua set apart a magnificent palace in close proximity to the family residence. This villa had long been named *La Gioiosa* or "House of Pleasure," a term too suggestive for the ascetic temper of Vittorino. By changing one letter he ingeniously altered it to *La Giocosa,* which is equivalent to the Latin word for sport and was at times used to designate a school. The building was likewise altered; the luxurious ornaments and plate were ruthlessly stripped away and the palace was decorated anew with frescoes appropriate to its change of purpose. The structure, of stately dignity, with broad corridors, lofty ceilings, and airy, well-lighted rooms, was splendidly fitted for a knightly academy. Vittorino believed that bright and noble surroundings would inspire sound intellectual work as well as good character.

The grounds around *La Giocosa* were on the same munificent scale. The building was surrounded on three sides by a large meadow and on the fourth by a river. The meadow was laid out with broad walks lined with tall trees. The spacious lawns were used for field games, and the surrounding country afforded opportunities for recreation and sport as well as for geographical exploration.

b. *Pupils.* The pupils were, primarily, the children of the Marquis, four sons and one daughter, Cecilia, who, contrary to the centuries-old custom, was educated with her brothers. Apparently she was the only girl who enjoyed this privilege.[20] In addition, the mighty and wealthy as far off as Germany sent their sons to receive instructions from the celebrated master. Moreover, the greatest scholars of the time were glad to have their sons at *La Giocosa*, and the Duke gloried in the fact that it was the chosen school of the learned and aristocratic world.

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[20] Barbara of Brandenburg, who married Ludovico, eldest son of the Marquis Gonzaga, was also educated by Vittorino. But her relation to the school is not definite.

Vittorino insisted on associating on an equal footing with these children of the high-born a large number of poor boys for whom he supplied not only instruction, but also food and clothing. These pupils were selected by him because of their character and outstanding ability. Undesirable companions were firmly excluded regardless of their station. The ages of the pupils ranged from six to twenty-seven. At one time as many as seventy were enrolled in the school. Since care was exercised in the selection of assistants and servants, the life of the school was cordial, natural, and happy.

c. *Aim of education.* Vittorino went to Mantua in the belief that in training the future head of a state in the right way he would be benefiting the common people who were to be his subjects. He therefore aimed at "the complete citizen" who could play his full part in the complicated social life of the day.

d. *The course of study.* What studies occupied the attention of this interesting assortment of pupils? In an age wild with enthusiasm for classical learning and literature, training in *La Giocosa* was naturally humanistic.

Children began the course of study at the green age of four or five. The primary curriculum included reading, arithmetic, writing, and drawing, together with the memorizing of the Psalms, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Hymn to the Virgin. Partly as an amusement, partly also as a preparation for future instruction, Greek and Roman mythology and tales from the ancient writers were repeated to the young. Morals were inculcated in the traditional ways through myths, stories, anecdotes, fables, religious biography, and by strict supervision. Naturally, Vittorino endeavored to create devices which would make learning pleasant for infant minds.

Grammar. After the children had learned to read and write, a small and simple text of Latin grammar was put into their hands. The fact that Latin was spoken habitually in the school by older pupils naturally made this language easier for the younger. Indeed, one must ever recall that Latin was by no means a foreign language to the Italian ear. Most of the grammar was unquestionably acquired by the inductive method through the study of the authors themselves. After the elements of grammar had been mastered, attention was directed to the study of literature.

Reciting and declaiming. When the boy could read, he was carefully trained in declamation as a preparation for eloquence. Children were taught first to recite certain religious exercises reverently and intelligently. Then short passages of Ovid and Virgil were practiced. By the age of ten, some pupils recited their own Latin compositions. Memorizing was utilized far more as a means of education than it is today, for texts were scarce. All educators accepted the ancient theory as stated by Quintilian, that memory is the first sign of ability *(primum ingenii signum).* Remarkable results were obtained in training gifted young children. Entire orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, books of Livy and Sallust, of Virgil and Homer, were memorized and accurately repeated by boys and girls less than fourteen years old.

Mathematics and physics. The curriculum of Vittorino's school reached beyond grammar and literature as might easily be expected of a noted humanist. He valued arithmetic highly as a training in accuracy and orderly habits of mind. In the primary stage, following the practice of ancient Egyptians, whose method in the subject Vittorino highly commended, it was taught by games. Geometry, Vittorino taught in conjunction with drawing, mensuration, and surveying. We naturally expect considerable stress to be placed upon mathematics, when we recall Vittorino's interest and scholarship in the subject. The elements of natural philosophy were taught by masters especially engaged for this purpose. At Padua, mathematics and astrology had been closely associated, but Vittorino discarded astrology for astronomy.

Music. Music was admitted, although under limitations. Music masters, carefully chosen, gave special attention to those pupils who were likely to excel. Vittorino held firmly to the distinction between debasing and elevating harmonies. With these precautions he was favorable to instrumental music, choral singing, and dancing.

Teaching of Greek. Vittorino thought the Greek language inferior to Latin, thus Homer was subordinated to Virgil. Hesiod, Pindar, the dramatists among the poets, and Xenophon, Herodotus, and Plutarch among prose writers were popular for their moral effects; Demosthenes and Isocrates were read, and Plato was used in advanced classes. Instruction in Greek was given by George of Trebizond and Theodore of Gaza, both of whom knew Greek as a mother tongue. It may safely be affirmed that in no other Italian school of this time was Greek so thoroughly and systematically taught.

Composition. When the student could read and speak Latin with ease, he began rhetoric and composition. Certain formal phrases were learnt by heart, and this method was followed by a book of exercises. Greek composition was also introduced along with the practice of translating Greek into Latin, and *vice versa.* The writing of original epistles and orations began at the age of eleven or twelve. Formal models were first reproduced with great accuracy. Vittorino taught composition with unusual interest, although he wrote nothing himself. Alone of the scholars of his rank, he left posterity no "Elegant epistles"; he excused his lack of production on the ground that there was enough writing already in existence.

Training in style. After the preliminary training the next object was to have the student acquire a good Latin style. To this end he was made familiar with the best passages from various authors; Cicero and Virgil were, as a matter of course, the favorites. Reverence for the great Poet was characteristic of the age, but particularly of the people of Mantua, for it was there that Virgil was born, and Vittorino gloried in being the owner of the birthplace of the beloved poet which was the only property he possessed. Among other Latin poets read were Lucan, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, and Seneca. Cicero was considered the best material for the foundation of scholarship, for scholarship meant Latin eloquence. Prose writers in the course of study included Quintilian, Sallust, Curtius, Caesar, and Livy.

History and ethics. The study of history was not clearly defined by humanistic educators, and there was as yet no critical attitude toward the writers in the field. Sallust, Curtius, Valerius Maximus, and Livy were favorites. Tacitus was as yet unknown; Plutarch's *Lives* were most popular for moral purposes. Vittorino possessed also the great Greek historians, but evidently slight attention was given to these. Interest in political science appears to have been lacking. The classics were employed by Vittorino chiefly because of their ethical value, for in them were to be found the best theories as well as the best practice of life.

Physical Training. It is ever essential to keep in view that the ducal academies of the Renaissance traced their lineage to the old knightly training and not to church or municipal institutions. The cultivation of physical strength and of grace was a natural development of the knightly ideal. Vittorino for his part harmonized the classical form of physical culture with the knightly arts. He held the opinion that not only was the alternation of study with games and exercises needful for real intellectual quickness, but that the teacher must provide ample variation in the subjects of instruction themselves. It was a common slogan of humanist writers on education that the mind needs variety of food not less than the body. This would seem the more necessary, since school lessons lasted seven or eight hours daily. Spontaneous play and occasional excursions to the mountains broke the monotony of instruction at *La Giocosa.*

Vittorino gave serious attention to the health of his pupils. To this end, life out of doors was carefully organized, and daily exercises in some form were compulsory regardless of the weather. As methods of physical instruction Vittorino used riding, running, games of ball, leaping, and fencing. These activities laid the foundation of health and habituated the boy to regular exercise. Care was taken to increase the strain by slow degrees. After the age of ten, regular training was required, then archery, fencing, the use of the sling, and military exercises. These had in view not only military skill but also gracefulness and good deportment. Physical exercise had as its aims: preparation for military life and the prevention of self-indulgence. As a humanist Vittorino believed that skill as a sportsman was no less praiseworthy than literary ability and scholarship.

e. *Evaluation of the school.* Vittorino was unquestionably the most superior schoolmaster of the entire Italian Renaissance, and one of the foremost of modern times. He was greatly honored by contemporary scholars, and people journeyed to Mantua just to get a look at him. His school was a model which other masters throughout Italy were glad to follow. Most important of all is the fact that a large number of his pupils became leaders in Italian life and scholarship. *La Giocosa* was likened to the Trojan horse in that there went forth out of it a band of men who conquered Italy for Humanism.[21] Considering the lack of models which he could copy, the chaotic character of Humanism in his day, the uncertainty of educational aims, curriculum, and method, one is compelled, under the circumstances, to attribute to him as much of genius in the field of educational art as Petrarch showed in poetry or Michelangelo in painting. His soundness as an educator was most remarkable. *La Giocosa* was a noble center of classical scholarship, a model of the best humanistic culture, and the seat of a discipline that united the best of ancient ideals and intelligence with Christian character and knightly chivalry and strength of body.

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[21] Among the great humanists trained at Mantua was George of Trebizond, who learned Latin from Vittorino in exchange for lessons in Greek. As a Latinist he was one of the purest of the century. Nicholas Perotti wrote the grammar for the Latin language that displaced medieval texts and gave the subject its modern form. John, Bishop of Aleria, was the most remarkable editor of Latin classical works. Other students trained at *La Giocosa* were Valla and Ognibene da Lonigo.

3. *Other Humanistic Schools*

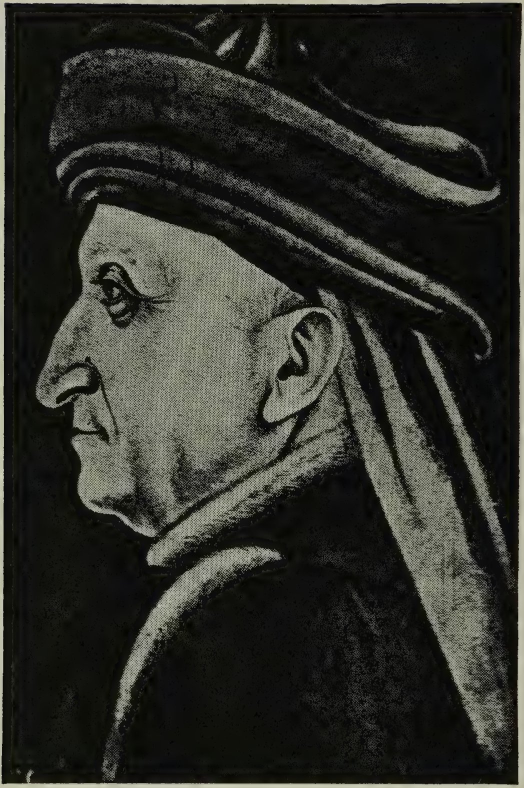
The school of Ferrara. Vittorino conducted the school at Mantua from 1423 to 1446. Guarino of Verona, his friend and one of the ablest Latin scholars of the day, was employed by the Marquis Niccolo d'Este of Ferrara to conduct a similar institution for his son and heir. Guarino was a more meticulous scholar and author than Vittorino. At Mantua the aim was a generous training for the practical life of the gentleman and prince; the work at Ferrara led to the cultured priesthood, the professorial chair, and the literary career.

Through the scholarly work of Guarino, the decadent school of Ferrara was revived and became the training ground for German and English humanists. It was here that Agricola, the first of the northern scholars, became the enthusiastic student of pure Latin and Greek, spending four years under the younger Guarino and Theodore of Gaza. A number of young Englishmen also found their way to Ferrara to learn Latin from Guarino and his son. They carried the new learning back to their native country and thus became the originators of Humanism in England.

Other schools. Numerous other such schools were conducted throughout Italy, but none of them attained the celebrity of Mantua and Ferrara. As centers of liberal Humanism, the schools of this period were the best of the Renaissance era. They compelled the old municipal academies to revise their curricula and to teach classical in place of medieval Latin.

C. *Panel Discussion on Humanistic Education*

The new educational situation. In a period of profound readjustment when the very foundations of culture are undergoing transformation, considerable divergence of view in regard to education must be expected. The change from the scholastic to humanistic culture was just such a period. A new view of the world and of human life was forming in the hearts and minds of men, and naturally the aim of education, the curricula, and methods required readjustment.



GUARINO.—*From Sandys, J. E., "A History of Classical Scholarship," Cambridge University Press.*

The manner in which this great transition took place, the different points of view on education, and the chief personalities involved will now be discussed. In order to present the various problems and the views of the leaders most pointedly, they are given in the form of a panel discussion. The reader must understand that these men never met together as represented, and that first and last, they were separated by more than a century. The later educators were, however, acquainted with the thoughts and practices of the earlier, and as all were participants in the humanistic movement, they do form, in a very real way, a unitary group. It is necessary to present first the personnel of the panel.

Participants in the discussions. The following are the men who formulated the practices and principles of humanistic education in Italy during the fifteenth century and they are here represented as taking part in the joint council: [22]

1. Petrus Paulus Vergerius (1349–1420). The Premier of the group was Professor of Rhetoric and Logic at Padua, who wrote the first tractate on education that advocated the study of Latin literature for liberal culture. His treatise was used as a textbook in the schools and was so popular that forty editions were published before 1600. His opinions on the various points were known to all scholars and educators and were highly respected.

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[22] The following were the most important writings on education in order of date:

1393 Vergerius, Petrus Paulus, *De Ingenuis Moribus et Liberalibus. (On the Manners of a Gentleman and on Liberal Studies.)*

1405 L. Bruni D'Arezzo, *De Studiis et Literis. (Concerning Studies and Letters.)*

1428 Barbaro, Francesco, *De Liberorum Educatione.* Part of *De Re Uxuria. (On the Education of Boys.)*

1431 Alberti, Leone Battista, *Della Cura della Famiglia. (On the Care of the Family.)*

1435 Palmieri, Matteo, *La Vita Civile. (The Civil Life.)*

1445 Sylvius, Aeneas. (Pope Pius II) *Tractatus de Liberorum Educatione editus ad Ladislaum Ungariae et Bohemiae Regem. (Tractate on the Education of Boys written to Ladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia.)* Translated in Woodward, W. W., *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, pp. 136–158.

1445 Guarino, Battista, *De Ordine Docendi et Studendi. (Concerning the Order and Method to be Observed in the Teaching and Reading of Classical Authors.)*

1458 Vegio, Maffeo, *De Educatione Liberorum et Claris Eorum Moribus. (On the Education of Boys and their Moral Culture.)* (Exact date of writing not known.)

1459 Pannonius, Gian Sylva, *Panegyrica ad Guarinum. (A panegyric to Guarino.)* A pupil of Guarino wrote a metrical account of his school.

1470 Porcio, Jacopo, *De Generosa Liberorum Educatione. (On the Liberal Education of Boys.)*

1494 Patrizi, Francesco, *De Institutione Reipublicae.*

———————, *De Regno et Regis Institutione.*

Ivani, *De Governo della Famiglia Civile. (On the Training of the Civil Family.)*

1534 Sadoleto, *De Liberis Recte Instituendis. (On the Correct Instruction of Boys.)*

1528 Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano. (The Courtier.)*

2. Leonardo Bruni D'Arezzo (1369–1444). After serving as Papal secretary for some years, Bruni became Chancellor of the city of Florence. He had been one of the enthusiastic students of Chrysoloras. He was a brilliant humanist and scholarly writer and translator of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Plutarch. The special reason for including him in the panel was his interest in the education of girls; it was he who wrote the first humanistic tract on this subject.

3. Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446). Vittorino was not only distinguished as the finest Latinist and mathematician of the first half of the fifteenth century, but as the greatest genius in the art of education during the entire Renaissance. His school, as we have seen, was the ranking institution of the day. His views on current issues carried superior weight because of his profound scholarship on the one hand and his practical experience on the other.

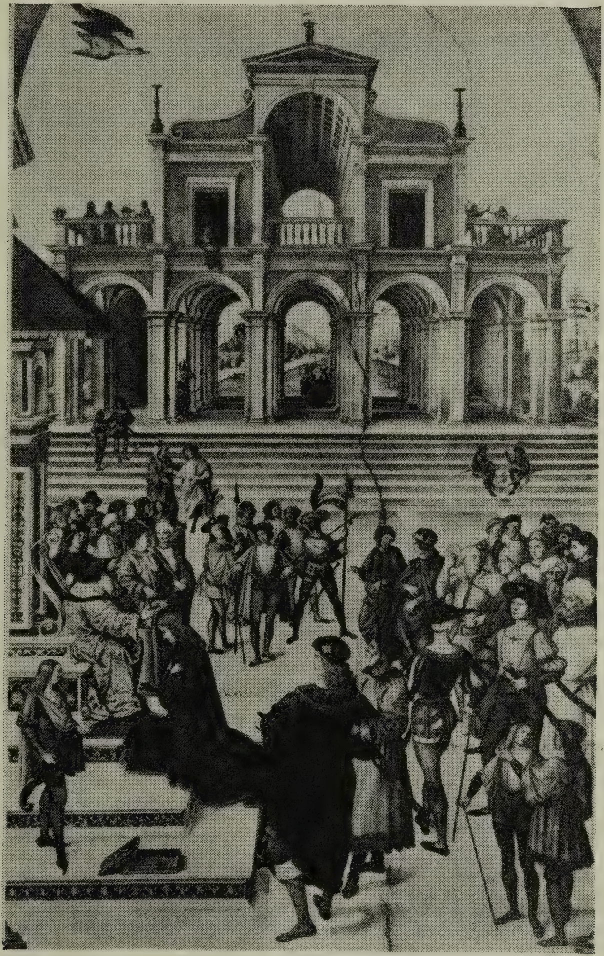
4. Guarino da Verona (1370–1461) was a contemporary and friend of Vittorino and the best Greek scholar among the Italians. His son, Battista Guarino (1434–1513), at twenty-five wrote a treatise on education in which he represented the principles and practices of his father. Both father and son taught at Ferrara and were instrumental in making that institution the leading center of Greek and Latin studies in all Italy.

5. Leone Battista Alberti (1404–1472). This man was a giant in an age of giants. He attained fame as a painter, poet, philosopher, musician, and architect. Among his many writings was a work *On the Care of the Family,* in which he discussed the problems of education.

6. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1405–1464). When in the service of the Emperor, Sylvius had charge of the royal ward, Ladislas, King of Bohemia. When the lad was ten, Sylvius wrote a treatise for him *On the Education of Boys (De Liberorum Educatione)*. Because of his exalted position and the influence of this treatise, he is included in the discussion.

7. Mapheus Vegius (1405–1458). This man had an eventful career as an enthusiastic humanist and poet. He later became pietistic and served as papal secretary for many years. His work on education is the longest and most important educational discussion of these times. Though not strikingly creative in ideas, he was the most thoroughgoing investigator of classical writers on the subject of education. His leanings were, however, in the direction of the pedagogical principles of the Church Fathers,

especially of Augustine and his mother, Monica, whom he worshiped. His book was published a number of times in various cities of Europe; a translation into French in 1513 was the first treatise on education in that language.



Crowning of the Poet, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

8. Castiglione (1478–1529) came later than the others. He wrote the celebrated work, *Il Cortegiano (The Courtier)*, which exerted profound influence all through western Europe. Al-

though this book was written in the sixteenth century, it portrayed the chivalrous and learned gentleman and the cultured lady who represented the ideals of education in the fifteenth.

These eight leading authorities, let us now suppose, met to discuss the current problems of the new education as it took form during the Italian Renaissance.

1. *General Principles*

Shall education be under Church or public or private control? This problem did not stir any bitter controversy in Italy, although it was discussed by several educators, and opinion as to the question differed sharply. The Church schools still existed, but the universities and the municipal academies were under public control. At the same time private instruction was preferred by the ducal houses.

Vergerius, who was the first to speak, expressed ardently the conviction that the foolish indulgence and moral ignorance on the part of women in the home rob the youth of manliness and self-reliance. Boys should, therefore, be sent away to school even though the school be in the same city. But, he added, even if children remain under the control of the home, they are not outside of public regulation of their education; tracking Aristotle, he declared:

> The education of children is a matter of more than private interest; it concerns the State, which indeed regards the right training of the young as, in certain aspects, within its proper sphere.[23]

Vegius agreed with this position, but he strongly insisted that it is, nevertheless, the duty of the father to take an active interest in the education of his sons, to visit the school, and even to hear the recitation of their lessons. Boys, he believed, will learn more in public schools because of the spur of emulation.

Vittorino expressed great fear of the moral influence of the public schools. Many of the students in the universities were extremely young—from twelve years up; because many foreigners had flocked in, discipline became loose, and moral conditions dissolute. Vittorino was shocked into the conviction that young boys need special oversight. In the interest of strict morals and Christian character he favored the private boarding school in which the boys live under the watchful eye and parental supervision of the masters. Education, he felt, must mold the entire activity of the youth in order to secure the results desired. In conducting his school he reinforced the tradition of the school patterned after family life with the teacher *in loco parentis.* He demanded that all his pupils should be put upon the same footing of plain and sober living without indulgence in luxury, idleness, or arrogance.

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[23] Woodward, William Harrison, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, p. 100. Cambridge: The University Press, 1905.

Guarino agreed with his friend and former associate. He stated his position in these terms:

> In the choice of a Master we ought to remember that his position should carry with it something of the authority of a father; for unless respect be paid to the man and to his office, regard will not be had to his words. Our forefathers were certainly right in basing the relation of teacher and pupil upon the foundation of filial reverence on the one part and fatherly affection on the other.[24]

Porcio, who was not a member of the panel, but had written a work, *On the Liberal Education of Boys,* expressed the view that boys should live at home under a tutor until ten years of age to learn manners and morals. Then they might be sent to public schools to have the benefit of association with their equals in age and ability.

Alberti, one of the best minds of this age, took the position that the family as a social institution has priority over the state. It is based on nature, the tie of blood, and upon mutual affection. The state exists for gain or advantage and for defense. The country home is the most effective school for the education of good men.

In conclusion, it may be stated that in spite of the disparity in opinions the humanists settled two points. First, laymen of genuine learning replaced the priests as the instructors of youth; and second, the Church no longer dominated education.

Values attributed to classical literature and learning. At the present time one scarcely sees how the study of ancient authors would benefit the future military officer, the statesman, diplomatist, merchant, manufacturer, financier, or agriculturist. But in Italy, during the Renaissance, the situation was entirely different. At that time the question of the relative values of knowledge revolved about a comparison of scholasticism with its Seven Liberal Arts and Aristotelian philosophy on the one side and the classical literature and learning on the other. Those who upheld the former were named "Artists," the others, because of their devotion to Virgil and versification, were dubbed "Poets."

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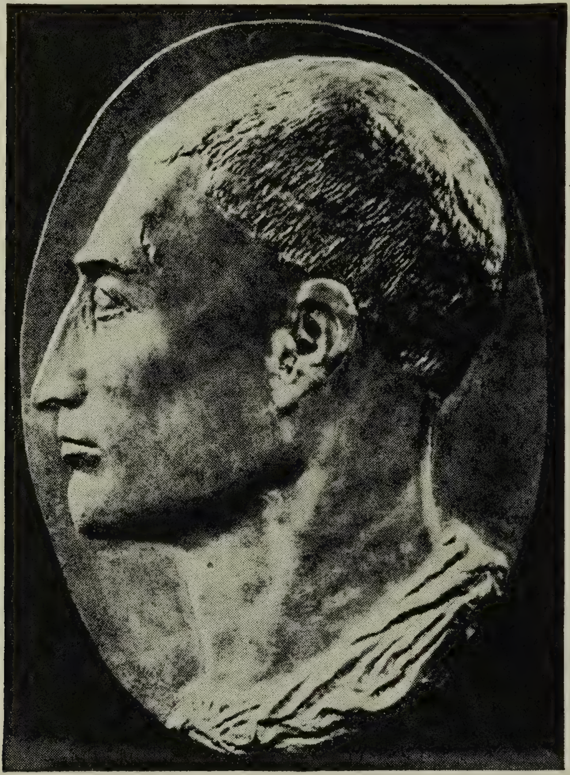
[24] Woodward, *Op. cit.,* p. 162.



Bronze Medal of Alberti.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The "Poets" attributed numerous values to the ancient writings, as we shall now see.

(1) *Inspiration.* First, and, one may add, foremost, the study of the ancient poets and historians inspired the individual with a burning desire to attain personal distinction. Castiglione pointed out that the French gloried in arms, but had contempt for letters. In Italy a different attitude prevailed, for the factor here that united letters and arms was the yearning for individual

renown. This desire, as Castiglione very clearly showed, sprang from reading ancient literature.

> You know that glory is the true stimulus to grand deeds, and hazardous feats of war, and whosoever is moved thereto for gain or other causes accomplishes no good and does not deserve to be called a gentleman, but a low down tradesman. True glory is stored in the sacred treasure-house of letters. Whose mind is so abject, timid and humble, that when he reads of the deeds and greatness of Caesar, Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal and of many others, he is not inflamed by the most ardent desire to be like them, . . . in order to win almost eternal fame, which, in spite of death, makes him live with greater glory than before? [25]

This yearning for glory was the most stimulating gift of ancient literature to the men of the Renaissance. Apart from the desire for fame there was little incentive to compensate for the drudgery entailed in the pursuit of letters and learning.

(2) *Reclamation.* Knowledge of ancient literature exercised a mysterious spell upon the youth. It turned many from dueling, drunkenness, dice playing, and a life of idleness and debauchery, to sober living and the most strenuous application to study. The new enthusiasm did what profound enthusiasm always does; it provided individuals with a living purpose. The numerous examples of young men set on fire by humanistic study led scholars to attribute to ancient learning some special regenerative power. Vegius, who had the expert's interest in moral education, declared:

> As medicine has been discovered in order to heal the infirmities of the body, so philosophy is designed for healing the sickness of the soul.[26]

(3) *Ethical knowledge.* Not only did the fervor for the ancients turn many to the paths of sobriety, but it furnished the only insight into the nature of the ethical life and the best directions for forming character. The writings of Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Seneca, and a host of others, constituted a revelation of humanistic morals, and these were assiduously expounded and studied by all the scholars of the day. Strangely, indeed, the ethical principles of the Scriptures were rarely referred to.

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[25] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book I,§ XLIII.

[26] Kopp, K. A., *Mapheus Vegius' Erziehungslehre*, p. 119. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1889.

(4) *Science.* The ancients were valued by a few for the information they furnished on the natural sciences. The scholars of the Renaissance were so deeply interested in knowing man that quite generally they overlooked nature. When they spoke of "philosophy," they had in view moral philosophy. Of the social sciences, history and government won the special attention of the princely class. As to the physical sciences, astronomy, physics, geography, and agriculture were cultivated by a few individuals. Botany and medicine were pursued by the physicians, and anatomy by physicians and artists.

(5) *Leisure.* Much eloquence was expended in praising the pursuit of literature for the sake of a happy leisure. Vergerius declared it "a spring of interest for a leisured life, a recreation for a busy one."

> What greater charm can life offer than this power of making the past, the present, and even the future, our own by means of literature? How bright a household is the family of books! [27]

It was frequently pointed out that birth, riches, position, fame, vigor, and beauty are accidental and, therefore, transient. But the treasures of knowledge, poetry, history, and the riches of the mind and character will never be lost; they are the only abiding goods of life.

(6) *Aesthetics.* The aesthetic value of ancient literature always predominated in Italy. One of the keenest sensibilities of the Italian nature was the feeling for rhythmic, harmonious, and appropriate expression. In this they resembled the ancients, and they found in Virgil and Cicero a glorious means of satisfying their aesthetic craving.

(7) *An ornament to the personality.* A knowledge of ancient literature came to be regarded as the great ornament to personality. When the celebrated Niccoli saw a fine looking youth idling away his time, he admonished him in this way:

> It is a shameful thing that thou art not giving thyself to learning of the Latin tongue, which would be unto thee a great adornment; and, if thou learn it not, thou shalt be of no esteem, for so soon as the flower of thy youth hath passed away, thou shalt find thyself without virtue.[28]

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[27] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

[28] Sandys, John Edwin, *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning,* p. 57. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1905.

Virtue meant to the Greek efficient citizenship; to the Roman, manliness; to the Middle Ages, goodness; and to the humanists, personal distinction gained by a correct use of the Latin tongue and a knowledge of literature.

Aeneas Sylvius in a letter to his nephew advised him urgently to study.

> Without literature, I do not know what you can be, but a two-legged donkey. For, without learning, what is man, however wealthy, however powerful he may be? No one, neither nobleman nor king, nor general, is of any worth, if he is ignorant of Letters. . . . For neither the star of morning nor the evening-star is fairer than the wisdom that is won by the study of Letters.[29]

(8) *Practical value.* Classical knowledge had a distinctive practical value. The educators and scholars of the Renaissance in Italy had no shadow of doubt that the study of ancient literature and a facile use of the Latin language formed the best training for a prince who must administer a state, a merchant or a banker who conducts large business affairs, a secretary or executive in an important office, an army officer, or even an agriculturist.

Vergerius was the first to lay emphasis upon this advantage: "To be able to speak and write with elegance is no slight advantage in negotiation, whether in public or private concerns." [30] Every profession of that day had to look to ancient literature for the best information on its practice.

(9) *The liberalizing value.* The term "liberal" when applied to the arts, to education, or to learning, has a significance that is the result of the changing ideas of culture. It passed through four stages:

a. Liberal arts to the Greeks were first of all the arts of polite life in which freemen engaged as over against the practical tasks of the slave or the poor man who was burdened by the drudgery of earning a living.

b. Later the term "liberal" took on a more philosophical significance. It came to designate those arts or that pursuit of learning that by awakening and strengthening the rational faculty gives man control over his appetites and passions. Reason, by its sovereign power, frees or liberates from the bondage of appetites and emotions.

c. The Seven Liberal Arts of the Middle Ages received their "liberal" significance because they opposed the seven knightly arts on the one hand and the practical arts on the other.

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[30] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

d. The "liberal" arts of the Renaissance were liberalizing because they designated the free, spontaneous, or unhindered expression of man's inner capacities, especially his aesthetic, rational, and emotional being. Vegius summed up these values in the following statement:

> May the youth of happy disposition seize knowledge and dedicate himself to it, since it has in view great benefits. . . . He receives the best guidance how one may live a modest, earnest, and pious life, how one should love parents and fatherland, reverence God, and avoid evil and despise sensuality. . . . Knowledge furnishes youth the greatest pleasure; knowledge of the changes of fate, of times and peoples and their history has something alluring. The doctrines that it offers us, are not merely of great moral influence, but conduce also to prudent judgments, to ripe reflection upon and mastery over the tasks of life. Scientific studies furnish relief and refreshment in those countless difficulties of which human life is full, and they cause us to forget them. In misfortune of any sort whatever they furnish strong protection; they are themselves a support to riches and fortune, in consequence of the extraordinary esteem and worth which science contributes. Finally, knowledge is an ornament of mankind.[31]

From these statements it is clear that the Italians found in their devotion to ancient literature and learning the complete satisfaction of all cravings. Not only were their desires for grace, harmony, and rhythm fully met, but these were combined with the patriotic feeling that they were reviving their own national and racial life.

What shall be the aim of humanistic education? The educational aim of any group, institution, or people will coincide with the type of manhood that it strives to realize. The general aim of the humanists was complete self realization. Petrarch, who was the first to espouse self-culture as the ideal, sought to attain this objective through the study of ancient Latin literature. In the light of his example and of ancient ideals, the educational thinkers of the Renaissance made a strenuous effort to define their aim of education.

The aim of humanistic educators was a well-rounded personality intensely conscious of itself, combining various elements necessary for a happy life. A careful analysis of this aim brings out five main elements: personal distinction or glory, service to

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[31] Kopp, K. A., *Mapheus Vegius' Erziehungslehre,* p. 219. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1889.

God in church and state, Christian character, literary style, and knowledge. The last two were rather to be conceived as means, but, as often happens, what begins as means finally emerges as the end. These various features were artfully combined by each educator in accordance with his individual conception of the perfection of personality. As in the days of Aristotle, opinion varied as to whether the ideal life should be one chiefly of action or of leisure and scholarly pursuits.

Vergerius, who began the discussion, emphasized a well-balanced personality that seeks for personal distinction in arms, letters, and practical wisdom. He emphasized Christian character and the harmonizing of the life of the scholar with that of the man of action by the acquisition of knowledge and training for the sake of practical affairs. He accepted Aristotle's position that man is a citizen by nature, and for this reason men cannot surrender themselves absolutely to the segregation of pure scholarship. Education must produce "soundness of judgment, wisdom of speech, and integrity of conduct." He commended young Duke Ubertinus for choosing to pursue letters as well as arms, for, he declared, "either leads to fame and honour in the world."

Vittorino da Feltre faced two groups of students in his school, sons of the nobility and sons of the poor; both he placed on the same footing of earnest and simple living. By the harmonious training of body, mind, and Christian character, he strove to form each individual into "a complete citizen to serve God in Church and State." He had little interest in the life of monasticism, and he disparaged devotion to pure scholarship. In *La Giocosa* the youth were prepared for a cultured life that would be devoted to practical affairs. Moreover, the rift that for centuries separated the ideal of Christian manhood from the humanistic spirit, Vittorino sought heroically to overcome in the new conceptions of the gentleman of culture who engages in a life of service to God and mankind. No educator has surpassed Vittorino in reconciling the conflicting ideals into well-rounded manhood.

Guarino. The elder Guarino favored a different point of view, for he was more interested in training clever, erudite, and eloquent men. He rated personal distinction attained through pure scholarship more highly than did Vittorino. The school at Ferrara, where he and his son taught for many years, was a public institution and not an aristocratic gymnasium. Young Guarino proudly claimed that from "the famous academy of his father had proceeded the greater number of those scholars who have carried learning, not merely throughout Italy, but far beyond her borders."

Aeneas Sylvius aligned himself with those who advocated a life of activity: "The true praise of *men* lies in doing," he declared, "and everything that withdraws our energies from fruitful activity is unworthy of the true Citizen."[32]

Vegius defined the aim of education in very definite moral terms, and this aim is to be attained through the study of moral philosophy, and the cultivation of right attitudes and habits. The end or objective of education is:

> To reverence God, to love parents, to be respectful to strangers in accordance with their age and station, to show proper regard for the aged, not to disdain those that are younger, to observe a friendly relation with one's equals, never to get the habit of lying or swearing, to slander none, to be true to friends, courteous to women, gentle to servants, and finally benevolent and gentle to everybody. . . . Truly there is no nobler task for the teacher than to implant love and virtue in his pupils, to govern their moral conduct in such a way that as masters of themselves they will be led as the subjects of righteousness. That is likewise the final end of culture, to lead the youth to knowledge, so that they are constrained to follow virtue and flee vice. The end of the last is low sensuality, but the end of virtue is honor and glory.[33]

He acknowledged the importance of personal distinction, but it was not recognized as the chief end. Concerning vocations, Vegius declares none are more pleasing, honorable, and worthwhile than agriculture. Military life is essential for the defense of the state, the priesthood has many advantages, and all forms of labor are healthful and honorable.

Castiglione. Running all through the Italian Renaissance was the ideal of the courtier that carried on the tradition of personal charm and the scintillating, glamorous personality that came from chivalry at its best. This ideal was influenced to some extent by the Christian conception of manhood and also by the ideals of ancient Rome and Greece. This noble product of culture was fully portrayed at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier (Il Cortegiano).* The courtier was a combination of personal friend, adviser, tutor, and general minister of culture at the court. Every detail of his personality was fully described.

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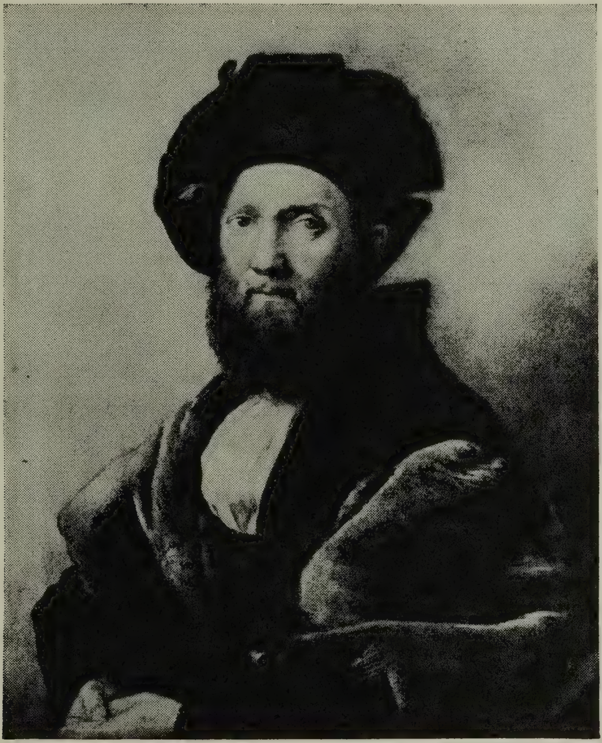
[32] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[33] Kopp, K. A., *Mapheus Vegius' Erziehungslehre*, pp. 119–120. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1889.

Physically the courtier must be of medium size, well-built, and shapely of limb, light and supple of movement, and skillful in all the exercises of warfare. He must handle every weapon on foot or on horse; and needless to emphasize, he must be a skilled horseman. Furthermore, he must wrestle, swim, leap, run, throw stones, vault, and be good at tennis and hunting.



CASTIGLIONE. PAINTING BY RAPHAEL, LOUVRE, PARIS.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

In society he must be a good sport and a good mixer. He must laugh, dally, jest, banter, and dance. With respect to spirit he must be magnanimous, generous, just, courageous, and foresighted. He must sing and compose songs. He must speak many languages and be well read. In addition to these, he must draw and paint.

Two principles must be followed without variation. The first is this: everything the courtier does must be gracefully done. Grace is "a sauce that goes with everything," without which all his other qualities are worthless. The courtier must be polished in speech and action. The second principle is that there be no affectation. This is imperative above all else, according to Castiglione:

> I find one universal rule which seems to me of more value than any other in all things human that are done or said; and that is to avoid to the uttermost affectation as if it were a very sharp and dangerous rock.[34]

To show no affectation is the concealment of art. Everything the gentleman does and says must be done or said in a perfectly casual way, as if it were done without effort or special thought.[35] The courtier must be modest and no braggart. This sense of genuineness is one that must be attained, for it is not innate.

The aim of education for Castiglione was a well-integrated personality conscious of its own dignity and position and prepared to play an important role in life. This can be gotten only by establishing an inner sense of dignity and true worth.

> I would try to impart to his mind, a certain greatness, together with the regal splendour and quickness of mind and unconquered valour in war which should make him beloved and reverenced by everyone to such a degree that he should be famous and illustrious in the world especially for this.[36]

Castiglione's description of the courtier as a man of grace and culture has become one of the masterpieces of world literature. Its definition of the cultured gentleman as the aim of liberal education has been universally accepted by the modern world. His book was followed by numerous other works of a similar nature by other authors in various countries.

The education of women. The new education of women shows clearly the integration of the various forces that formed the Renaissance. Tradition, Chivalry, Christianity, and Humanism were skillfully blended by the educators of the times. No better introduction into the heart of the whole matter can be found than a passage from Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* in which he describes the social *milieu* in which the new ideals were formed:

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[34] Castiglione, *Op. cit.*, Book I, § xxvi.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*, Book IV, § xxxvi.

> For as no court, however great it is, can have in it embellishment or splendour or gaiety, without ladies, nor can any courtier be graceful or pleasing or brave, or achieve any gallant enterprise of chivalry, unless inspired by the society, the love, and pleasure of ladies; so, also, the conversation of the courtier is always highly imperfect, unless the ladies by their interplay add their part of that grace by which they perfect and adorn courtliness.[37]

It must be understood that no one ventured to suggest the emancipation of woman from her traditional function. Home management, the rearing of children, social life, religion, and charity remained the round of feminine action.

Alberti, one of the most liberal-minded men of the age, advocated the best of learning for women, but he frankly relegated the wife to a subordinate station. He did this because he looked upon the family as the basic institution for moral and social education.

> Never would I allow my wife to regard me as other than the master. It was ever a mark of honesty in a woman to keep silence in the society of men, and to listen; to refrain from being talkative or gad-about; to avoid putting amusement before home duties.[38]

Even though it can be cited that some few women lectured in the universities of Italy and Spain by the end of the fifteenth century, no fundamental change took place in woman's age-old vocation. But from the time of Chivalry the women of court circles used their increased leisure in polite entertainment and in literary discussion. To fit the mistress to scintillate as hostess and to fill the role of wife a new form of training was added to her former domestic training. To this end the leaders of Renaissance society desired that their daughters share with their sons the advantages of a humanistic education.

Vittorino and Guarino taught both girls and boys and made no distinction between their curriculum or method of instruction. Leonardo Bruni, the first humanist to discuss the education of girls, was rather restrictive in his curriculum, for he rejected arithmetic, geometry, and astrology. Furthermore, he held that women will not engage in public speaking and accordingly do not need rhetoric. He declared emphatically:

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[37] *Ibid.*, Book IV, § III.
[38] Woodward, W. H., *Education during the Renaissance*, p. 58.

> Rhetoric in all its forms, public discussion, forensic argument, logical fence, and the like—lies absolutely outside the province of woman.[39]

Religion and morals are especially desirable for women, and as literature the Church Fathers are particularly fitting for them to read. He did not, however, object to all classical writers, for he hastened to add:

> Of the classical authors Cicero will be your constant pleasure. . . . I come now to poetry and the poets—a subject with which every educated lady must shew herself thoroughly familiar. History is an easy subject, fully within the comprehension of a studious lady, and will be included in the curriculum. Also the works of the great orators will be studied.[40]

After Bruni, the author most deeply interested in the training of women was Mapheus Vegius. He held Monica, the mother of Augustine, in highest reverence; he regarded her as the model for all mothers. Although a humanist, he confined the reading of women to the Church Fathers. Far more liberal was Cardinal Bembo, who declared, "the more a young woman knew the more charming she was."[41] All humanists agreed that an ignorant woman would be lacking in charm. Alberti advised women "to pursue the studies which will assist them in educating their own children and in taking part in the intellectual interests of their husbands."

Castiglione described the beauty, dress, entertaining qualities, and education of the ideal lady. She must entertain "with dancing, music, games, laughter, witticisms, and other things which we see at court every day." In their fashions, manners, words, gestures, and conversation the women ought not to be like men. It is fitting for men to shew a certain strength and manliness, but women ought to have tenderness, and a kind of womanly sweetness in every gesture. Castiglione advocated that women be trained in letters, music, drawing, painting, dancing, and in diverse sports and pastimes. They should, withal, be discreet and sober-minded. The same studies in language and literature should be given men and women.

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[39] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 125 *sq.*
[41] Bembo, P., *Opera*, Vol. IV, p. 471.

There was no agreement among the writers as to how far women should be like men and in what respect they should be different. Summing up the education of Italian women, Burckhardt affirmed that "the same intellectual and emotional development which perfected the man was demanded for the perfection of the woman."

Shall style or knowledge be the chief means for attaining the aim of education? Fundamentally the Italian was highly artistic, and this fact strongly affected the direction finally taken by the Renaissance in Italy. More than the other values resulting from a devotion to the ancient classical literatures, the desire to attain fame emphasized linguistic style. Style not only satisfied the deep aesthetic craving of the Italians, but at the same time it was the chief means for attaining personal glory.

Vergerius contended that knowledge has several great advantages. He appreciated the importance of style, but only as a permanent setting for knowledge.

Bruni deeply felt the importance of style, which, he contended, must govern the choice of books to be read by young women:

> We must be supremely careful in our choice of authors, lest an inartistic and debased style infect our own writing and degrade our taste; which danger is best avoided by bringing a keen, critical sense to bear upon select works, observing the sense of each passage, the structure of the sentence, the force of every word down to the least important particle. In this way our reading reacts directly upon our style.[42]

Bruni had also a very clear conception of the true relation that should obtain between knowledge and style:

> To enable us to make effectual use of what we know we must add to our knowledge the power of expression. These two sides of learning, indeed, should not be separated. Proficiency in literary form, not accompanied by broad acquaintance with facts and truths, is a barren attainment; whilst information, however vast, which lacks all grace of expression, would seem to be put under a bushel or partly thrown away. . . . But my last word must be this. The intelligence that aspires to the best must aim at both.[43]

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[42] Woodward, W. H., *Vittorino da Feltra and Other Humanist Educators*, p. 124. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133.

He expressed the fear that women might "wish the help of holy men now living." Accordingly, he cautioned the feminine heart strongly against reading contemporary literature:

> Let her not for an instant yield to the impulse to look into their writings which, . . . are utterly destitute of sound and melodious style.[44]

Guarino likewise balanced the two aspects of culture with remarkable ease:

> In purity and grace of style, in worthy deeds worthily presented, in noble thoughts nobly said,—in all these, and not in one alone, he (the scholar) finds the nourishment of his mind and spirit.[45]

Aeneas Sylvius. This noted humanist was chiefly interested in the contribution that knowledge makes to life. Speaking of philosophy and letters, he said:

> By this twofold wisdom a Prince is trained to understand the laws of God and of man; by it we are, one and all, enlightened to see the realities of the world around us. Literature is our guide to the true meaning of the past, to a right estimate of the present, to a sound forecast of the future. Where letters cease, darkness covers the land.[46]

Although he held knowledge in highest esteem, nevertheless he appreciated the need of style:

> We must learn to express ourselves with distinction, with style and manner worthy of our subject. In a word, Eloquence is a prime accomplishment in one immersed in affairs. . . . To express yourself, then, with grace and distinction is a proper object of your ambition.[47]

Castiglione. According to Castiglione, the courtier must show taste in everything that he does and says. He must strive to use the finest, the most precise and elegant language in which to frame his thought. Although Castiglione desired eloquence of speech and writing, he was by no means a formalist. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, Bembo and other meticulous scholars carried the demand for style to the most absurd extreme. It was this group that gave the final direction to Humanism by insisting on the pure Ciceronian idiom.

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[44] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

Humanism and physical education. There was no other item on which Humanism differed so positively from monastic and scholastic practices of education as on the question of physical education. In this connection one must never forget that the Humanism of the Renaissance grew out of court life and knighthood, and, therefore, military activity was one of its primary aims. *Vergerius* declared that arms and letters are "the two chief liberal Arts and fittest, therefore, for a prince." Arms are as good a means for attaining high personal distinction as letters; "either leads to fame and honour in the world."

Vergerius was largely a theorist; *Vittorino,* on the other hand, not only was conversant with the best that the ancients had said and done, but he had to face the practical problem of what physical training to give his pupils. He explained quietly, when it came to his turn to speak, that he was training young princes who naturally would become soldiers and military leaders, and for these he had provided the form of physical training most suitable for their future careers. But he had also at *La Giocosa* a much larger group of youth, many of them not princes of the blood at all, but of the middle and even lower social class. Arms would play no part in their future activities. To meet the needs of these boys, he borrowed the forms of physical education from the ancient Greeks, just as he had borrowed gymnastic and military exercises from the ancient Romans and from knightly training for the young princes. He declared, moreover, that he had no hesitancy in devising new forms of physical education to suit any special situation.

Aeneas Sylvius expressed his view succinctly in this form: "Both mind and body, the two elements of which we are constituted, must be developed side by side."

There is full accord by all authorities on this one point: it was Vittorino who gave physical education its special place in the humanistic school. He required some form of physical exercise every day, but varied the exercises to suit the weather and daily circumstances, as well as the needs of the individual.

In summing up the discussion on physical education, little needs to be said as to the aims and kinds of physical education. These men discerned the fact of the interdependence of mind and body as it had not been discerned since the days of the ancient Greeks. They believed in the hardening process in accordance with Stoic ideals. Health, grace, and good deportment were also major interests. Care was exercised to see that the growing child was not subjected to strain. As to the forms of physical exercise, they advocated the practices of the Greeks and the Romans and added also the plays and games and military exercises that had grown up with the knightly age. All heartily asserted the value of free play as a means of recreation.

Dancing. Great variation of opinion was expressed in regard to dancing. Vergerius maintained that it was degrading and led to immorality. All enticements to dancing (he advised), or suggestive spectacles, should be kept at a distance.

> . . . to watch dancing girls, or to dance ourselves to music, is altogether unworthy; though some may defend the latter as a form of exercise in spite of its tendency to lasciviousness and vain conceit.[48]

In accordance with his approval of Greek forms of physical education, Vittorino approved of dancing within limitations. Vegius was highly conservative because of his devotion to the strictest standards of moral education. He urged that "the mother shall not be seen at plays and dancing by her daughters, nor in the crowd of the public theatre and processions."

Castiglione prescribed dancing for the education of the courtier and the lady because it cultivated graceful movements and courteous and dignified bearing. So far as popular custom was concerned, dancing, it may be explained, was a common form of recreation. The dancing of the Renaissance, it must be remembered, had no kinship with the representative or dramatic dancing of the ancient Greeks.

What was the attitude toward music? Interest arose to a high pitch when this subject came up for discussion. There naturally came to mind the rich background of popular poetry and song that arose in the ebullient age of Chivalry. Then, too, there was ever present the interest in the music of religious life. The most acute problem had to do with the moral influence of music and musicians. Many held that music excited the youth and led to self-indulgence; "to listen to music is an excuse for doing nothing," they contended.

Because of his venerable age, Vergerius was the first to be invited to express his views. He began by explaining that in his opinion music is only a form of recreation. He called to mind that "the Greeks refused the title 'Educated' to anyone who could not sing and play"; then he summarized the matter as follows:

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[48] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

> We may choose such measures as shall be best suited to our moods. The Sicilian measures conduce most to restful calm; the Gallic, on the other hand, stir us to energy and movement; the Italian hold a middle place.[49]

Vittorino, as we have seen, accepted with certain limitations instruction in instrumental music and choral singing.

Everyone expected Bruni to say something about the value of music for feminine education, but, when he showed no interest in the subject, Alberti took up the discussion.

Alberti. One of the first organists of the day and the leading thinker on the philosophy of art, Alberti placed the highest value on music. Though he learned music by his own effort, his compositions were regarded favorably by the greatest authorities. Music, he contended, performs four functions: (1) It is an amusement. (2) It is a means of moral and spiritual education. (3) It forms an enjoyable exercise for times of leisure. (4) It is a means of purification. To his mind, music embraces all that brings about harmonious development. Alberti was the only humanist who fully appreciated the Greek sense of rhythm, and he alone was aware that the feeling for rhythm is the law governing all impulse and emotion. He understood that the expression of emotion in balanced action forms the basis of personality.

Aeneas Sylvius. After calling attention to the serious differences of opinion in regard to music among the ancient Greeks and Romans and the people of his day, Sylvius presented the following, as a compromise:

> Our judgment inclines to the inclusion of music, as a subject to be pursued in moderation under instructors only of a serious character, who will rigorously disallow all melodies of a sensuous nature. Under these conditions we may accept the Pythagorean opinion that music exerts a soothing and refreshing influence upon the mind.[50]

But he added the criticism that, while music soothes the mind, it contributes nothing to thought or the development of wisdom, judgment, and action.

Vegius called attention to the high place music occupied among the Greeks; to the fact that the rhapsodists were received as messengers from the gods; that the Greeks looked upon one who did not know music as "incomplete" or ignorant. Then he declared that great foresight is needed in regard to music, for experience shows many youths lose all vigor of mind and character in their absorption in unworthy harmonies. Music is most useful and fitting when it is learned for the right enjoyment of leisure, for calming the agitated spirit, and for restraining the passions. It is even more important for the praise of God and the glorification of great heroes.

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

As for feminine education, Vegius did not think a girl trained in Latin and Greek letters would need to sing and dance very well; in fact, he preferred that she should not sing or dance at all.

At this point, *Sassuolo,* who was music master in Vittorino's school, was called upon to discuss the subject. He declared music was given to man to inspire him with the noblest emotions and ideas. But he acknowledged:

> The popular music of our times is sordid, shameless, corrupt, and corrupting. [51]

Singing masters, it was generally agreed, had a bad name and were unfitted to be the companions of youth. In spite of the condemnation of music and music teachers, most educators admitted its value and made some provision for teaching it. Stringed instruments were preferred, especially the violin. The solo was more approved than the chorus. Naturally, songs and music that were elevating in their effects were preferred.

The critical attitude of the educators toward music did not accord with the ideals of the gentleman and courtier espoused by Castiglione. He discussed music in all its aspects at great length. He portrayed the courtier and the lady also as well versed in music, able to sing and dance well, and even to compose. To Castiglione, music was not merely an ornament, nor an amusement for hours of recreation, but a necessity for the harmonious, rhythmical personality of a courtier. In all this he was in line with the chivalric tradition and with popular trends. On the whole, Renaissance educators only partially understood the function performed by the ancient Greek music, and they did not give the subject an emphasis commensurate with its humanistic importance.

Drawing. This subject did not receive the stamp of approval as one of the liberal arts necessary for general education. Vergerius relegated drawing to the technical field of the artist and builder: "Drawing has no place amongst our liberal studies; . . . it belongs to the Painter's profession." [52] He sanctioned its use only as a preparation for writing.

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

Vittorino's practice is not clear, but it would appear that the only drawing he admitted was connected with geometry, mensuration, and surveying. Alberti was the only humanist who appreciated the true function of drawing in general education. He was interested as an architect, a designer, and critic of art.

2. *The Literary and Scientific Curriculum*

The curriculum of the Renaissance. A great misconception has crept in regarding the curriculum of the Renaissance. The general idea has been that it merely exchanged Medieval Latin and the Seven Liberal Arts for classical Latin and Greek, one dead thing for another. The real importance to modern education of the new curriculum lies in the fact that not only new subjects but a new and living spirit was introduced at this time. The reasons for the introduction of each, and the form in which it began to function, will be of genuine enlightenment to the student of scientific education. They will explain why the humanistic curriculum dominated education for over four hundred years.

Should the vernacular be taught? So great was the prejudice of humanists against the vulgar tongue that this problem did not call forth much response until late in the fifteenth century. Vittorino did not sanction the use of the vernacular at all except in primary instruction and in conversation. He expressed the traditional view that the vernacular tongue was not a fit medium of culture. Latin, he contended, was the common language of the learned world, and most scholars and educators concurred in this judgment. Any statement worthy of preservation for future centuries must be written in Latin. A still more vital objection was raised against the vernacular by some members of the group: the vernacular vocabulary, they contended, did not possess the words necessary to express the great variety of new ideas that came in to form the higher mental life of the Renaissance.

Not all of the great humanists who listened to this debate agreed with Vittorino as to the future of the vernacular. Alberti and Filelfo believed that the vernacular tongue should be taught. Alberti recommended oral reading of the mother tongue as well as of classical languages. He attached the greatest importance to public address as well as conversational speech in Italian.

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Aeneas Sylvius was the most ardent advocate of the use of the vernacular tongue. He urged his ward, young King Ladislas:

> Seize every opportunity of learning to converse in the vulgar tongue spoken in your realm. It is unworthy of a prince to be unable without an interpreter to hold intercourse with his people.[53]

He advised mothers to preserve the native language by using it with their children. Pupils are also to use it in conversation at school, and the teachers were urged to study the mother tongue to "make instruction more pleasant and easier." "All laws," he contended, "should be written and interpreted in the vernacular, and in intelligible clear language."

The general drift of opinion was voiced by Castiglione. The creator of *The Courtier* not only wrote in Italian, but strongly urged others to do the same. To write and speak well, he believed, one ought to use words that the masses use; he was also in favor of the courtier learning to speak Spanish and French. He saw two great values in learning to write the vernacular well; it pleased the ladies and made one appreciate the good writing of others. But no practical educator at this time took the step of actually incorporating Italian into the course of study. Even Dante was not considered worthy of study alongside Virgil. The consequence was that the humanistic movement became identified with the study of ancient languages and literatures.

The teaching of Greek in the schools. In spite of the sporadic translations during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even of the new interest of Petrarch and Boccaccio, we are assured, "Greek was absolutely an unknown language in Italy when Chrysoloras came to Florence" in 1396. But from that time the study of Greek made rapid progress. The teachers of the language may be divided into three groups: First, there were the native Greeks who, coming to Italy for one reason or another, offered instruction. The three foremost of these were Chrysoloras, who taught in Florence and Venice from 1396 to 1400; George of Trebizond, who from about 1430 was associated with Vittorino and who taught Greek in exchange for lessons in Latin. Theodore of Gaza was also employed by Vittorino at *La Giocosa.*

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[53] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

He wrote the best and most complete Greek grammar of the century, and became the first public professor of Greek at Ferrara. After the Turks took possession of Constantinople in 1453, Greek refugees in large numbers fled to Italy, and many of them found employment as teachers of the language.[54]

The second group of Greek scholars were Italians who learned the language from these native teachers in Italy or in Constantinople or Greece. Among these was Guarino da Verona, the great Latinist-teacher; Giovanni Aurispa, scholar and collector of books; and Francesco Filelfo who had all the virtues and many of the vices of the most brilliant humanists. After these a third class was formed by men who learned their Greek less perfectly from the second group.

Florence was the primary center of Greek scholarship as a result of the fostering interest of the great Medicean family. The instruction given by Chrysoloras as the first professor of Greek at the *studium* in Florence resulted in the establishment of a new Platonic academy. Here courses of lectures in the philosophies of both Plato and Aristotle were offered for the first time. But all this study of Greek, it must be stated, had to do with adults and not with the training of young children. The steps by which this language came to be included in the curriculum of Humanism must now be made clear.

Vergerius' attitude toward Greek. This first advocate of Humanism in the schools was around fifty years of age when he sat with young Guarino and Bruni at the feet of Chrysoloras in Florence to learn Greek. But his views on the subject of teaching Greek were probably written before he had applied himself to the language:

> It is hard that no slight portion of the history of Rome is only to be known through the labours of one writing in the Greek language: it is still worse that this same noble tongue, once well-nigh the daily speech of our race, as familiar as the Latin language itself, is on the point of perishing even amongst its own sons, and to us Italians is already utterly lost, unless we accept one or two who in our time are tardily endeavouring to rescue something—if it be only a mere echo of it—from oblivion.[55]

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[54] Two other Greek teachers in Italy deserve mention: Argyropolus of Constantinople, who taught at Padua, Florence, and Rome; Constantine Lascaris, who taught at Milan and Messino.

[55] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

Vittorino, who led in so many innovations, must be given the credit of introducing Greek into elementary and secondary education. We read in Woodward, "Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics were taught at La Giocosa as a necessary part of the training of every educated man, for they are the most important in forming the man and the citizen." [56] Under the instruction of George of Trebizond and Theodore of Gaza, Vittorino's school became the foremost for learning Greek during the first half of the fifteenth century. More than any other educator, Vittorino settled the order of materials, the method of instruction in Greek, and the age at which it was taught. Cecilia Gonzaga began to learn Greek at the age of six and made a conspicuous success of it. Vittorino varied the amount of Greek according to the needs of his pupils, and as a consequence, some boys were taught more Greek than Latin.

All things considered, it was Guarino da Verona and his son, Battista, who were most instrumental in promoting the teaching of the Greek language throughout Europe at this period. The father, it will be recalled, had learned this language in the home of Chrysoloras at Constantinople. But in spite of his superior knowledge of Greek, he did not place as much emphasis upon it as his son, who took a stronger stand in its favor. He declared:

> I have said that ability to write Latin verse is one of the most essential marks of an educated person. I wish now to indicate a second which is of at least equal importance, namely, familiarity with the language and literature of Greece. The time has come when we must speak with no uncertain voice upon this vital requirement of scholarship.[57]

This striking declaration was made in 1459. The work of the Guarinos at Ferrara in popularizing Greek was highly successful. Under their instruction children learned to translate the best Greek authors into Latin in the incredibly short space of twelve months. But what is much more important for our purpose is the fact that scholars from Germany and England learned Greek at Ferrara and carried their enthusiasm back to their own countries, where it came to have still greater significance.

The course in Greek, the authors read, and the method of instruction are not essentially important to the general student of education. The reasons which induced these educators to place the Greek language and literature in the list of studies are the point of real interest. Vittorino and others valued Greek for its ethical and social content. Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and Plutarch were the greatest authorities on the moral life. Battista Guarino held that without a knowledge of Greek, Latin scholarship is impossible, owing to the philological relation of the two languages. Furthermore, it was distinctly felt by humanistic scholars that Greek literature was the original, while Latin literature was an imitation and could not be understood without the Greek. Fi-

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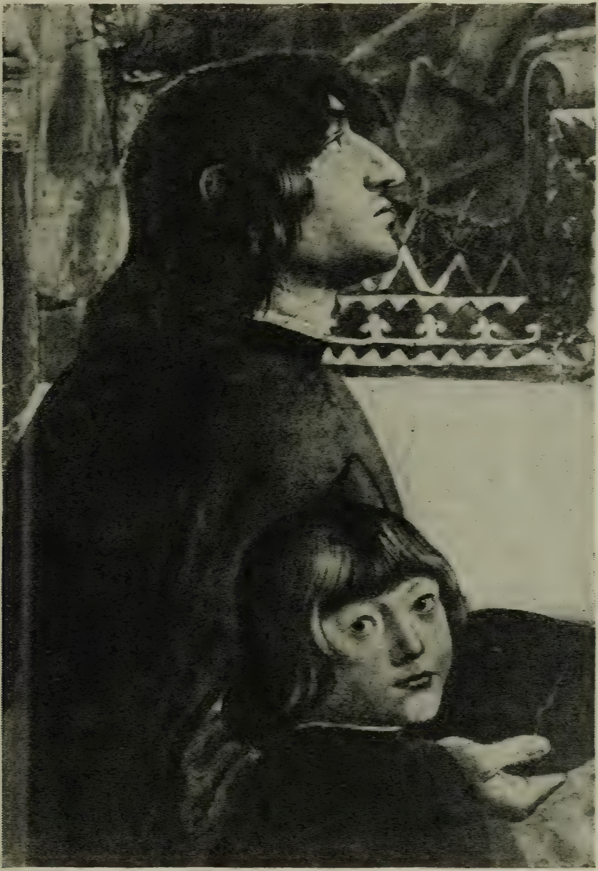
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 166.



POLIZIANO: CHIEF TEACHER OF GREEK TO ENGLISH AND GERMAN SCHOLARS.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy." Harper & Brothers.*

nally, the Greek language was necessary to understand Homer and other Greek poets and Greek philosophy and sciences, for these were essential to an educated man.

Castiglione, speaking of the Courtier, declared that a knowledge of both Latin and Greek is necessary:

> I wish him to have more than superficial learning in letters, at least in those studies called the Humanities: conversant not only with the Latin but with the Greek language because of the many different things that have been admirably written therein. Let him be well versed in the poets, and no less in the orators and historians, and also proficient in writing both poetry and prose, most especially in this vulgar tongue of ours.[58]

Grammar. On one item, fifteenth century humanists were in absolute agreement: Grammar is the starting point of all education. *Vergerius* in his treatise asserted:

> The importance of grammar and of the rules of composition must be recognized at the outset as the foundation on which the whole study of Literature must rest.[59]

In his *Epistles,* he called grammar "the primary pedagogical science," which forms "the solid foundation of every other subject whatsoever."

Vittorino. It is clear that Vittorino fully agreed that grammar is the basis of all other learning. From his school at Mantua came Nicholas Perotti to write the new scientific grammar which henceforth determined the contents of the subject. He definitely limited the idea of grammar to the art of speaking and writing correctly; no longer was it stretched to cover all literature as it had done from ancient times.

Guarino stated his view in this manner:

> The foundation of education must be laid in Grammar. Unless this be thoroughly learnt subsequent progress is uncertain—a house built upon treacherous ground.[60]

Bruni declared:

> The foundations of all true learning must be laid in the sound and thorough knowledge of Latin: which implies study marked by a broad

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[58] Castiglione, *Op. cit.*, Book I, § XLIV.
[59] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 107.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

> spirit, accurate scholarship, and careful attention to details. Unless this solid basis be secured it is useless to attempt to rear an enduring edifice. . . . To attain this essential knowledge we must never relax our careful attention to the grammar of the language.[61]

Aeneas Sylvius stated:

> Grammar, it is allowed, is the portal to all knowledge whatsoever. As a subject of study it is more complex and more fruitful than the name would imply, and it yields its full profit only to such as enter early and zealously upon its pursuit. The greatest minds have not been ashamed to show themselves earnest in the study of Grammar.[62]

To a great extent the early Renaissance educators proceeded inductively in the teaching of grammar, but to some extent they also relied upon the traditional texts of Donatus and Priscian for elementary study and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei for more advanced knowledge.

Composition, versification, and declamation. To write Latin with style and elegance was the heart of Renaissance scholarship and education. What the ancients wrote survived not primarily because of what they said, but because they said it in a beautiful way: such was the view that impressed humanistic scholars. Style in composition, versification, and oratory formed in reality the religion of the Italian humanist. Motivated by an insatiable yearning for a fame and glory equal to the ancients, they plied themselves with the utmost diligence to write and speak with a beauty of expression worthy of immortality. The acquisition of such a talent came from the most careful training of childhood, youth, and young manhood in the writing of the Latin language. Vittorino saw a further advantage in composition; he held the conviction that the best test of knowledge is the ability to impart it to others.

Practice in writing verses in Latin was a universal requirement of all educators and was accounted an essential mark of educated people. Declamation took the place of disputation, which had been popular in medieval schools. Even if one did not aspire to the glory of classical poets and orators, the ability to write with elegance and distinction still remained the best qualification for securing appointment as secretaries, tutors, and all higher positions.

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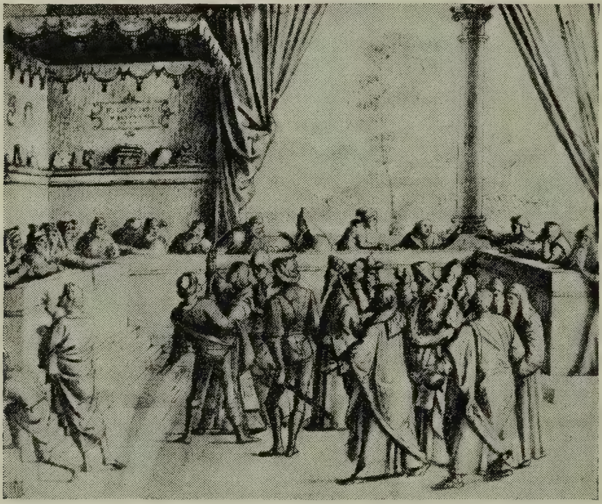
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

The introduction of history. In the ancient world, history grew out of myth, legend, and tradition and was associated with religion, poetry, drama, and philosophy. Finally it attained an independent status in some of the most rational works of all literature, either ancient or modern. The medieval mind was not conscious of history either as an intellectual content or a method of thought. It remained for the Renaissance to reinstate the historic point of view and to use this as a means of intellectual instruction and moral discipline. The look backward to antiquity definitely relinked Italian culture with that of ancient Rome, a connection broken by the interposition of Christianity.



A DISPUTATION. ORIGINAL IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

One of the functions of history is to explain the present by means of the past, but it is far more important to orient the individual in the totality of racial culture. The study of history, accordingly, takes its place as one of the greatest factors of the humanistic movement. The Italian Renaissance was a harking back to the past for the rediscovery of its cultural roots and ideals. The ancient Roman world was no longer looked upon as a foreign culture, but rather as the real patrimony of the Italian people. The sentiment of patriotism added strength to the other feelings that glorified the ancient civilization and its literary and artistic remains. The reverential absorption in Virgil, Cicero, Livy, and Caesar was in actuality an historic study of their own social and intellectual ancestry, and as such was far more appealing than the history of the Hebrews as related in the Old Testament. Roman literature was the recital of the heroic deeds of their ancestors as told by the supreme masters of the art of using words.

Vergerius. Vergerius was strongly attached to history. Discussing the list of "liberal studies," he said:

> Among these I accord the first place to History, on grounds both of its attractiveness and of its utility, qualities which appeal equally to the scholar and to the statesman . . . History, then, gives us the concrete examples of the precepts inculcated by philosophy. The one shows what men should do, the other what men have said and done in the past, and what practical lessons we may draw therefrom for the present day.[63]

Vittorino. Little light is available as to Vittorino's practice with regard to the teaching of history, but we do know he was devoted to the study of Livy; this was, however, more on account of style than content. Plutarch, Sallust, Curtius, and Valerius Maximus were other favorites of Vittorino. He also possessed copies of the chief Greek historians, but he made little use of them. He valued history especially for its moral power.

Bruni, speaking of the studies that contribute to the profitable enjoyment of life, stated:

> First amongst such studies I place History; a subject which must not on any account be neglected by one who aspires to true cultivation. For it is our duty to understand the origins of our own history and its development; and the achievements of peoples and of kings. For the careful study of the past enlarges our foresight in contemporary affairs and affords to citizens and to monarchs lessons of incitement or warning in the ordering of public policy. From History, also, we draw our store of examples of moral precepts.[64]

Guarino stated the practice of his father and himself:

> We begin with a short but comprehensive view of general history, which will include that of the Roman people, by such writers as Justin or Valerius Maximus. The latter author is also valuable as affording actual illustrations of virtuous precepts couched in attractive style. The

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[63] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 127–28.

> scholar will now devote his attention to the historians in regular order. By their aid he will learn to understand the manners, laws and institutions of different types of nations, and will examine the varying fortunes of individuals and states, the sources of their success and failure, their strength and their weakness. Not only is such knowledge of interest in daily intercourse, but it is of practical value in the ordering of affairs.[65]

From this it will be seen that he valued history because it furnished the setting for the interpretation of Roman literature and culture.

Why did these men of the Renaissance place so much emphasis upon the teaching of history? This question takes on great importance in view of the fact that the subject was then introduced into the curriculum for the first time. The chief interest was its ethical value. The *Lives* of Plutarch formed the most popular reading of the day, for biography offered a vivid and concrete method of studying morals and manners. How the great men of the past lived formed the basic interest, but there was also beginning, in some few cases, a deeper appreciation of history as the explanation of the evolution of social phenomena of all kinds.

Arithmetic and geometry. About a century before the Renaissance, the Arabic notation was introduced into Italy, and progress in arithmetic began. Commercial houses adopted the new system of calculation, and some special schools for teaching the subject were established. The attitude of humanists must now be examined. Vittorino valued arithmetic highly as a means of training for accuracy of thought and for business habits; but as a whole, little is known of the extent to which he taught either arithmetic or geometry. It is surprising that Vittorino was not more enthusiastic in advocating these mathematical studies for elementary and secondary education, for he was the recognized authority in this field in all Italy, and a special medal was struck in his honor. He employed a master to teach Euclid, that is, geometry, and connected with this subject were drawing, mensuration, and surveying. According to Vergerius, arithmetic and geometry "are weighty studies because they possess a peculiar element of certainty." Bruni expressed the thought that it is easy to overdo these subjects; their subtleties, he held, are not necessary for a cultivated mind.

Sylvius spoke with much greater enthusiasm about geometry.

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[65] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Following Aristotle, he declared that it had a peculiar fitness for the earlier stages of a boy's education; and that it quickens the perception and the reason. He went so far as to claim that geometry is a more exact method of reasoning than logic itself. Euclid was naturally the only text which teachers used. On the whole, Humanism had little affinity with these exacting and rational studies, and as yet their bearing on practical affairs was not duly appreciated. Moreover, only a few men like Alberti perceived the significance of mathematics as a satisfaction of pure intellectual curiosity.

What was the attitude toward natural history? The main body of the humanists had small interest in the natural sciences. Both Vittorino and Guarino admitted Pliny's *Natural History* into the curricula. The younger Guarino advises the occasional reading of writers on geography and astrology. He drew attention to the fact that his father had recently translated into the Latin tongue the *Geography* of Strabo. He advised the study of this subject in order to follow descriptions of countries unfamiliar to us.

In seeking to get a clear insight into the humanist attitude toward the natural sciences, it is necessary to keep several fundamental facts clearly in mind. First, the humanists were primarily interested in the study of books by celebrated authors rather than in the pursuit of subjects as such. Second, these books were selected primarily because of their style, rather than the knowledge which they contained. Third, the humanists were interested in scientific knowledge only for the purpose of understanding references in the poets and orators. We have the expert judgment of Woodward on this point:

> The main end in view of the Humanist teacher was gradually confined to the provision of just so much information as would enable a boy to understand the allusions to Astronomy, Geography, or Natural History contained in the ancient poets and historians. As classical education became more precisely defined, these subjects ceased to obtain an independent place, and "Philosophy" lost all content other than that of Ethics. The work of the elder Pliny, . . . valued for the variety of the subject-matter by earlier Humanists, then dropped out of the school curriculum.[66]

The chief proponent of the study of the natural sciences during the fifteenth century was the multiple-minded Alberti. His interest embraced physics, mechanics, optics, botany, and other sciences. He was noted for many inventions, among which was the *camera obscura.* He urged the parents of Florence to include higher mathematics among the subjects taught their sons.

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[66] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

Alberti must be credited as the first sense realist in modern times. Writing to a young Florentine boy, he advised:

> As to the knowledge of the facts of nature . . . I would have you devote yourself to them with great care, so that there shall be neither sea, river, pond, brook, stream, nor fountain, whose fish you do not know. All birds of the air, all trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruits of the forests, all the grasses of the earth, all the metals concealed in the depths of the abysses, all the mysteries of the celestial, terrestial, and marine portions of the universe, none of these should be unknown to you.[67]

Natural history was not entirely neglected. The Renaissance exhibited a certain childish curiosity about animals and plants. Beauty of color in marbles and in precious stones was highly prized. To collect such rarities was a mark of distinction in a city or an individual. Such interest in natural objects was associated with the delight in the tales of distant travel. Vittorino regarded it as indispensable to the cultured gentleman, but even this slight scientific interest later sank into indifference as linguistic formalism advanced.

Astronomy and astrology. These subjects called forth the most heated discussion. Everyone had read Petrarch's savage attack upon the evils of astrology. Vittorino utterly discarded astrology, but gave astronomy an honorable place in his course. Bruni, viewing education from the standpoint of a cultivated career, excluded astrology, but showed no particular interest in astronomy. Sylvius had in mind the education of a young prince, but he included the study of astronomy among his studies. He chose it on three grounds: (1) the greatest rulers of antiquity held it in high esteem; (2) a knowledge of astronomy is sometimes of very practical use; (3) one needs it to understand ancient literature.

3. *Religious and Moral Training*

Integration of Christianity with classical antiquity. The relation of Humanism to Christianity presented three of the most interesting problems in the entire history of human culture.

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[67] Santayana, S. G., *Two Renaissance Educators: Alberti and Piccolomini,* p. 65. Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1930.

Twelve centuries earlier, the Western Church Fathers had sternly prohibited the reading of pagan literature on the ground that the poetry and philosophy of Greece and Rome were the work of an evil spirit. Their Italian successors of the fifteenth century reinstated these cast-out authors with the wildest enthusiasm. On what ground did they justify this absolute reversal of attitude? The Renaissance in Italy was accompanied by the greatest degeneration of morals. This raises the question, what did the humanistic schools do for moral and religious education? How did they propose to bridge the gap and bring about the integration of the spirit of Christianity with the new spirit of Humanism?

The use of pagan literature. It must not be thought that the glowing outburst of interest in ancient literature aroused no opposition nor that the ancient objections that were so successful in suppressing paganism in former centuries were forgotten. Even Petrarch and Boccaccio found it necessary to defend their devotion to the Latin poets. They contended that since Christianity had destroyed paganism, it could now study pagan literature and learning without danger.

Vittorino evaded the difficulty in large measure by using expurgated texts. As he taught orally, he had ample opportunity to exclude passages of an immoral character.

Bruni. Bruni had a special interest in this problem, for he translated Saint Basil's treatise on the profit that comes from reading pagan literature. In answer to the objection made by Giovanni di Domenico[68] that "the themes of the ancient poets are chosen from stories of love and sin," he replied that some of the finest stories of love and friendship are found in ancient writers. In regard to the stories of the gods and goddesses he took the position "that such fictions are not to be read literally." Moreover, he pleaded, good men like Plato and Aristotle did not hesitate to read these poets. He pointed to the unanswerable fact that "consistency of life and abhorrence of evil existed before Christianity and are independent of it." Finally, he added that even the Scriptures contain passages on sin and evil.

Aeneas Sylvius, applying himself to the problem, declared:

> Now I meet an objection. You will be confronted by the opposition of the shallow Churchmen. "Why waste precious time in studying such sources of corruption as the pagan poets?"[69]

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[68] Domenico was Vicar of the Convent of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

[69] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

The reply was that the best of the Fathers, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, and Cyprian, used the writings of these pagans and approved of their study; even the Apostle Paul quoted from the Greek poets. Moreover, "literature, indeed, is ever holding forth to us the lesson 'God before all else.' "[70] The main question came to be how pagan literature should be used, and in this the advice of Saint Basil was taken as the guide:

> We leave on one side their beliefs and superstitions, their false ideas of happiness, their defective standard of morals; we welcome all that they can render in praise of integrity and in condemnation of vice.[71]

The upshot of the matter was that the classics were approved because of their style and their moral instruction.

Guarino advised as follows:

> We need, then, to be careful in reading the fictions of the Poets to fix our thought rather on the underlying truths which are therein concealed than upon the imaginations in which they are expressed. In this way we are not disturbed by the impieties, cruelties, horrors, which we find there.[72]

One must not conclude that the opposition came entirely from those who were ignorant of the new learning. Many, who felt in early manhood the greatest enthusiasm for classical literature, in mature life experienced a reaction and came to look upon letters and the new arts as merely the promotors of sinful vanity.

Training and instruction in religion and morals. No epoch except early Christianity laid greater emphasis in its theory of education upon training and instruction in religion and morals than the early Renaissance. No epoch of western civilization more rapidly degenerated in the practice of morality. The forming of good character was discussed by all educators and was given most detailed investigation by Mapheus Vegius. All the light that the classical moralists and the Christian Fathers had furnished in their writings was focused upon the problem.

The religious ideal. All agreed that the first and most indispensable lesson is reverence for divine ordinances and doctrines. Children were taught at the earliest age to recite as intelligently as they could the fundamental religious teachings and to participate in the ritual of worship. They were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, the Creed, the Commandments, the deadly sins, the way of Salvation, and other pious devotions.

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[70] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Vittorino was an intensely religious man; he infused the Christian spirit into everything he did as citizen and educator. In the early hours of the morning he read books of devotion, then scourged himself and attended mass. His pupils were required to attend service daily, to confess once a month, and to observe all fast days. Vittorino directed personally the moral and religious life of his school. Through private admonition, public addresses, and personal example he made religion a vital experience in the life of every pupil. To him, Christianity was no mere ritual or outer conformity but a spirit of reverence for God and brotherly service for the poor and needy. No other educator succeeded so admirably in making the synthesis of the humanistic, the ancient Stoic, and the Christian with the chivalric spirit.

The moral ideal. Next to reverence for the divine doctrines and sacraments, the capacity for self-restraint or inner control of appetites appealed most strongly to educators of this period. This virtue had to do with restraint upon all bodily appetites or impulses. In eating, drinking, and sleeping there must be no self-indulgence. This attitude had no kinship with the ideology of asceticism or of quietism. It was rather a combination of Greek temperance, Roman *severitas,* Christian mastery, and Stoic control. The body is not considered evil, but an abode commensurate in dignity with the greatness of the soul. Self-restraint enhances the health, suppleness, and dignity of the body. The individual must rise to an inner consciousness of the importance of his own personality, and this imparts a new worth to man's physical being. Vegius made modesty the primary virtue and proceeded to discuss reverence to God, reverence to parents, regard for orphans and strangers, reverence for the priesthood and old age, respect for the learned, for teachers, and regard for princes and officials, the poor and unfortunate, for women, and for oneself.

Vergerius and Vegius looked upon weak and indulgent parents as "a special source of danger" to the morals of youth. Much emphasis was put on the right companions, tutors, and servants.

The moral principles of these educators combined with chivalric ideals in a remarkable manner the *severitas, pietas,* and *dignitas* of the ancient Romans, the restraint of the Stoic, and the moral principles of the Church Fathers. Bruni recommended the use of classical authors for what they said on continence, temperance, modesty, justice, courage, and greatness of soul.

The Scriptures were recommended by several of the writers, who generally mentioned the particular books that were to be used. Among texts ordered for six-year-old Cecilia Gonzaga was a copy of the four Gospels in Greek. The particular Scriptures were selected largely on a basis of: first, style; second, biographical examples of good morals; third, historical information.

Children should be silent in the presence of elders, abstain from asking questions in company, and be dressed fittingly. Pugnacity, malice, and dirty conversation were condemned. To be conscious of one's ignorance, but determined to excel, to know one's power, but be unassuming and casual in displaying it, were signs of personality that promised every distinction.

Truthfulness was another virtue highly prized. This was not so much the avoidance of falsehood and deceit, but of pretentiousness and boasting. According to Vergerius:

> Herein lies that great danger to character, a habit of boasting, which in turn gives rise to a disregard of truth in all relations of life, a fault apt to become ingrained as years roll by. Nothing so injures a young man in the eyes of serious people as exaggeration and untruthfulness.[73]

Moral conditions in general. When one passes from the ethical principles extolled by the educators and writers on education to the morals prevailing in the world of the Renaissance, a terrific shock is experienced. The moral standards of practitioners like Vittorino, and theorists like Vergerius, Vegius, and Castiglione were exceedingly high, and no one for a moment doubts their actual sincerity. Furthermore, it is impossible to believe that the youth who passed through the training given by Vittorino and Guarino could become as grossly immoral as were the leading men of that age; but beyond the doorstep of the schools a totally different condition prevailed. This raises one of the deepest problems for the philosophy of education. Why was the effort at moral education a failure?

This question naturally arises, although it does not lie within the scope of this work to discuss it at length. But before any inquiry is undertaken a brief description of moral conditions is necessary. The fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries were among the most degenerate in all human experience. To exaggerate the corruption of Italy would be an impossibility. The intellectual acuteness of the times sharpened and varied the forms of immorality and crime that flourished with an openness that was quite incredible both in the highest places and among the masses. Torture, traffic in human life, fraud, simony, poisoning, intrigue, sexuality, filthy living, are but a short list of the catalogue. These impulses stopped at no outrage as morality and religion sank together to the lowest ebb.

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[73] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

Causes of immorality. First, the fundamental weakness of the Renaissance was an excessive, uncontrolled individualism; second, by nature the Italian was inclined to formalism and externalism; third, he looked to aesthetic sensibility and beauty of form for the satisfaction of the religious life. Men thrust aside every restraint and bond of social life, whether it was that of state, religion, common moral decency, or of ordinary marital relations. Against every limitation and conventionality they boldly rebelled. In every relation they chose to act as their personal sense of honor or interest, passion or calculation, or the impulse of revenge or renunciation, directed their minds. Greed for gold, lust for power and position, individualism in its most extreme forms, were the fertile causes of the moral degeneracy of the times. The religious life of the fifteenth century became flagrantly dissolute because of the reversion of so many leaders to genuine paganism.

The absolute contradiction between the philosophy of education held by Italian educators and the actual conditions of moral and religious life brings to the fore two important problems. First, do the conditions that favor creativity in literature and art necessitate licentiousness? Must genius be allowed a different moral standard from that of the ordinary man?

Relation of creativity to licentiousness. Creative genius as it showed itself in the Age of Pericles and again in the Renaissance was accompanied by rampant individualism, licentiousness, degrading immorality, and atheism. Are these conditions necessary to the operation of genius? Mr. Symonds asserts:

> Crimes and vices are not the hotbed of arts and literature: lustful princes and cruel despots were not necessary to the painting of Raphael or the poetry of Ariosto.[74]

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[74] Symonds, ***The Revival of Learning***, **p. 46.**

No one for a moment will maintain that men of evil mind or reprobate emotional nature can be the creators of philosophy, science, art, inventions. It is true the inner urge to break into new paths and find new connections in the fields of art, letters, or invention can function only when it is accorded freedom of action. It is likewise true that the creative impulse does not surge up in the mind because of licentious or evil emotions, but in spite of them. Apparently the freedom from conventionality, which is indispensable for creation in any line of art or thought, tends also for very obvious reasons to break down moral habits and ideals. Conversely, the stabilization of moral habits and ideals in periods of great conservatism tends to conventionalize the intellectual life and leads to nonprogressiveness. Rarely do we see on any large scale individuals who can harmonize a conservative moral nature with great versatility and freedom of intelligence.

4. *Organization of Course of Study*

Grades of instruction. The organization into primary, elementary, secondary, and higher education was not at all definite at this time. In regard to the practice of Vittorino, only a few general statements have come down to us. Guarino, the younger, fortunately, left an outline of the organization of the work in his father's school, and it may be safely assumed that similar practices prevailed generally. One must recall that the Italian Renaissance largely preceded the invention of printing; texts were still scarce, and instruction had to be oral.

Primary work. Vittorino began to teach four- and five-year olds to read and spell. He insisted that they learn to speak clearly and well, and to this end he emphasized enunciation. Next he began to build systematically their Latin vocabulary. Each day a short list of words was given and their inflections were pointed out. When a fair vocabulary was acquired, Vittorino read to the pupil easy passages from the poets and explained every word and its particular form. Parallel with this, some anecdote or narrative with a moral was read and analyzed in the same meticulous fashion. After this foundation had been laid, Vittorino took up grammar by the inductive method. A letter that he wrote indicates that he ordered for Cecilia Gonzaga, when six years of age, a copy of Donatus, and one of Alexander de Villa Dei, the traditional texts in grammar.

Children in the primary grades were taught Latin and Greek by the same method. In addition to these language lessons, primary children were trained in arithmetic, religion, and morals, and were given an opportunity to play in order to exercise their bodies.

Elementary work. During the years of later childhood, all these studies were continued. Grammar was thoroughly mastered, and many formal phrases and literary passages were learned by heart. Then came the memorizing of the works of Virgil and parts of other poets. Meter, scansion, and prosody were learned directly from the study of poetry.

It is a mistake to consider humanistic education in Italy a persecution of childhood. In Vittorino's school, primary education was far from drudgery. It must be recalled that the natural capability for the acquisition of languages is strongest at this stage of mental growth; that Latin was by no means a foreign tongue to the Italians; and that both Latin and Greek were taught orally, for, as yet, the resort to the deadening grind of textbooks had not begun. Vittorino invented letter games as a result of which children of kindergarten age were insensibly led to reading and spelling, and with this he combined simple exercises in speech. In imitation of the ancients, elementary arithmetic was taught by games. Certainly this does not sound like oppression. On the other hand, there can be no question that the practice of drilling the *minutiae* of Latin and Greek grammar into the memories of children from five to seven years old, as some teachers did, was by no means in harmony with the best principles of child development.

Secondary training. When the student had mastered formal grammar in both Latin and Greek, he entered upon an intensive study of the historians and the poets "side by side." Then followed training in composition, declamation, and rhetoric.

Composition was begun early; at ten, Cecilia Gonzaga wrote essays of a high order, in both Latin and Greek. The writing of letters in good style was zealously cultivated. Original compositions and also orations were practiced at eleven and twelve. Latin was turned into Greek and vice versa. Versification was methodically cultivated in all its aspects. One cannot escape the feeling that composition and versification were pressed unduly at a stage of life when even the most gifted youth is hardly capable of creative literary expression. Secondary and higher education were not separated, for the universities matriculated students at a very youthful age.

Changes in higher education. Before the Renaissance, it will be recalled, literature had been utilized largely for the purpose of grammatical study. In the new era the reading of ancient authors was for the enjoyment, understanding, and appreciation of what these authors said and how they said it. The Revival of Learning infinitely enlarged the content of what had previously been called grammar, and, as a result, the study of literature for its own sake became a separate and higher discipline. The study of rhetoric, re-emphasized and expanded by the interest in classical style in letter writing and oratory, now became the dominant subject of the curriculum. The new emphasis upon letters and oratory decreased the interest in disputation which grew out of scholastic methods of thought. The combination of grammar, literature, and rhetoric became the essential of culture as *belles-lettres* took the place of the scholastic theology, and the Seven Liberal Arts.

The teaching of logic. Scholasticism had based its validity and method on the deductive logic of Aristotle and, as a consequence, exalted it to the most important place in the curriculum of Liberal Arts. Logic was used to train students for disputation and clever fencing, subtle argumentation, and mere verbal display. The French and English, who were more devoted to scholastic theology than the Italians, had a special fondness for logic. The Italians generally preferred law and medicine.

The University of Padua had a chair of logic, but the subject was treated in a more modern fashion. It may have been the contact with the Venetians, who understood and adopted the common-sense attitudes of Greek civilization, that determined the Paduan view of logic. Vergerius, who was Professor of Logic there, did not teach the subject after the manner of other logicians, but made it serve as a guide and aid to the study of other sciences.

Sylvius felt strongly with regard to logic and warned against the older point of view: "Beware of logicians who waste time and ingenuity in mere verbal subtleties, in whose hands Logic is a thing, not of living use, but of intellectual death." [75] As Sylvius and other Italian humanists saw the situation, logic should be an ally of grammar and rhetoric, rather than of disputation. It should lead to clear and precise thinking and to coherent expression by pointing out false and improbable steps in reasoning. In this new office, logic was still an important subject, but it no longer occupied the central place in the curriculum. Vittorino held that logic is an aid in exact thinking by its emphasis upon definitions of terms, classification, correct inferences, and its method of recognizing fallacies.

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[75] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

5. *Psychology, Child Development, Motivation*

1. *Psychology.* Knowledge of the mental life continued in a crude state during the Renaissance, for psychology was not a subject of special interest to the humanists. They had Aristotle's *de Anima* to guide them, but it did not elicit more than superficial attention. Their views, which always exhibited a high degree of objectivity, may be summed up as follows: the mind has two parts, the lower, the irrational, and the higher, the rational. The latter is the citadel of personality, the governing power of the soul. This power has three faculties, memory, intelligence, and judgment. Memory can be trained by exercise and repetition. Intelligence is the faculty of knowledge, and by it we judge of facts and also of motives. It leads to prudence or wisdom.

2. *Knowledge of childhood.* In general, knowledge of child development remained crude and traditional in character. Educators found that children learn more easily than adults and therefore concluded that childhood is the best time for training. The Greek distinction between infancy, childhood, and adolescence found general acceptance. The division into the pre-rational and the rational periods was emphasized. Special interest in child-nature centered on two points: What qualities give greatest promise of future success in scholarship? and, How do individuals differ?

(a) *Desirable qualities.* By universal agreement the most promising quality in any student is retentiveness of *memory.* Aeneas Sylvius spoke for the entire group when he said:

> We must first insist upon the overwhelming importance of Memory, which is in truth the first condition of capacity for Letters. A boy should learn without effort, retain with accuracy, and reproduce easily. Rightly is memory called "the nursing mother of learning." It needs cultivation, however, whether a boy be gifted with retentiveness or not, therefore, let some passage from poet or moralist be committed to memory every day.[76]

Other qualities looked for by educators were a strong desire for praise, and shame because of failure or punishment; these qualities lead to emulation and to assiduous study. Willing obedience, industry, thoroughness, and alertness were highly prized. Good social qualities, such as friendliness and a forgiving disposition, were desired in the education of aristocrats of birth or ability. A certain nobility of mind was needed in those who should fill high station with dignity and grace.

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[76] Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

(b) *Individual differences.* Educators who have not familiarized themselves with the history of education are frequently prone to consider certain pedagogical principles to be new that have long been recognized as important. The adaptation of instruction to individual differences is just such a case. No other pedagogical principle was so universally emphasized during the period of the Renaissance. Vergerius had much of value to say on this subject, of which the following is but a sample:

> The choice of studies will depend to some extent upon the character of the individual minds. For whilst one boy seizes the point of which he is in search and states it ably, another working far more slowly, has yet the sounder judgment and so detects the weak spot in his rival's conclusions. The former, perhaps, will succeed in poetry, or in the abstract sciences; the latter in real studies and practical pursuits. Or a boy may be apt in thinking, but slow in expressing himself; to him the study of Rhetoric and Logic will be of much value. . . . Again some minds have peculiar power in dealing with abstract truth, but are defective on the side of the particular and concrete.[77]

Vergerius likewise recognized that some individuals have powerful memories but are weak intellectually. In conclusion, Vergerius advised the young prince Ubertinus, "Follow the instinct of your best self, and you will be found worthy."

Vittorino made every pupil a special problem. It is repeatedly emphasized by the writers who knew *La Giocosa* that the great Master studied the aptitudes, tastes, and the future careers of his scholars. He held in reverence the personality of each child and strove to adapt his methods and requirements to the individual's needs. He was accustomed to say:

> Not everyone is called to be a lawyer, a physician, a philosopher, to live in the public eye, nor has everyone outstanding gifts of natural capacity, but all of us are created for the life of social duty, all are responsible for the personal influence which goes forth from us.[78]

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[77] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[78] Woodward, W. H., *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance*, pp. 12–13. Cambridge: University Press, 1906.

No one handled this subject as extensively and with as much genuine insight as the Christian scholar, Mapheus Vegius. In his admirable exposition of moral education he summed up what the ancients had written on individual differences, and then added from his own experience. Not only did he point out differences in physical activity, feelings, emotions, sensibilities, temperament, memory and intellectual insight and quickness, but differences in response to teachers and to praise and blame. In dealing with children, he advocated proceeding like a physician who knows what reactions to expect from different treatments. "It is a pedagogical principle," he declared, "that every fault requires for its removal a corresponding remedy."

Humanism has been wrongly accused of putting every boy through the same mill. As a matter of fact, no doctrine was more definitely formulated and emphatically stated by these Italian writers than that individual differences in mental quickness, power of memory, emotionality, obedience to discipline, and intelligence must be noted, and instruction and discipline varied to suit the nature of each child. Natural bent and interest determined the subjects to be studied. Large classes were purposely avoided, and much of the instruction was of an individual character. Boys who were dull or would not study were given manual arts and were prepared for mechanical or industrial careers. By the tenth year, according to Alberti, the observant father can forecast the tastes, inclinations, and capacity of the son.

3. *Motivation.* It was the supreme purpose of these humanistic educators to establish in every pupil a consciousness of his own personality. This is to be accomplished by arousing a deep sense of dignity and importance in anticipation of worthy achievements in the society he would serve.

(a) *Ambition.* The desire for social approval was the chief motive appealed to by all educators. Vergerius reminded the young prince Ubertinus of his high station and the illustrious name he bore, and added: "It is a mark of soundness in a boy's nature that he is spurred by desire of praise." [79] The quality of willing and ready obedience is an excellent promise in a boy. When this is combined with the desire for praise, it betokens a character of highest excellence. When these are present in the early stage of development before reason emerges in the boy, there is every condition of success.

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[79] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

Next to the awakening of a quickened sense of his own future personality was the stimulation of ambition by setting before the youth the example of the great men of old. Vergerius informs us, "we gain surer stimulus from contemplating others than from the reflection of our own selves: as Scipio, Fabius, and Caesar kept before their eyes the image of Alexander or other heroes of the past." [80]

The guiding principle in all Renaissance life and education was to emulate the example of the great men of old. On every possible issue, the action and opinion of ancient celebrities were cited. Does Aeneas Sylvius wish Ladislas to study grammar? Then he points to the fact that Cicero, Julius Caesar, and Augustus were well versed in grammar, "and no prince need feel it unworthy of him to walk in the steps of so great exemplars." [81] Alexander the Great, Scipio, Caesar, Cicero, Augustus, and innumerable others, pagans and saints, men and women, were constantly held up before the youth. It is this personal aspect that made the *Lives* of Plutarch such a popular reader at this time. What was true of boys was equally true of girls. Bruni, writing to Battista Malatesta, cites the glory of Sappho and Aspasia and suggests: "You yourself, indeed, may hope to win a fame higher even than theirs." This was to be attained by due application to learning.

(b) *Rivalry.* Next to innate ambition, humanist educators relied upon rivalry. This means of motivation had never completely died out in the schools of Italy. It was now revived as the most important motivation for older boys who did not have reason developed. Guarino advised:

> In the case of elder boys, emulation and the sense of shame, which shrinks from the discredit of failure, may be relied upon. I advise also that boys, at this stage, work two together with a view to encouraging a healthy spirit of rivalry between them.[82]

A century later this suggestion was developed to the utmost extent by the Jesuit educators. Vegius, most conservative of the humanists, saw no conflict between the Christian spirit and the self-assertion inherent in rivalry and desire for personal glory. He declared:

> An efficient teacher will seek to develop his pupils most of all through

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[80] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

awakening the sense of honor. The word of Ennius remains eternally true: "To receive praise is the passionate desire of every mortal." Cicero also affirms this, when he said, "Honor promotes the fine arts, fame awakens the love of the sciences; where these feelings do not exist the arts and sciences always languish.[83]

(c) *Punishment.* Only in extreme cases may one resort to punishment. Moreover, it must not be brutal and must by all means avoid injuring the self-respect of the pupil. Humanistic educators reacted sharply against the brutality universal during the Middle Ages. They accepted the counsel of Quintilian that training must be enforced by friendly authority. In Vittorino's school the discipline was rigorous, but not harsh. It was his practice to attract and interest his students and not to drive. Pupils whose inner capacities and growing sense of self-respect did not lead them to respond had no place in his scheme of education. Plenty of work, adapted, as far as possible, to each pupil, imparted a normal growth in self-control. Corporal punishment was rarely used and only as a last resort before expulsion. The harshest penalty he assigned was to make the pupil kneel and lie down in the presence of his fellows. Punishment was, however, certain and immediate. In spite of his rigorous discipline, Vittorino always enjoyed the fullest respect of his pupils.

In general two main objections were raised against corporal punishment: 1. Flogging is an insult to high-born youth and results in an injury to self-respect. 2. When pupils are whipped for not learning, they come to hate learning. Boys cannot be driven to learning like slaves, but are drawn by rivalry and persuasive earnestness.

6. *Methods of Instruction*

The bases of method. The method of instruction employed in any period is necessarily contingent upon two factors: first, the subject matter that is considered the most valuable for attaining the end of education; second, the psychological notions that prevail with regard to the operation of the mind in the acquisition of knowledge.

Throughout the Middle Ages it was universally held that all truth was already known, that it was fixed or canonized and must be handed on from generation to generation absolutely unchanged. During the Middle Ages, the method employed was one of sheer memorization of abstract propositions and rules; even the applica-

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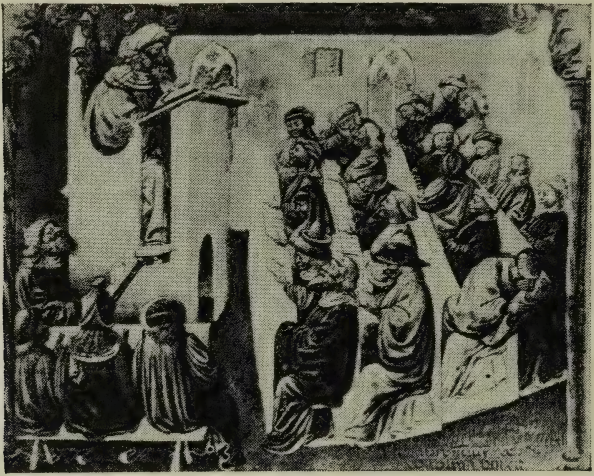
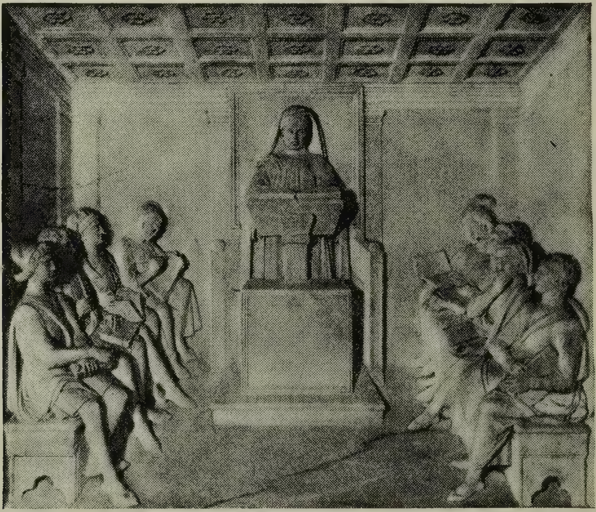
[83] Kopp, K. A., *Mapheus Vegius' Erziehungslehre,* p. 79. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1889.



Henricus Lecturing on Ethics.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*



A Humanistic Lecture.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

tion of knowledge was not encouraged. A clear-cut picture of this educational method is found in the *Autobiography* of Thomas Platter, who lived just at the time the Renaissance was beginning in the North. He told how by sheer effort of repetition he learned the Latin Grammar of Donatus "by heart to a dot," but he was still unable to decline a noun of the first declension.

During the Renaissance, the general subject was the speaking and writing of Latin and the appreciation of style. Method had to do with these. Several circumstances must be kept in view in securing a clear picture of the situation. It has been repeatedly pointed out that for some time there were no printed texts and an oral method had to be used. Clear and intelligent exposition was, therefore, indispensable. Again, these humanists were treading uncharted paths except so far as Quintilian had described the method of instruction.

One of the chief innovations made by Vittorino was in the realm of method. We have already seen how he sought new devices for primary subjects. In *La Giocosa* very little of the work was done in class instruction such as we know now-a-days. The pupils varied greatly in age, and the school was not yet organized into elementary and secondary. Following the advice of Quintilian, Vittorino paid strict attention to the personal needs of the pupils. An interesting illustration is afforded by one of Vittorino's students:

> "I remember," writes Pendilacque, "that Vittorino, now well advanced in years, would of a winter's morning come early, candle in one hand and book in the other, and rouse a pupil in whose progress he was specially interested; he would leave him time to dress, waiting patiently till he was ready; then he would hand him the book, and encourage him with grave and earnest words to high endeavor." [84]

Guarino was opposed to large classes on the ground that it lowered the standard of instruction.

Reading aloud and reciting. Chrysoloras advised reading aloud, and both Vittorino and Guarino accepted and put it into practice. Oral reading and reciting were thought to have the following advantages: (1) "Each word must make its due impression upon the ear if the attention is to be sharply aroused to it, and its true significance reach the mind." (2) Gracefulness, poise, and readiness in conversation and public speaking are developed; (3) the practice of reading and reciting reacts upon one's own style; (4) increases the vocabulary; (5) inculcates a sense of rhythm; and (6) gives a clue to the meaning of the author.

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[84] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

Reading aloud was required as a daily exercise. During meals silence was required while a prescribed author was read. Much attention was given to right enunciation. Vittorino insisted upon opening the mouth properly and drawing the breath at right intervals. He prohibited very loud reading or speaking, and strongly insisted on attention to proper emphasis, intonation, accent, and quality. Reading aloud was considered a healthful exercise; Vittorino prescribed it as a means for keeping warm in cold weather. Guarino, as well as Vittorino, seriously considered it a cure for indigestion.

Inductive approach. The educators of the new age protested strongly against learning rules by heart without understanding them. Care was taken to make every step in instruction clear and definite.

Vergerius recommended the use of the inductive method in the study of grammar. On this he said:

> We may gain much from Servius, Donatus, and Priscian, but more by careful observation in our own reading, in which we must note attentively vocabulary, and inflexions, figures of speech and metaphors, and all the devices of style, such as rhythm, or antitheses, by which fine taste is exhibited.[85]

This inductive study of grammar and rhetoric made the selection of the authors more important. Vittorino followed this suggestion in his instruction. In reading an author, he dealt with each word as to its exact meaning and its use in the sentence. This procedure was followed by observation of the style, allusions, and all other matters. Guarino also followed the inductive method, especially in teaching grammar. "Only when examples in illustrations of syntactical principles could be framed by the pupil, was he expected to commit a formula to memory." But he aimed to ingrain the rules of grammar so deeply in memory that they became a part of the mind itself.

Methods of teaching literature. An instructive paragraph by Symonds discloses how authors were studied. As yet, it must be understood, the great divisions of human knowledge had not been clearly drawn. History or philosophy, for example, were not discussed by specialists in these lines, but ancient authors were studied independently, regardless of whether they treated history, morals, theology, or science.

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[85] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

> In picturing to ourselves the method pursued by the humanists in the instruction of their classes, we must divest our minds of all associations with the practice of modern professors. Very few of the students whom the master saw before him, possessed more than meager portions of the text of Virgil or Cicero; they had no notes, grammars, lexicons, or dictionaries of antiquities and mythology to help them. It was, therefore, necessary for the lecturer to dictate quotations, to repeat parallel passages at full length, to explain sentences in detail, to provide copious illustrations of grammatical usages, to trace the stages by which a word acquired its meaning in a special context, to command a full vocabulary of synonyms, to give rules for orthography, and to have the whole Pantheon at his fingers' ends. In addition to this, he was expected to comment upon the meaning of his author, to interpret his philosophy, to point out the beauties of his style, to introduce appropriate moral disquisitions on his doctrine, to sketch his biography, and to give some account of his relation to the history of his country and to his predecessors in the field of letters. In short, the professor of rhetoric had to be a grammarian, a philologer, an historian, a stylist, and a sage in one.[86]

Concentration and diversification. The problem of the number of subjects to be pursued at any one time arose at the very beginning of the new education. *Vergerius* complained of the two faults in the method of education: (1) "The habit of attempting too much at once"; (2) "The second fault is that of hastily passing from one subject to another, which," he continued, "is destructive of all steady progress." He contended that a liberal education does not require a knowledge of all subjects.

Vittorino. In practice Vittorino provided a wide range of subjects in accordance with the ancient encyclopaedic course. No subject was wanting and, to assist students as far as possible, special masters were employed in the various branches.

Guarino proceeded on the analogy that, as the appetite demands "the best of each and every kind of food," so the mind requires a variety of subjects.

Aeneas Sylvius declared:

> Two difficulties confront us, that of the choice of subjects and methods of instruction, and that of the risk we run of overburdening the learner's

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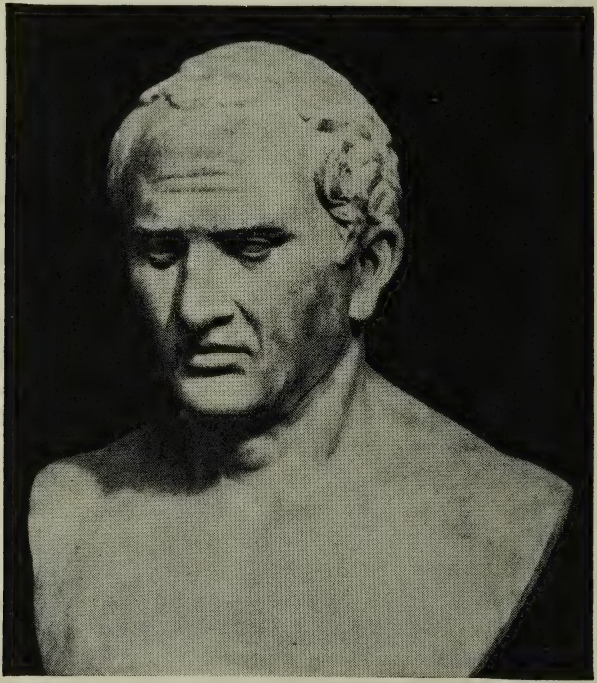
[86] Symonds, J. A., *The Revival of Learning*, pp. 124–125.

mind by too great a variety of study. But we must bear in mind that the thinking faculties find relief from strain in this very variety, just as the digestion is aided by succession in diet. So that I have no fear lest your mind should suffer from alternation in subjects or change of masters.[87]

Not all accepted this point of view; one author reacted so far as to urge that only one subject should be studied at a time.

III. THE LAST STAGE OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Stages of the Renaissance. The Italian Renaissance passed through four stages. The first has been fittingly termed, by Symonds, "the age of passionate desire." This embraced the time when Petrarch and Boccaccio first caught the vision of the glory



CICERO.—*From the University Prints.*

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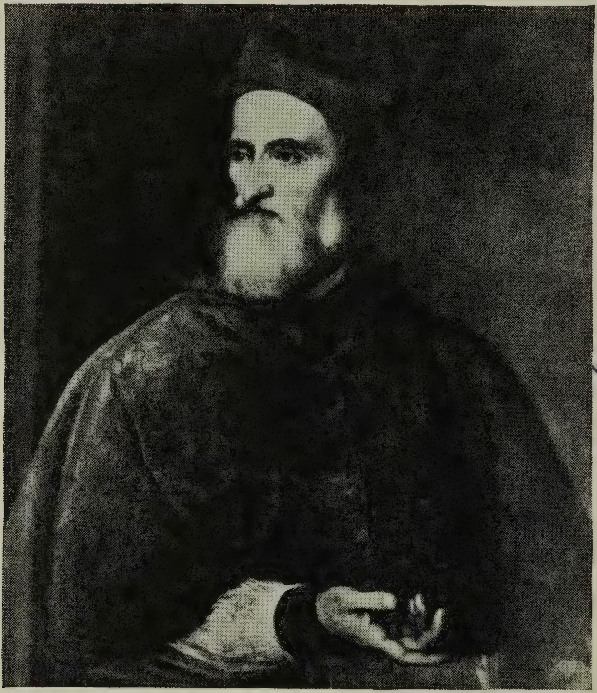
[87] Woodward, *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–157.

of the ancient world and yearned in spirit to return to it. The second stage was that of "acquisition." Scholars collected manuscripts of ancient writers, coins, inscriptions, sculptures, and pleaded for the preservation of the ruins of ancient buildings and the tombs of ancient celebrities.

The third period was that of systematic, painstaking scholarship. This required the deciphering of manuscripts and inscriptions, the correction of the texts which had been corrupted by additions or omissions made by careless, sleepy, and often unprincipled copyists. The Latin language in its ancient purity and form had to be reinstated. Dictionaries, lexicons, glossaries, and grammars had to be compiled. The exact text had to be determined, a task that called for critical reading, comparison of the manuscripts, and the explanation of terms. Ancient history had to be reconstructed in order to appreciate the place of authors and the meaning of their statements. One of the greatest contributions of Humanism was this critical spirit, which for the first time was applied to the study of ancient literature. Scholars began to bring a higher degree of accuracy and knowledge into the realm of human affairs.

The Ciceronian obsession. The last stage of the Italian Renaissance was marked by the abject worship of pure Ciceronian Latin. Every age has a few men of verbalistic nature who adopt as their idol absolute purity of style, meticulous pronunciation, and elegance of expression. Only a few times has such purism become the obsession of an entire age. After Petrarch's time all writing, but particularly that of epistles, followed the pattern of Cicero. Every difference in style of the ancient authors was studied with meticulous attention. The conclusion was reached that Cicero alone was the perfect model. All words which Cicero did not use were rigorously excluded from the vocabulary of the purists. This involved a radical revision of the content of thought as well as its verbiage. The schools degenerated into Ciceronian language mills. To speak and write letters and orations with the elegant phraseology of Cicero became the only objective of education, the one and only desire of cultured men. Formalism usurped the place of living social interest. Memorizing of Ciceronian phrases formed the major portion of the curriculum. This period of utter formalism ran from about the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century.

In their zeal for pure Latin, writers and orators were driven to the strangest expedients. Most scholars Latinized their names. But the most amazing transposition was found in the Christian religion. The purists of the sixteenth century called God *Jupiter Optimus Maximus.* Bembo referred to the Virgin Mary as *Dea ipsa.* Providence became *Fatum;* the Saints were *Divi;* and their statues are *simulacra sancta Deorum.* Peter and Paul become *Dii tutelares Romae;* the souls of the just, *Manes pii.* The Pope himself was *Pontifex Maximus.* Nuns became *vestals,* and Cardinals, *Augurs.*



CARDINAL BEMBO.—*From Burckhardt, J., "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," Harper & Brothers.*

The interest in pure Latin style outweighed all else. Bembo, the prince of stylists, advised his friend to "avoid the Epistles of St. Paul, lest his barbarous style should spoil your taste." On this suggestion, Longolius determined to restrict his reading to Cicero for five years, and finally he took an oath to use no word which this author did not use. Such was the absurd length to which Ciceromania was carried.[88]

IV. SUMMARY AND CRITICISMS

Summary. In concluding the remarkable movement known as the Renaissance in Italy or the Revival of Learning, three phases may be discriminated. The first was that which sought to reinstate the best life of the ancient times. This life was portrayed in the ancient poets, historians, and orators, and rationalized in the great ethical philosophers, Plato, the Stoics, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Seneca. This phase emphasized the place of letters in relation to conduct and character. Character, it was held, is molded and cultivated by the study of the wise examples and the judgments of the great men of antiquity. Their survey of human conduct and conclusions as to right living and the best life are full of instruction. Their writings are the best guides to conduct. This was the knowledge of most worth. Supplementary to it was the information found in the ancient writers on history, geography, science, politics, philosophy, medicine, and the fine arts.

This first aspect of the Revival was emphasized by Vittorino and Guarino in Italy and the Brethren of the Common Life, Erasmus, and a host of others in Northern Europe. Out of this phase of the Renaissance came a new concept of human cultivation, and the Italian contribution to the art of education was commensurate with their influence on art and letters. This is the value which made classicism dominate education down to recent times.

The second aspect of Humanism was that of style. This aesthetic element was found in all the early Italian Humanists from Petrarch to Bembo. It became more and more dominant in Italy until it absorbed the entire interest of culture and education.

A third aspect of Humanism found its essence in creative self-expression. Men like Alberti, Agricola, Castiglione, and Eliot of England felt that the most fundamental thing is rhythm, music, harmonious living, and creative expression. The models of antiquity are good, but they do not meet the needs of the new age.

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[88] For further reading on this subject see:

Erasmus, *Ciceronianus.*

Monroe, Paul, Editor, *Cyclopedia of Education, Art.*: "Ciceronianism." New York: The Macmillan Co., 1911.

Sandys, John Edwin, *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*, Ch. VI. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1905.

Creative living and spontaneous expression are the essential things.

Criticism. In judging the results of the education of the Italian Renaissance, one must acknowledge the validity of certain criticisms.

1. *School work was not properly adjusted to the development of the child.* The work required of little children was far in excess of what is best to produce a well-balanced personality. It showed the error common to the whole Renaissance theory and practice of education: a dependence upon information learned from others by sheer memory and a corresponding lack of training in judging for oneself.

2. *Too much emphasis upon languages.* In their emphasis upon languages, the educators of the Renaissance made the same blunder as the scholars of the Hellenistic era. Vastly important as the acquisition of language and good style may be, it is, after all, merely form, and when not definitely subordinated to content, it leads nowhere. For students of pronounced literary instincts it worked admirably enough, but for those of other gifts humanistic training was not properly adjusted.

3. *Neglect of mother tongue.* The studied neglect of the vernacular language and literature was an unpardonable disregard of an essential instrument of culture. The works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio had made the Etruscan dialect the vehicle of beautiful expression in prose and poetry for all Italy. There is no mention of the vernacular writings of these men in the schools of Vittorino and Guarino, nor were they introduced elsewhere. The disregard of this new literature and of the use of the vernacular as a means of expression was a cardinal blunder.

4. *Great enthusiasm and little aptness in method.* Schoolmasters followed the principles of education laid down by the ancients as well as they could. Though filled with a great enthusiasm for learning, they understood little of the technique of the learning process and relied mainly on sheer memorization.

5. *Neglect of natural sciences.* The Renaissance did not have a satisfactory insight into the functions of the natural sciences, and consequently its course of training was one-sided. The ancient literature was a storehouse of information on nature but only a few outstanding men showed any interest in such matters. No educator of the day gave the sciences a place of equality with language and literature.

6. *Moral education did not function.* For some reason not readily discernible, the system of moral education devised by the

Italian Humanists failed to arrest the tide of degeneracy that swept over Italy until it was finally checked by the Catholic Reformation.

7. *Individualism.* The Renaissance was marked by an exaggerated individualism. The theory of education did not fail to emphasize the social aspects of life. Worthy citizenship, home membership, and social intercourse were strongly presented. But the social education of the time was incapable of overcoming the spirit of the age that was predominantly individualistic.

8. *Religion.* One of the chief weaknesses of the era was the humanistic attitude toward religion. The Italian Humanist was inclined to the aesthetic and formalistic in religious worship, rather than to the ethical and spiritual.

9. *Masses not educated.* Finally, the great objection to Italian Humanism lay in the lack of education of the masses. The education of the aristocratic class and a few gifted commoners was insufficient for stabilizing the national culture.

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